

# The Theseus Painter

Style, Shapes and Iconography



Olaf Borgers

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**THE THESEUS PAINTER  
STYLE, SHAPES AND ICONOGRAPHY**

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# ABBREVIATIONS

ABL	C.H.E. Haspels, <i>Attic Black-figured Lekythoi</i> (Paris 1936).
ABV	J.D. Beazley, <i>Attic Black-figure Vase-painters</i> (Oxford 1956).
Agora XII	B.A. Sparkes and L. Talcott, <i>The Athenian Agora, Results of Excavations conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens</i> , vol. XII, <i>Black and Plain Pottery of the 6th, 5th and 4th Centuries B.C.</i> (Princeton, N.J. 1970).
Agora XXIII	M.B. Moore and M.Z. Pease Philippides, <i>The Athenian Agora, Results of Excavations conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens</i> vol. XXIII, <i>Attic Black-figured Pottery</i> (Princeton, N.J. 1986).
Agora XXX	M.B. Moore, <i>The Athenian Agora, Results of Excavations conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens</i> vol. XXX, <i>Attic Red-figured and White-ground Pottery</i> (Princeton, N.J. 1997).
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Andreae, <i>Herakles</i>	B. Andreae, 'Herakles und Alkyoneus', <i>Jdl</i> 77 (1962) 130-210.
ARV <sup>2</sup>	J.D. Beazley, <i>Attic Red-figure Vase-painters</i> , 2nd ed. (Oxford 1963).
Beazley Addenda <sup>2</sup>	T.H. Carpenter, <i>Beazley Addenda, Additional References to ABV, ARV<sup>2</sup> and Paralipomena</i> (Oxford 1989).
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Becker, <i>Peliken</i>	R.M. Becker, <i>Formen attischer Peliken</i> (diss., Tübingen 1977).
Bell, <i>Krokotos Cups</i>	E.E. Bell, 'Two Krokotos Mask Cups at San Simeon', <i>CSCA</i> 10 (1977) 1-15.
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Boardman, <i>ABFV</i>	J. Boardman, <i>Athenian Black Figure Vases, A Handbook</i> (London 1974).
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<i>Siphnierschatzhaus</i>	V. Brinkmann, <i>Beobachtungen zum formalen Aufbau und zum Sinngehalt</i>



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- LIMC*  
Lissarrague, *Peintre des demi-palmettes*
- Maas and McIntosh-Snyder  
*Stringed Instruments*
- Maffre, *Thasos*
- Malagardis, *Deux Temps*
- Malagardis, *Monde Rural*
- Malagardis, *Skyphoi*
- Melldahl and Flemberg
- Mercklin, *Werkstatt*
- Mertens, *AWG*
- Mingazzini, *Castellani*  
de Miro, *Lastra*
- Mommsen, *Töpferstudien*
- MuM*
- Neils, *Goddess and Polis*
- Neils, *Pride*
- Neils, *Theseus*
- Nilsson, *Prozessionstypen*
- Oenbrink, *Bild-im-Bild*
- Papadopoulos-Kanelopoulos, *Hiero*
- Para*
- Parke, *Festivals*
- Pellegrini, *Vasi greci*
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# INTRODUCTION

## 1. General introduction

The subject of this monograph is the Attic black-figure vase painter known today as the Theseus Painter who, as we shall see, worked from about 515/510 to 480/475 B.C. First of all, the study aims at giving, as completely as possible, a full description of all the features comprising the painter's stylistic nature: painting, drawing, composition, use of added colour. These categories are, in turn, considered in relation to the potterwork, namely the types of vases the Theseus Painter decorated, the workshops with which they can be associated, and whether he might also have been involved in shaping some or all of them.

Another goal is to define the Theseus Painter's time frame, as based on both external and internal markers which help to determine the various phases in his development. The chronology depends, of course, for a large part on stylistic criteria and comparisons of work by other Attic vase painters. Additional chronological indicators will also be taken into consideration, including, among others, the changes in vase types that the Theseus Painter decorated, variation in their specific form and secondary decoration. Moreover, whenever possible, external reference points like find contexts are examined, sometimes viewed in combination with historical events such as the so-called 'Perserschutt' from the Athenian Acropolis.

Another topic regards the Theseus Painter's iconographic preferences and idiosyncrasies. Although he is a late black-figure painter and therefore, by definition, more or less second rate compared to the mainstream of Attic black- and red-figure, his subject matter is noteworthy not only for its diversity but also for its many themes and often special interpretations of them, which are only rarely or, insofar as known, never repeated elsewhere in vase painting or any other Greek art form. As far as possible, it will be attempted to identify the Theseus Painter's exceptional portrayals and, in turn, to place them in the context of the iconographic development of comparable themes in Attic vase painting as a whole. The discussion will also deal with the possible meanings of such subjects as well as their treatment and possible origins.

Furthermore, the scope goes beyond the Theseus Painter as simply an isolated artistic phenomenon in the production of Attic black-figure. He will be considered in the light of the one or more workshops with which he may have been affiliated. With varying degrees of probability, these workshop ties can be determined by considering the specific features of his painting and, perhaps more convincingly, his choice of vase types as illustrated by profile drawings. The examination is geared to gaining a degree of insight into aspects of the structures of Attic black-figure workshops during the late sixth and early fifth centuries B.C. Equally important are related subjects like the Theseus Painter's relation to the work of contemporary black-figure artisans and the degree to which he can rightly be viewed as a stylistic exponent of late black-figure.

An explanation of the book's organisation will be helpful at this point. The text is divided into two parts. Part A considers more usual matters like a description of the painter's style, the types of vases he decorated and their chronology, provenances, etc. The arrangement of the first part is largely based on the individual vase-shapes, starting with the Theseus Painter's most numerous product, skyphoi. Each chapter examines aspects like style, development, related painters, etc. which are typical for the shape under consideration. Part B exclusively treats the Theseus Painter's iconography, including descriptions, identifications of the subjects and, if possible, their meanings.

The text is followed by the main catalogue, which is also arranged basically according to the various shapes. It begins with the skyphoi and parallels the chapters in the text. The section on each shape is further subdivided into the painter's chronological phases, as explained in the text: early, middle, transitional from middle to late, late, very late. Within each subdivision, I have generally tried to order the vases by subject, starting with mythological themes, ending with ones closer to everyday life.

Several vases attributed to the Theseus Painter have not been adequately published, some of which, for various reasons, I have not been able to see. Each shape-section of the catalogue ends with the vases that Haspels and Beazley attributed to the Theseus Painter, but which were not seen by me. The main

catalogue is followed by three sections listing pottery which has variously been associated with the Theseus Painter: (1) by or near the Theseus Painter, (2) near the Theseus Painter, (3) erroneously attributed to the Theseus Painter. Much of this pottery is mentioned in the text on various occasions. However, none of it is illustrated in the plates, although some items appear among the profile drawings in the figures.

Much information about the Theseus Painter is further shown in tables, graphs and overviews. The tables and graphs deal with subjects like provenance and distribution; the overviews summarise the painter's development and iconographic usage. Occasionally they furnish information about related matters, for example Table 16 which is a complete overview of the chronology and attributions of the pottery found in the 'Rectangular Rock-cut Shaft' in the Athenian Agora. Nearly all the figures consist of profile drawings and line drawings illustrating typical stylistic features of the Theseus Painter as well as schematic reproductions of his secondary decoration, a map of the pottery's distribution, etc. Finally, a large number of plates (65), unfortunately of varying quality, illustrate the actual vases.

## 2. General problems concerning Attic late black-figure

Attic black-figure produced in the decades around 500 B.C. and especially afterwards occupies a somewhat awkward position in the development of Attic vase-painting. By its nature as a decorative style in decline it stands somewhat outside the general development of mainstream Attic black- and red-figure painting. Although some painters and groups can be recognised in the enormous amount of late black-figure pottery, its makers are of relatively minor importance in the history of Attic vase-painting. Their work is largely confined to a limited repertory of almost exclusively small shapes consisting for the most part of lekythoi. Furthermore, the bulk of the painting can roughly be described as hackwork. Only a few late black-figure painters (among which the Theseus Painter) were capable of producing aesthetically above-average products.

Several basic problems surrounding the study of Attic black-figure painting centre mainly on attribution and grouping and the discernment of workshop connections. At times, even Beazley, it seems, was troubled by them.<sup>1</sup> The style of much late black-figure painting barely lends itself to detailed analysis for the purpose of attribution. The elements that would normally define or make it possible to recognise the style of an individual painter are generally of such low quality and limited detail that identification is rarely possible. This is clearly illustrated, for example, by many of the amorphous groups of late black-figure lekythos painters, like the Haimon Group and the Class of Athens 581. Over a thousand pieces have been attributed to the former group, of which only relatively few are now given to an individual hand, the Haimon Painter.<sup>2</sup>

Among the hundreds of vases in the latter group, very few have been assigned to a quite small number of painters or rather vaguely defined groups.<sup>3</sup> Not even a single painter's hand has yet been recognised among the hundreds of skyphoi of the CHC Group.<sup>4</sup> Although the Theseus Painter himself is quite recognisable, this problem does apply in linking him to other painters and workshops. In the light of all this it is not surprising that C.H.E. Haspels' *Attic Black-figured Lekythoi*, dating back to 1936, remains in

<sup>1</sup> See, i.a., D. von Bothmer, 'Beazley the Teacher', in D.C. Kurtz (ed.), *Beazley and Oxford. Lectures delivered at Wolfson College, Oxford on 28 June 1985* (Oxford 1985) 15, in letters to the author: "I have been working at Attic BF Vase-painters and have had much trouble. It is like going down a mine. Or reminds me of watching a diving competition when I was a little boy at school. The biggest boy remained an unconscionably long time underwater, and everyone was sure he would fetch up all the pennies: but when at last he emerged he had found none [...]. Once in black-figure, one's boots stick in the mire [...]. I have been working on the dregs of black-figure again which is depressing [...]. I have done what I can to the eye-cups for ABV - not much, but I can now pass to something else. I cannot remember any class of bf vases I dislike so much, but others will occur."

<sup>2</sup> ABL 241-47; ABV 538-83; Para 269-92.

<sup>3</sup> ABL 221-25; ABV 487-506; Para 222-46: Marathon Painter; Group of Brussels A 1311; Class of Athens 581.i; Kalinderu Group: Painter of Athens 9690; Painter of Munich 1874; Haimonian lekythoi of the Class of Athens 581.ii; Groups of Agora P 24340, 24366, 24377, 24420, 24381, 24486, 24327; Group of Oxford 1940.74.

<sup>4</sup> Beazley mentions that some of his groups of skyphoi with one particular subject are each by one hand, ABV 617-18, 1-36, amazon and three-quarter chariot; ABV 619, 62-66, Herakles and Triton, with Nereids fleeing, but does not explain further.



many respects the main source for the study of late Attic black-figure.

Similar difficulties apply to the establishment of potters' hands or workshops and the links between potters and painters. While the recognition of potters' hands by means of shape analysis is in itself problematical, the lack of quality or individuality in the potterwork of most late black-figure vases makes the field all the more elusive, at least to the same degree as regards the late painters, or even more so. Furthermore, the study of potterwork is generally much less advanced than that of painting, which once again holds more strongly for late black-figure. To date, no signature of either a potter or a painter is known in late Attic black-figure.

Equally problematical is the identification of late black-figure workshops.<sup>5</sup> As a result, it is especially hard to discover which painters belonged to the same 'group', that is, linked by style, iconography and potterwork. To give an example: many painters are associated with the Athena Painter's 'workshop of oinochoai', like the Painter of Sèvres 100 and the Painter of Vatican G. 49, who are therefore automatically seen as closely collaborating with the Athena Painter. However, none of these painters is known to have decorated lekythoi, which is strange as the lekythos is the basic and most numerous shape in the Athena Painter's output. This leads to other fundamental questions: when may one speak of a 'workshop'?, and what are the defining features which make it possible to decide whether a group of supposedly connected vases issued, in fact, from the same 'workshop'? In the case of the Athena Painter's 'workshop of oinochoai' it cannot easily be seen whether the 'workshop' was defined by Haspels and Beazley on the basis of specific links in the potterwork, painting style and subsidiary decoration between the Athena Painter's lekythoi and oinochoai, which would reflect workshop connections between both shapes. Or, as could just as easily have happened, the workshop was merely posited on the supposition that since the Athena Painter is considered the group's main artisan, he would necessarily occupy the central position in a workshop, and thus only decorated vases issuing from that workshop. Evidently, Haspels and Beazley implicitly assumed that the Athena Painter decorated both his lekythoi and his oinochoai in the same workshop. As noted above, it is remarkable that hardly any of the other oinochoe painters assigned to the 'workshop of oinochoai' (except for the Theseus Painter) seems to have decorated lekythoi, while the lekythos is, in fact, the Athena Painter's most important shape. Beazley and Haspels are probably right in accepting some kind of workshop ties between the Athena Painter and the other painters, although their extent cannot easily be assessed.<sup>6</sup>

Within the same framework it is further important to determine which artisan must be regarded as the 'major' figure within a workshop or a concentration of related painters. In earlier black-figure the matter can sometimes be quite simple, for example Group E and Exekias, who is clearly defined as painter and potter by both style and signature. In late black-figure, however, such a neat division between a leading painter and lesser ones often relies on rather weak and more subjective criteria: the major painter is either the group's 'best' painter, the individual hand which is easiest to identify, or simply the painter with the largest quantity of recognised work.

A similar concern applies to the Theseus Painter. Generally he is regarded as the most important painter in the skyphos workshop to which he supposedly belonged, the 'Heron workshop'. But if he indeed played such an important role in this workshop one might expect that he would have kept decorating skyphoi in that workshop until the end of his career. Instead, he apparently chose to decorate other shapes, presumably borrowing directly from other workshops or perhaps changing his place of employment. In other respects, however, the Theseus Painter might rightly be regarded as 'most important': his iconography is more unusual or at least more often so than that of his contemporaries in the Heron workshop; he is a comparatively better draughtsman; and the number of his attributable vases is also the largest of any of the workshop's painters.

Finally, on the one hand, the iconography of Attic late black-figure often consists of frequently

<sup>5</sup> For the definition of workshops see chapter V, workshop connections.

<sup>6</sup> This intermingling of painters and workshops seems to occur more often: the previously mentioned Haimonian style on lekythoi of the Class of Athens 581; one of the latest Siana cups (*ABV* 625, Louvre E1 171) which, according to Beazley, can be connected to the Group of Thebes R 102 which, in turn, is related to the CHC Group; an oinochoe, of which the potterwork is connected to the workshop of the Red-line Painter, but the decoration is by a painter of the CHC Group (London B 493, *ABV* 606, 18, 623). In some instances the same might have happened with regard to other accomplished late Attic black-figure painters. The potterwork of the Sappho Painter's lekythoi, for example, appears to be very different from that of his larger vases, like his column-krater and amphora. This might indicate that he was also employed by various workshops.



repeated stock subjects.<sup>7</sup> While on the other hand it includes subjects which are in many instances difficult to integrate with or compare to those of either earlier black-figure painters or contemporaries working in red-figure.

### 3. The Theseus Painter and his environment

The Theseus Painter<sup>8</sup> was one of the last fairly competent Attic vase painters who worked in the black-figure technique.<sup>9</sup> Therefore he is in this one respect a special case, although all the above-mentioned difficulties apply completely to him as well. The painter was named by C.H.E. Haspels in 1936<sup>10</sup> because, according to her, "he often chooses the deeds of Theseus" as subject.<sup>11</sup> However, the name might not be so suitable as only 6 of his more than 200 vases actually show Theseus.

For the most part, the Theseus Painter, like his contemporaries the Edinburgh Painter, Gela Painter, Sappho Painter, Diosphos Painter and Athena Painter, decorated smaller vases such as skyphoi, lekythoi and oinochoai. But although such shapes are not always in actual fact small, as some lekythoi and skyphoi exceed 30.0 cm in height, the designation serves generally to differentiate them from shapes which are by definition considered large, for instance amphorai and hydriai of the Leagros Group. The Theseus Painter also adorned larger vessels like pelikai, kalpides and loutrophoroi.

The work of the Theseus Painter is generally assigned to the decades before and after 500 B.C.<sup>12</sup> Haspels dated his career from somewhat before 500 until the 470s B.C.<sup>13</sup> Eisman's dates range from 515 to slightly after 490 B.C.<sup>14</sup> I suggest, as we shall see below, that the Theseus Painter started working around ca. 515/510 B.C. and might have continued until the early 470s B.C.

Prior to Haspels, some skyphoi by and near the Theseus Painter were already referred to as a group by M. Heinemann because of their unusual subjects.<sup>15</sup> In 1930 P. Mingazzini compiled an extended list of more skyphoi of the type decorated by the Theseus Painter and supposed that many of them were painted by one hand. He placed them under the heading 'White Heron Painter', named after the white bird under the handles of many skyphoi of this type.<sup>16</sup> In part, the list indeed mentioned skyphoi which later turned out to be assignable to the Theseus Painter, but it also included skyphoi by painters who definitely differed from him stylistically (see Table 14). Neither Heinemann nor Mingazzini, it seems, were much concerned with stylistic matters when defining their groups.

<sup>7</sup> See, for example, 'Goddess mounting chariot', (*ABV* 539-43, *Para* 271-73), on lekythoi by the Haimon Group; or 'amazons and chariot' on skyphoi in the CHC Group (*ABV* 617-18, 1-36, *Para* 306-307).

<sup>8</sup> The following is a select bibliography on the Theseus Painter. For a more complete bibliography and attributions see the catalogue, abbreviations and Table 15. Heinemann, *Landschaftliche Elemente*, 74-76; Graef and Langlotz, *Akropolis*, 141-47; Mingazzini, *Castellani*, 313-17; Beazley, *Review Baltimore*, 89; *ABL* 141-65, 249-52; *CVA* Robinson Coll. 3, 11-12; Vanderpool, *Shafi*, 289-91; Ure, *Krokotos*, *ABV* 518-20, 703-704, 718; G. Daux, 'Chronique des fouilles et découvertes archéologiques en Grèce en 1958: Delos', *BCH* 83 (1959) 787-90; *E.A.A.* VII, s.v. 'Theseus, pittore di', 752-53; *Para* 255-59; Eisman, *Chronology*, 200; Eisman, *Kyathos*, 440-73; Eisman, *Chronology*; Boardman, *ABFV*, 147; Becker, *Peliken*, 9-10, 24-25; Vermeule, *Herakles*; Eisman and Turnbull, *Skyphos*, 394-99; Meldahl and Flemberg, *Hydria*; Reho-Bumbalova, *Vaso inedito*, 53-60; *Agora* XXIII, 60, 94-95, 279-81, nos. 297, 1448-96, 1657; Beazley *Addenda*<sup>2</sup> 129-30; Malagardis, *Deux Temps*, 73, 76-77; Kreuzer, *Zeichner*, 112-14, 116-23; *CVA* Athens 4, 49-51; d'Amicis, *Catalogo*, 224-30, 302-303; Malagardis, *Skyphoi*; Maffre, *Thasos*; Scheibler, *Skyphoi*; O. Borgers, 'Some Subjects and Shapes by the Theseus Painter', *Proceedings AIAC*, 87-89; forthcoming *CVA* Amsterdam.

<sup>9</sup> In the following senses: (1) artistic competence and ability correctly to depict human figures in various stances, animals and the environment; (2) a continuously recognizable (though changing) style during all the phases of his career; (3) a quantitatively large body of preserved work, equalling that of the major painters of Attic vases.

<sup>10</sup> *ABL* 141-47.

<sup>11</sup> *ABL* 142.

<sup>12</sup> *ABL* 163-5. For the dating of the Theseus Painter see further Vanderpool, *Shafi*, 265-69; Eisman *Kyathos*, 443-48; Eisman, *Chronology*; Malagardis, *Skyphoi*.

<sup>13</sup> *ABL* 146.

<sup>14</sup> Eisman, *Kyathos*, 443-48.

<sup>15</sup> Heinemann, *Landschaftliche Elemente*, 74-76.

<sup>16</sup> Mingazzini, *Castellani*, 314-16, nos. 1-34, A-ZF.

As early as 1934 Beazley noted that one accomplished hand stood out from the 'hacks' of Mingazzini's skyphoi by the 'White Heron Painter'. Two years later this 'accomplished hand' became Haspels' 'Theseus Painter'.<sup>17</sup> She was also the first to give a relatively extensive description of the painter's style, which remains today for the most part valid. In addition, she placed other skyphoi of the type decorated by the Theseus Painter under a separate heading: 'near the Theseus Painter'. These skyphoi are in many cases doubtless related to the Theseus Painter and sometimes quite close to him stylistically, but in most instances they are probably not by the painter himself. Apart from the extensive list of skyphoi, Haspels assigned several other shapes to the Theseus Painter.<sup>18</sup>

Haspels connected the Theseus Painter to late black-figure lekythos painters, despite the fact that the majority of the vases attributable to him are skyphoi. She found him especially close to her 'Athena Painter' who, while being indeed stylistically linked, is known from numerous lekythoi and oinochoai but not a single skyphos.<sup>19</sup> She supplied no further clue as to the Theseus Painter's possible antecedents, concluding only that he was the chief artisan among several painters of her White Heron workshop.<sup>20</sup>

In 1955, however, A.D. Ure proposed that the Theseus Painter's origins lie in an older group of painters who decorated the type of skyphos for which he is known (see pls. 1-34, figs. 35, type B, 40-53, 73-76).<sup>21</sup> Ure named these painters the Krokotos Group, after the chiton in added yellow which is often worn by many of their female figures. Some vases of this group were formerly assigned to Haspels' White Heron workshop and Mingazzini's White Heron Painter (see also Table 14).<sup>22</sup> According to Ure, the Krokotos Group comprises painters who can be considered a generation earlier than the Theseus Painter. Her main painter became known as the Krokotos Painter; she also included the Hydra Painter, Herm Painter and several painters who were not given names.

Ure also defined a group of skyphoi which are generally less well executed than those by the Theseus Painter. Nevertheless, they show rather accomplished workmanship and, in her opinion, are possibly contemporaneous with that painter. She named these skyphoi the Sub-krokotos Group in order to distinguish them from the less distinct White Heron Group.<sup>23</sup> The Sub-krokotos painters were seen by her as the immediate descendants of the Krokotos Painter and his fellows and the heirs to their workshop. Unfortunately, Ure did not entirely succeed in clarifying the relations or the exact boundaries between the Theseus Painter, Sub-krokotos Group and White Heron Group. Yet there seems to be a strong connection between the Sub-krokotos Group on the one hand and the Theseus Painter on the other. This might be concluded from one of Ure's Sub-krokotos painters, the Painter of Philadelphia MS 5481, who seems particularly close to the Theseus Painter in style and, to a lesser extent, iconography.<sup>24</sup> It may therefore very well be that the Theseus Painter can rightly be regarded as a member of the Sub-krokotos Group.

Beazley distinguished another painter of the White Heron Group who appears to be quite close to the Theseus Painter: the Painter of Rodin 1000.<sup>25</sup> However, even Beazley was evidently uncertain about the whole framework of painters and workshops surrounding the Theseus Painter, as becomes clear from his treatment of the Painter of Rodin 1000. In *ABV* Beazley named this painter and attributed several vases to him, whereas in *Para* the same vases are instead described as 'near the Theseus Painter': he had apparently deleted the name 'Painter of Rodin 1000' from his lists of identifiable painters.

The naming of overlapping groups or workshops of skyphos painters who may have surrounded the Theseus Painter is rather confusing due to the multiplicity of separate, but seemingly related, groups and

<sup>17</sup> Beazley, *Review Baltimore*, 89. See also Mingazzini, *Castellani*, 313-17, 'Pittore dell airone bianco', hence the name for the specific type of skyphos by the Theseus Painter and painters in his vicinity, 'Heron Workshop'.

<sup>18</sup> Skyphoi (nos. 1-54), lekythoi (nos. 55-68), oinochoai (nos. 69-70), kalpides (nos. 72-73), loutrophoroi (nos. 74-75) and cups (nos. 76-77).

<sup>19</sup> *ABL* 141-43, 147-50, 152-53, 163-65.

<sup>20</sup> *ABL* 142.

<sup>21</sup> Ure, *Krokotos*. The Krokotos Group is also known from several cups. Some of the Painters of the group specialised in skyphoi, others in cups, while a few (like the Krokotos Painter) decorated both shapes.

<sup>22</sup> Two examples: Mingazzini, *Castellani*, 314, no. 12, later known as Athens, NM 12584, was attributed by Ure to the Sub-krokotos Group (*Krokotos*, 93, no. 15). Haspels' *ABL* 253, 1, Philadelphia 5481, became Ure's name-vase of the Painter of Philadelphia 5481 (*Krokotos*, 95, n. 23).

<sup>23</sup> Ure, *Krokotos*, 92-95.

<sup>24</sup> Ure, *Krokotos*, 95.

<sup>25</sup> *ABV* 521-22, 1-5; *Para* 259; Beazley *Addenda*<sup>2</sup> 130.



painters. The matter might be simplified as follows: the painters of the Krokotos Group started to decorate a specific type of skyphos which is variously defined as the 'White Heron type', 'Heron Class' or Ure's 'type B'.<sup>26</sup> Furthermore, the Krokotos painters are distinguished by their relatively small skyphoi and common use of added yellow. They may date from around 530/525-510 B.C.

The shape and scheme of this type of skyphos are older. It seems that the Painter of the Nicosia Olpe decorated the oldest known skyphos with this type of ornamentation, as at least two of his skyphoi are in shape and secondary decoration very similar to skyphoi of the Theseus Painter (see fig. 35, third in the upper row and all the Theseus Painter's skyphoi, pls. 1-34).<sup>27</sup> The Painter of the Nicosia Olpe is generally dated earlier than the Krokotos Group.<sup>28</sup> A connection of any kind, stylistic or otherwise, between the Painter of the Nicosia Olpe and the Krokotos Group or the Theseus Painter is not readily evident, however, and possibly does not exist.

The next generation (or phase) of painters of Heron Class skyphoi, who probably continued to operate the Krokotos workshop, is the Sub-krokotos Group, which must include the Theseus Painter.<sup>29</sup> The line is continued by the much less accomplished painters of Haspels' White Heron Group,<sup>30</sup> although the distinction between the Sub-krokotos Group and later (or less skilled) painters is not very sharp. In fact, the supposed differences between the two groups might be overstated. The differences seem to be founded on somewhat vague grounds. The Sub-krokotos Group can be regarded as the direct descendants of the Krokotos Group because of similarities in style and iconography and, not least of all, the use of added yellow. Generally, the Sub-krokotos painters are also older and slightly better craftsmen than those of the White Heron Group, although all of them undoubtedly belong to one workshop. In any event, both groups are firmly rooted in the circle of the Theseus Painter: shape (dimensions), ornamentation, subjects and, often to a lesser degree, style.

It is not clear whether a possible relation exists between, on the one hand, the Krokotos Group, Sub-krokotos Group and White Heron Group and, on the other, the skyphoi of a similar type in the so-called CHC Group and related groups.<sup>31</sup> Perhaps the CHC Group can best be regarded as a 'parallel group', for it seems that some of the earliest vases attributable to or near it are contemporary with work of the Krokotos Group. Although the painters of the CHC Group decorated a kind of skyphos similar in shape to that of the other groups, their painting style and secondary decoration (compare fig. 35, second row) seems not to be related to them in any significant way, nor, in most cases, does their iconography.

In the light of the complexities of the groups and workshops of skyphos painters surrounding the Theseus Painter, and of different parallel names given to the skyphoi they decorated, a survey of them will be useful at this point.

1. *Krokotos Group*.<sup>32</sup> Named after the yellow garment worn by many female figures. The members of this group were defined by Ure as forerunners of the Theseus Painter, and incorporated in Beazley's lists. They decorated skyphoi of 'type B' as well as eye-cups. Several hands have been identified, centring on the Krokotos Painter. They probably have a workshop link with the Theseus Painter. The supposed tie between the Krokotos Painter and the Theseus Painter is based on their stylistic similarities as seen in the Theseus Painter's skyphos Syracuse 26857 (Cat. no. 1, pl. 1 a-b)<sup>33</sup> as well as on their shared preference

<sup>26</sup> Ure, *Fifth and Sixth*, 59-61: concave lip, ivy rim, full picture panel, tongues.

<sup>27</sup> Athens, NM 363 (ABV 200, 453, 11; CVA 4, pl. 27) and Havana (ABV 453, 10). Dated around 540-530 B.C., which is earlier than the skyphoi of the Krokotos Group, they are possibly the earliest examples of this type of skyphos.

<sup>28</sup> The Painter of the Nicosia Olpe is generally dated around 540-520 B.C. As the earliest work of the Krokotos Group appears to be cups, it may have started around a decade later to manufacture skyphoi.

<sup>29</sup> Ure, *Krokotos*, 92ff.

<sup>30</sup> Compare, for example, the skyphos in Bologna (Cat. no. N46) connected by subject to two skyphoi of the Theseus Painter - Dionysos in a ship-cart (Cat. nos. 2 and 8, pls. 2a, 4 a-b) - but not by style. Compare also a skyphos in the Castellani coll. (Mingazzini, *Castellani*, pl. 90), with an identical white heron, but painted in a very different style.

<sup>31</sup> ABV 617-23; Para 306-307; *Beazley Addenda* 144. For examples of skyphoi by the CHC Group, see esp., CVA Athens 4, pls. 45-58.

<sup>32</sup> Name introduced by Ure, in *Krokotos*. See also CVA Athens 4, 41-43.

<sup>33</sup> Compare the following satyrs in the Krokotos Group: Getty Museum 86.AE.462 (CVA 2, pl. 115.4); Heidelberg S 109 (CVA 1, pl. 44.11); Bollingen, private coll. (AW 17.2, 1986, 56, fig. 1); Niarchos coll. A 035 (L.I. Marangou, et al., *Ancient Greek Art from the Collection of Stavros S. Niarchos*, Athens 1995, 94-98, no. 13); Munich 2051 (Ure, *Krokotos*, pl. 11.2); Cab. des

for the subject of a lion and oxen at a tree;<sup>34</sup> compare, for example, also the very similar lions of Boston 55.923 by the Theseus Painter (Cat. no. 6, pl. 3 a-b) and London 1920.2-16.3 by the Krokotos Painter (see n. 34) which might suggest that the former was a pupil of the latter rather than a marginally related associate. The Krokotos Group is further characterised by relatively small skyphoi and the absence of concentric circles under the foot; white herons are not among the several kinds of known handle motifs. It may be assigned to around 530/525-510 B.C. The cups seem to have been made earlier than the skyphoi (see also chapter II.4, Krokotos Group).

2. *Sub-krokotos Group*.<sup>35</sup> This group of exclusively skyphos painters was also identified and named by Ure and may be regarded as the 'heirs' of the Krokotos Group. The painters were contemporaries of the Theseus Painter, probably his colleagues. The group is stylistically linked with both him and the Krokotos Group. The dividing line between the Sub-krokotos Group and 'near' the Theseus Painter or the White Heron Group is sometimes very difficult to draw. At any rate, the Sub-krokotos Group includes four artisans identified by Ure: Painter of the Louvre Argos, Hydra Painter, Herm Painter, Painter of Philadelphia 5481. Especially the latter is very close to the Theseus Painter. The group is characterised by skyphoi which are larger than those of the Krokotos Group, less use of added yellow, concentric circles under the foot, and white herons below the handles. It might date from the later years of the Krokotos Group onwards, that is, after 515 B.C.

3. *Theseus Painter*.

4. *Near (manner of) the Theseus Painter*.<sup>36</sup> This term is applied to painters who are related to the Theseus Painter by their vase shapes, iconography and/or painting style. They include painters of skyphoi as well as of other forms. To this category one might consider assigning, for example, the Athena Painter who is particularly near in style, but who did not, as far as known, decorate skyphoi and cannot therefore be assigned to the (possible) workshop of the Krokotos Group and its descendants. However, skyphos painters closely connected by iconography, painting style and choice of shapes can also be placed under this heading, for example the Painter of Rodin 1000 and the Painter of Philadelphia 5481. The latter also finds a place in the Sub-krokotos Group. Under this designation, stylistic and chronological connections to the Theseus Painter are implied.

5. *Related to the Theseus Painter*.<sup>37</sup> Similar to 'near', but the term is applied to painters who are stylistically further removed from the Theseus Painter. Often they are associated with him by no more than vase shapes and iconography.

6. *White Heron Group*.<sup>38</sup> The name is indicative of a relation in style/workshop to the Theseus Painter and refers to skyphoi with the same decorative scheme as those by the painter himself, the 'white heron' below the handles (although other motives are also used). The ornaments are generally less well executed than those by the Theseus Painter, although they are, to some extent, certainly related to him. The designation might also be applied as an overlapping name for the skyphos painters 'near the Theseus Painter', for example the Painter of Rodin 1000, while also including the Theseus Painter himself.

7. *Heron Workshop*.<sup>39</sup> The name covers skyphoi of the kind decorated by the Theseus Painters and others, while also referring to the ornamentation and, to a lesser extent, the style. The implication is that

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Médailles 343 (CVA 2, pl. 69).

<sup>34</sup> Boston 99.523 and Guardia Peticara (Cat. nos. 6 and 10, pl. 3 b) by the Theseus Painter; London 1920.2.16.3 (Ure, *Krokotos*, 90, no. 4) and St. Petersburg 401 (Gorbunova, *Ermitazhe*, 52-53, no. 33) by the Krokotos Painter.

<sup>35</sup> Name introduced by Ure, *Krokotos*. See also CVA Athens 4, 44-49.

<sup>36</sup> Term used in *ABV* 521; *Para* 259. To avoid further difficulties of terminology, I adopt the usage in the mentioned literature, like 'near' or 'related'. Therefore I sometimes ignore the usage recommended by M. Robertson in *Beazley Addenda* xii-xx.

<sup>37</sup> Term used in *ABL* 254.

<sup>38</sup> Term used in *ABL* 142, 253.

<sup>39</sup> Term used by Ure, *Krokotos*, 90, 96.



one workshop centred on the Theseus Painter. While the term 'White Heron Group' mainly refers to the figurework, the name 'Heron Workshop' is more indicative of shape and secondary decoration. However, the two terms are quite interchangeable and have indeed been often used similarly. In a strict sense, the Heron Workshop could also include the Krokotos Group and the Sub-krokotos Group, provided the hypothesis is correct that the Theseus Painter stems from those groups.

8. *Type B skyphos* (fig. 35 third in the upper row).<sup>40</sup> This is the skyphos type decorated by the Theseus Painter and the other White Heron Painters. The shape is of a Heron Class skyphos (see below). In Ure's definition, the term also embraces a specific type of secondary decoration - ivy on the rim and tongues below the figure frieze - as well as the figure frieze covering the main part of the bowl. The type B skyphos is differentiated from Ure's types C and D, which have a narrower figure frieze and which are generally linked with the skyphoi of the CHC Group (see also chapter II.1). Also the two skyphoi with identical decoration by the Painter of the Nicosia Olpe (ivy on the rim, tongues above the foot) can be included, despite the lack of apparent stylistic or workshop connections with either the Theseus Painter or the Krokotos Group; therefore they cannot technically be classed in the Heron workshop. A portion of the skyphoi in the Heron Class are this type.

9. *Heron Class* (fig. 35, all types, A2-Q).<sup>41</sup> These skyphoi show concave lips, high bodies, torus feet and horizontally attached diagonal handles. The class includes the narrow band skyphoi of the CHC Group, etc. Whereas 'type B' refers to shape (of Heron Class skyphoi) and secondary decoration combined, 'Heron Class' mainly refers to shape. In contrast to the designation 'Heron Workshop', which implies a workshop structure, 'Heron Class' refers exclusively to a specific skyphos shape, while also including (but not exclusively) the skyphoi of the Heron workshop itself. Type B skyphoi are part of this class, but have a specific type of secondary decoration.

Despite the very cumbersome and artificial nature of all these names and classifications, they continue to be in wide use.<sup>42</sup> Therefore it is advisable to adhere to them as much as possible, if only to avoid even greater confusion. However, clarity requires that each of them is consistently employed, and that the reader remains aware that they often may overlap to varying degrees. To give some examples of overlap: the Theseus Painter's skyphoi can be placed in categories 3, 6-9 and, possibly, 2. But this excludes the skyphos Kanellopoulos 842 (Cat. no. 78, pl. 33 a-b), for example, attributed to the Theseus Painter, which has the narrow banded decorative system of the skyphoi of the CHC Group and therefore fits into categories 3 and 9; further, owing to the narrow frieze, this skyphos is type C, not type B like the rest of the Theseus Painter's skyphoi. Similarly, the Krokotos Painter's skyphoi can be assigned to categories 1, 7 (?), 8-9 and, possibly, 4-6, whereas his cups fall under category 1 only.

The Athena Painter fits solely into category 4; the Painter of Philadelphia 5481 into 2, 4 and 6-9; the CHC Group into 9. The two type B skyphoi by the Painter of the Nicosia Olpe might belong in categories 8-9, whereas his other skyphoi, all of which are Ure's types A (see below), conform to none of the above designations. A complete definition of a skyphos by the Theseus Painter would therefore read something like the following: Theseus Painter, Sub-krokotos Group, White Heron Group, Heron workshop, type B, Heron Class. All the definitions are equally applicable. In general, Heron Class will be used here as the preferred term for these skyphoi. If the secondary decoration is relevant, I shall instead mention the specific type (A-C).

Although the Theseus Painter was clearly imbedded in an extensive workshop structure, which apparently existed before he started his career (and which continued after he stopped decorating skyphoi),

<sup>40</sup> Name used by Ure, *Sixth and Fifth*, 59: "Large skyphoi .20 m or more in diameter, with figure scenes occupying practically the whole of the vase. Round rim an ivy wreath, and round bottom of cup several bands or lines of black and a band of tongues, in most cases alternately black and purple. No handle palmettes, but beneath handles generally an animal, fish or bird. There is a moulding at junction of foot and body either purple or left in ground colour, and bottom of cup is ground colour with or without circles of black. Inside black with reserved line round rim and in bottom a reserved medallion with black circles"; *CVA Athens* 4, 38.

<sup>41</sup> Name used in *ABV* 205, 521; *CVA Athens* 4, 38-65.

<sup>42</sup> See, for example, *CVA Athens* 4, where M. Pipili also uses designations like type B, Heron Class, Krokotos Painter and Workshop, Sub-krokotos Group, etc.

he was doubtless the workshop's central figure. First of all, because of the large amount of pottery which can be attributed to him, unparalleled by any other painter of Heron Class skyphoi, he is a much more definable 'personality' than any of those painters. Second, his importance would lie in an art historical or aesthetic sense because of his greater stylistic abilities and iconographical inventiveness.

Haspels attributed 77 vases to the Theseus Painter,<sup>43</sup> 54 of which are skyphoi. From 1956 onwards, Beazley added many items,<sup>44</sup> including a larger variety of shapes. Whereas Haspels lists skyphoi, lekythoi, oinochoai, hydriai, loutrophoroi and cups, Beazley notes also pelikai, kyathoi, alabastra and a larger range of cups.

The Theseus Painter worked exclusively in black-figure, unlike the painter who seems closest to him, the Athena Painter, who might be the same as the red-figure Bowdoin Painter.<sup>45</sup> In the view of M. Eisman, the Theseus Painter shows a link with one other (partly) red-figure painter: Psiak;<sup>46</sup> however, I cannot see any similarity in the style or the choice of shapes or iconography of these two painters.

At present, more than 200 vessels can be attributed to the Theseus Painter. The majority of Haspels and Beazley's attributions continue to be accepted, although, in my opinion, a few are not correct. A substantial number of pieces have been added by other scholars, including the present author; for the shapes, amounts and names of the attributors see Table 15.

The Theseus Painter figures largely in Haspels' book on lekythoi. She considered him an important exponent of the latest generation of Attic black-figure specialists in that form. In contrast to many of his contemporaries, the Theseus Painter is also known from a wide variety of other shapes, associated with several distinctly different workshops.<sup>47</sup> Haspels proposed that this remarkable aspect of his work might be explained by the notion that he was a "travelling" artisan who offered his talents to several different workshops after becoming "tired of inspiring the hacks of the Heron workshop."<sup>48</sup> However, many of the different types of vases decorated by the Theseus Painter seem roughly contemporaneous with his skyphoi, like the kalpis London B 346 and the oinochoe Louvre F 342 (Cat. nos. 159, 165, pls. 50 a, 52 c-d). From the viewpoint of potterwork they seem, of course, to have little in common with the skyphoi, but the style of decoration is contemporary.

The Theseus Painter shows much variation in the way he paints and incises. Perhaps this is partly due to the shape of the picture surface in question or to the dimensions of the vase, for instance large, wide and low figures on skyphoi, and small, high and narrow ones on lekythoi. On the other hand, there are definite indications of chronological differentiation, ranging from rather detailed and careful execution in the early years to very clumsy, limited and deteriorating workmanship later. The latter is even comparable to the output of very late black-figure workshops, for example the Haimon Painter and his group.<sup>49</sup> This differentiation, which I divide into five phases, will be dealt with in the chapter on development and chronology.

The interrelations of workshop and stylistic ties between the Theseus Painter and other artisans are not always so evident. In shape, subject and, less frequently, style his skyphoi are obviously linked to the above-mentioned Krokotos Group, Sub-krokotos Group and the less distinct White Heron Group. In his lekythoi and oinochoai similarities to the Athena Painter are quite obvious, as found in the style as well as in the vase shapes and the use of secondary ornamentation. For his numerous other shapes, however, the possible connections between workshops and painters are less certain.

The Theseus Painter is renowned for his rather extraordinary choice of themes. In many instances they

<sup>43</sup> ABL 249-52; also several near and related, ABL 253-54. See also n. 18.

<sup>44</sup> ABV 518-20, 35 vases of which 14 skyphoi; ABV 703-704, four vases; ABV 716, one vase; Para 255-59: 40 vases, of which 19 skyphoi. For pottery near the Theseus Painter see ABV 521; Para 259-60. See also Beazley Addenda<sup>2</sup> 129-30.

<sup>45</sup> ABL 157-60; ABV 522; ARV<sup>2</sup> 677-89; Para 405-407; Beazley Addenda<sup>2</sup> 279-80. See also Kurtz and Boardman, *Athena-Bowdoin Painter*.

<sup>46</sup> Kyathoi, 134-35, 442, 448, 450.

<sup>47</sup> Although the Theseus Painter evidently preferred the skyphos to all others, for the amount of his skyphoi exceeds all other vases put together.

<sup>48</sup> ABL 146.

<sup>49</sup> Compare, for example, the alabastra attributed to the Theseus Painter with work of the Haimon Painter, like New York 41.162.13 (ABV 538.1; Beazley Addenda<sup>2</sup> 133), or with that of the Emporion Painter (ABL 263-66; ABV 584-85; Para 291; Beazley Addenda<sup>2</sup> 138-39).

are so unusual that they remain unexplained or are rarely paralleled in any artistic medium, being usually limited to vase-painting in his direct vicinity. A well-known example is Herakles pulling a female monster by a rope in 'Kerberos-like fashion' (Cat. nos. 15-16, pl. 7) or the representations of Dionysos in a ship-cart (Cat. nos. 2, 8, pls. 2 a, 4 a-b). Many other themes, while being less remarkable, frequently show details or elements which are typical of the Theseus Painter only or, in some instances, his close circle.

All the painted inscriptions of the Theseus Painter's vases are nonsensical.<sup>50</sup> Incised graffiti and votive inscriptions occur on some vases.<sup>51</sup> The provenances of about half of the Theseus Painter's vases are known. Though rather widely dispersed, they are concentrated in a few areas of the Greek world: Greece (especially Athens and surroundings) and Italy (mainly the south). A few specimens have come to light in other Mediterranean places like Thasos, Delos and Cyrene. Of the vases with known provenances, several belong to more or less defined contexts. Some of them are linked to sanctuaries, of which the Acropolis at Athens is best represented. The painter's work has also turned up in funerary and, possibly, settlement contexts.

<sup>50</sup> New York 17.230.9; Acropolis 1271; Taranto 4448; Monopoli, private coll.; London 1902.12-18.3; Naples 81154; Stuttgart KAS 74; New York 06.1021.49; Taranto IG 4591; Acropolis 1280; Port Sunlight 5019; Munich 1678; Naples 81082; once Adolphseck; London B 446; Taranto 6515, Salerno 158a, Kerameikos (Cat. nos. 3, 5, 14, 16-18, 24, 41-42, 44, 50, 76, 140, 153-55, 169, 173-75, 179, see also pls. 2 b-d, 6 d, 7 c, 8 a, c-e, 11 b, d, 17 c, 18 a-b, 19, 21 c, 32 a, 44 c-d, 48 c, 49 a-b, d, 55 e, 56 a-b, 57 e).

<sup>51</sup> See tracings, fig. 81.



## A. SHAPES AND STYLE

### I. VASE SHAPES AND STYLE OF PAINTING AND DRAWING

#### 1. Shapes

In contrast to most late black-figure painters and workshops, the Theseus Painter decorated a rather large variety of shapes. Late black-figure painters tended to specialise in a few shapes, to a greater degree than is generally the case in the run of Attic black-figure. Specialisation of this kind is particularly common among late black-figure painters of small shapes. The Haimon Painter and his group, for example, mainly turned out lekythoi.<sup>52</sup> The CHC and Leafless Groups, on the other hand, comprise almost exclusively painters of skyphoi and cups, respectively.<sup>53</sup>

Although the Theseus Painter might rightly be considered a specialist in skyphoi, as they represent the majority of his known output (126 skyphoi, of a total of 211 attributable vases), the attention he paid to other vase types must not be underplayed. His second most common shape, though much less numerous than the skyphos, is the lekythos: 25 attributable specimens. The painter's other shapes range widely: loutrophoroi (14, of which most are fragments); pelikai (9, among them a neck-pelike); kyathoi (9); cups (6) and a related cup-skyphos; olpai and oinochoai (2 and 6, respectively); alabastra (5) and kalpides (4) as well as one plate. There are also three undetermined fragments. Two of them were introduced by Beazley, who regarded them as amphora fragments; more likely, they stem from large closed shapes like the kalpis or, more probably, the pelike.

Among the other late black-figure painters who worked on more than one shape are the relatively accomplished lekythos specialists, gathered and described as such by Haspels. For example, the Athena Painter also adorned oinochoai,<sup>54</sup> the Gela Painter neck-amphorai, oinochoai and olpai.<sup>55</sup> The Edinburgh Painter also has oinochoai, lekanides, neck-amphorai, belly-amphorai and a hydria,<sup>56</sup> and the Diosphos Painter onoi, pyxides, neck-amphorai and alabastra.<sup>57</sup> In comparison, the Sappho Painter shows far greater diversity: lekythoi, alabastra, pyxis, kalpis, column-krater, plaques, loutrophoroi, amphora and bail-vase.<sup>58</sup> In this respect, however, none of them equals the Theseus Painter.

Furthermore, with the exception of the Theseus Painter, the largest number of a single vase type by each of these painters comprises lekythoi. Although the Theseus Painter appears among Haspels' groups of lekythos painters, lekythoi, as remarked, form a relatively small part of his extant output. The percentages of lekythoi in the totals of vases attributed to those painters, as based on *ABL*, *ABV* and *Para*, are: Gela Painter, 82.7% lekythoi; Edinburgh Painter, 56.8%; Sappho Painter, 93.2%; Diosphos Painter, 64.8%; Athena Painter, 82.2%. In contrast, of the 211 vases assigned to the Theseus Painter, 11.9% are lekythoi (see also Tables 1 and 2); in Haspels and Beazley's lists the portion was slightly higher, 14.6%.

<sup>52</sup> *ABL* 241-47; *ABV* 539-71; *Para* 269-87; *Beazley Addenda*<sup>2</sup> 133-37. Only a very minor part of this group consists of cups and cup-skyphoi as well as some other small shapes.

<sup>53</sup> CHC Group, *ABV* 617-23; *Para* 306-308; *Beazley Addenda*<sup>2</sup> 144. Leafless Group, *ABV* 632-53; *Para* 310-14; *Beazley Addenda*<sup>2</sup> 145-46.

<sup>54</sup> *ABL* 255-60; *ABV* 522-33; *Para* 260-65. The Athena Painter might also have decorated several other shapes like a hydria, loutrophoroi and a neck-amphora, provided he is also the red-figure Bowdoin Painter (*ARV*<sup>2</sup> 677-95; *Para* 405-407; *Beazley Addenda*<sup>2</sup> 279-80; Kurtz and Boardman, *Athena-Bowdoin Painter*) which, according to both Haspels and Beazley, was very likely.

<sup>55</sup> *ABL* 205-15; *ABV* 473-75; *Para* 214-16.

<sup>56</sup> *ABL* 215-20; *ABV* 476-79; *Para* 217-19.

<sup>57</sup> *ABL* 232-41; *ABV* 508-11; *Para* 248-50.

<sup>58</sup> *ABL* 225-29; *ABV* 507-508; *Para* 246-47.



Each type of vase decorated by the Theseus Painter can, of course, be characterised as a group according to shape, dimensions and decoration. Within each such group, however, notable differences may occur. For instance, his large and small kalpides can be divided into two distinctly different groups; they differ not only by their ornamentation, but also especially by their form (rims and feet) and dimensions. The individual vase shapes will be discussed in chapter II-IV.

## 2. Style of painting and drawing and other characteristics

The Theseus Painter is in many respects a true representative of Attic black-figure of the late sixth and early fifth centuries: he belonged to a declining tradition which was much overshadowed by the innovators working in red-figure and, therefore, merely a mediocre practitioner of Attic vase-painting. Nevertheless, many of his vessels, especially most of the larger ones and a good number of skyphoi, display considerable craftsmanship. The work is at the level of, or sometimes even better than, that of other competent late black-figure artisans like the Edinburgh Painter, Gela Painter, Sappho Painter, Diosphos Painter and Athena Painter.

Since Beazley's early observation that the Theseus Painter was the "one sound painter" among "a number of hacks" in the White Heron workshop,<sup>59</sup> several scholars have paid attention to his individual style.<sup>60</sup> Its defining elements are found especially in the incising and, to a somewhat lesser degree, the figurework and the use of added colour.

The figurework is generally rather roughly executed, with little eye for detail. Yet it is adequate for the depiction of a wide variety of figures in diverse stances, animals, objects and, in several cases, even detailed elements defining the figures' surroundings. Qualitative differences are evident, however.

As a rule, the Theseus Painter's incising and painting can be fairly easily distinguished from that of other hands, in spite of some considerable changes which occurred during his career. His early and very late vases differ markedly and can be stylistically linked only by a chain of development over the years, which I arrange in early, middle, transitional, late and very late phases. Problems of attribution arise rarely.

Another noteworthy feature consists of occasional differences in the treatment of details in pairs of vases. This can be seen on the skyphoi with Dionysos in a ship-cart (Cat. nos. 2 and 8, pls. 2 a and 4 a-b) and the skyphoi with amazon and griffin. In my opinion, such differences can only be explained in terms of chronology, which is one of the reasons why I regard Acropolis 1281 and Boston 99.523 as early (Cat. nos. 2 and 6, pls. 2a, 3 a-b) and place both London B 79 and Guardia Perticara in the painter's middle period (Cat. nos. 8 and 10, pls. 4 a-b, 5).

### Composition

In comparison with other late black-figure painters, the Theseus Painter was quite adept at arranging figures in a scene. Their placement and interaction are often rather well chosen and measured. In many instances the figures and other elements overlap, but are rendered in a manner which avoids crowding or visual confusion. They are often placed in a setting of either natural or, less often, architectural features which create an environment for them. The even spacing of the black glaze on the orange (or white) ground is another means by which the Theseus Painter achieved a scene's unity. Haspels rightly remarked that this quality is lacking, for example, in the work of his close colleague, the Athena Painter: "The Theseus Painter gives atmosphere to his scenes [...]. The Athena Painter does not achieve such unities, as his figures stand isolated beside one another, in the tradition of Euthymides, carried on by the Berlin Painter."<sup>61</sup> The arrangement and proportions of figures are also determined, of course, by the shape and

<sup>59</sup> See above, n. 17, Beazley, *Review Baltimore*, 89.

<sup>60</sup> See esp. ABL 142-43, 150; Eisman, *Kyathos*, 441-42, and the descriptions of the Theseus Painter's style on kyathoi, 451-85; Malagardis, *Skyphoi*.

<sup>61</sup> ABL 150.

dimensions of a vase, as also observed by Haspels: "More than anyone I know, the Theseus Painter allows his proportions to be influenced by the low field of his skyphoi and the high field of his lekythoi."<sup>62</sup> The contrast is clearly exemplified by the Kanellopoulos skyphos (Cat. no. 78, pl. 33 a-b) which has a lower figure frieze and, consequently, very squat satyrs. Generally, the figure arrangements of his skyphoi and other broad or large shapes are more balanced than those of most other types of vases.

The Theseus Painter's arrangement of pictorial elements is somewhat more dynamic than, for example, that of the Athena Painter. Greater versatility marks the figures' stances and the compositional devices. Nevertheless, the painter generally shows a preference for quite static figures, walking, standing or sitting. Strong movement occurs rarely; see for example the jumping man of Taranto 4449 (Cat. no. 44, pl. 19 a).<sup>63</sup>

Some inconsistencies are seen in his manner of filling the pictorial space, which are not linked to the differences in the shapes. Sometimes he appears determined to fill a limited field as fully as possible. Good examples are the skyphoi on which Herakles is seen reclining with another figure; the main figures, trees, additional figures like goats and other items are crowded into the available space. Elsewhere, however, the Theseus Painter limited the subject to a single figure for the entire surface.<sup>64</sup>

### Painting: secondary decoration

As a rule, each particular vase type painted by the Theseus Painter shows its own decorative system. Standardisation is generally lacking in the secondary ornaments. Over his career there is some variation in the amount of attention paid to them and to the manner of painting motifs like palmettes or pictorial elements. Even within a shape group the decorative system can frequently differ completely; see below, for example, the classes of oinochoai or the variations in the shoulder decoration of lekythoi. Only in the case of the skyphoi is the Theseus Painter's secondary decoration nearly always the same. These matters will be further dealt with below in connection with the individual vase shapes.

### Painting: human figures

The painting of the Theseus Painter's human figures can often be described as somewhat crude. Their stances are in many instances quite stiff, though much more relaxed and natural than those of other painters of Heron Class skyphoi. The naked male body is to a high degree standardised; see for example the interchangeable walking naked youths of the Theseus Painter's ephedrimos vases (Cat. nos. 54-63, pls. 25-27, fig. 12) or the comparable naked men and youths in his komoi (Cat. nos. 45-49, pls. 20-22, 23 a).

The parts of naked male bodies generally consist of rather shapeless blobs of paint largely defined by incising, with heads, arms and legs often executed quite carelessly. On the whole, however, the painter manages to give an impression of anatomical adequacy. Although the contours of muscles and other anatomical details rendered in paint look rather cursory, they are generally not formally incorrect. Sometimes, however, parts are somewhat exaggerated, like the curves of shoulders, arms, lower arms, buttocks, thighs and calves.

In other details the Theseus Painter often displays a certain roughness in his brushwork; for example the square, block-like chin of the central youth in Amsterdam 2178 (Cat. no. 58, pl. 27 a, fig. 12); the frequent complete absence of noses; or the occasionally extremely long, clown-like feet. The necks of his male figures are often placed too far back or, on the other hand, too far forward on the bulging shoulders

<sup>62</sup> ABL 145.

<sup>63</sup> Other rare examples of 'uncharacteristic' or 'violent' movement are scenes in Havana, Lagunillas coll.; London 1926.11-15.1; Taranto 4447; Laon 37996; Toledo 63.27; New York 06.1021.49; Acropolis 1280; Armonk, Pinney coll., Athens Goulandris 265; Athens, NM 515 (Cat. nos. 11, 13, 17, 29-30, 76, 125-126, 136, pls. 5 b, 6 a-b, 8 a-c, 13 a-e, 32 b-c, 38, 43 a-b).

<sup>64</sup> Athens, NM 132626, Malibu 96.AE.96, Agora P 1383, Cat. nos. 163, 171, 177, pls. 52 a, 55 a-b, 56 d-e, g.

of figures with frontal bodies and profile heads.<sup>65</sup> Similarly incongruous are the unnatural positions of the shoulder and raised arm of the central komast in Agora P 1547 and of Hephaistos in Goulondris 265 (Cat. nos. 48 and 126, pls. 21 c and 38 e, figs. 19-20) or the deeply arched back of the amphora carrier in Agora P 1548 (Cat. no. 46, pl. 21 a). Equally incorrect is the very low left arm of the amphora carrier in Taranto 4591 (Cat. no. 50, pl. 21 d); see also the contorted jumping man with raised knees in Taranto 4449 (Cat. no. 44, pl. 19 a). Often something is wrong with the anatomy of mantle-figures; see for example the strangely protruding elbow and back/shoulder view of the male bystanders leaning on staffs who watch Herakles performing in Syracuse 53263 (Cat. no. 22, pl. 10 a-b) and their counterparts in Athens, NM 13916 and San Antonio 86.134.54 (Cat. nos. 53 and 128, pls. 24 a-b, 39 d, f). Also the features of heads are frequently somewhat misshapen; for instance, they often include relatively huge blobs for the forelocks and the hair at the nape of the neck and of protruding mouths accompanied, in the case of men, by rather thin, pointy beards.

Typical figures of the Theseus Painter are his naked amphora carriers. Most of them are provided with a pointy, Panathenaic-shaped amphora which they bear on their shoulders. In most cases they have a lowered head and a sharp S-curved contour from the shoulder to the buttock. They occur in his early work, going into the middle period, as well as on later vases.<sup>66</sup> Some amphora carriers are paired, bearing a pole to which the amphora is attached between them.<sup>67</sup>

On the other hand, the Theseus Painter sometimes depicted very accurately the more complicated stances of figures; see for example Herakles climbing the shore in Taranto 4447 (Cat. no. 13, pl. 6 a-b); the twists of the bodies of Herakles and Alkyoneus wrestling in Taranto 4448, the kneeling satyr of Naples 81154 (Cat. nos. 13 and 24, pls. 6 c-d and 11 a-d, figs. 2, 22); Theseus fighting Skiron in Toledo 63.27, Laon 37996 and Acropolis 1280 (Cat. nos. 29-30 and 76, pls. 13 a-e and 32 b); and the entangled bodies of the pancratiasts in New York 06.1021.49 (Cat. no. 42, pl. 18 a-b, fig. 18). Also remarkable are the few heads portrayed in frontal view, which belong to satyrs (London 1902.12-18.3, Lecce 560, Basle, Cahn Collection HC 1405, London B 513, Cat. nos. 18, 38-39, 166; pls. 8 e, 16 b-d, 53 a, c; fig. 23 a-b)<sup>68</sup> and, in one instance, Alkyoneus (unpublished, once Athens market, Cat. no. 109).<sup>69</sup> The Theseus Painter's satyrs are seldom ithyphallic (see for example fig. 23 b).

Noticeable difference may also mark movement. For example, the male figures of Taranto 4449 (Cat. no. 44, pl. 19) dance wildly, some of them even jumping into the air. In contrast, the Theseus Painter's pyrrhic dancers look more as if they are walking quite statically rather than dancing;<sup>70</sup> they can be recognised as dancers only by their attributes, setting and accompanying auloi-player. Maybe the reserved movement of the pyrrhic dancers was intended to express the more dignified nature of their weapon-dance as compared to the exuberant komos-like setting of Taranto 4449.

In contrast, the Theseus Painter's range of variation in female figures is much more limited. The hair is generally depicted long and loose, falling in curly strands or in waves on to the shoulders (figs. 24-27). It is seldom arranged in a *krotilos*, which apparently never occurs on skyphoi; for example the *lekythoi* Athens, Goulondris 265 and London 1904.7-8.5 (Cat. nos. 126 and 138, pls. 38 c and 43 e). A female figure is usually dressed in a standard chiton, rarely in a peplos (for example the Winchester skyphos, Cat. no. 4, pl. 1 c-d). Even clearly recognisable and defined figures like Athena do not deviate much from this standard, despite their greater importance and the addition of attributes. The gestures of females are also much fewer than those of males: female mourners (compare Cat. no. 181, pl. 57 g), for example, are not significantly different from the women bystanders in fearful attitudes who watch Theseus and his adversaries (Cat. nos. 29-30, pl. 13 a, c-e).

The relative sizes and proportions of the Theseus Painter's human figures are usually rather constant.

<sup>65</sup> See, for example, Agora P 1545; Herakles, once Philadelphia market (Cat. nos. 25 and 127, pls. 12 c and 39 c).

<sup>66</sup> See Agora P 1544, P 1548, Taranto 4591, Athens, NM 498, Naples 81082, Malibu 86.AE.147 Cat. nos. 45-46, 50, 80, 155, 143, 193-97, pls. 20 a-21 d, 34 c, 49 c, 59 a, 61a-b, 62 c, fig. 5, and esp. Agora P 1544 and 1548.

<sup>67</sup> Tampa 86.52 and Stuttgart KAS 74, Cat. nos. 40-41, pl. 17 a-c. Compare also Aegina 107.UF.15, Cat. no. N61.

<sup>68</sup> See Y. Korshak, *Frontal Faces in Attic Vase-painting of the Archaic Period* (Chicago 1987) 5-11. Side A and B of Lecce 560, nos. 65-66 (Cat. no. 38, pl. 16 b-d); London 1902.12-18.3, no. 68 (Cat. no. 18, pl. 8 d-e); London 513, no. 69 (Cat. no. 166, pl. 53 c). Also reported as having frontal faces (based on descriptions by Haspels, *ABL* 143) are figures on an unpublished skyphos in Basle, Kampli coll. (Cat. no. 117).

<sup>69</sup> See once Basle market, Lecce 560 and the tondo of London B 446 (Cat. nos. 37-38, 173, pls. 15 c-d, 16c-d, 55 f).

<sup>70</sup> Bonn 307, San Antonio, once Brussels, Theodor coll., Cat. nos. 143, 152, 168, pls. 46 a-b, 48 a-b, 54 a.



Small youths are exceptional.<sup>71</sup> Only once is the scale completely wrong: in Delos B 6142 (Cat. no. 73, pl. 31 a-b) the horseman is much smaller than Athena, but the discrepancy results from the limited space below the handle where the horseman is placed.

### Painting: animals and fantastic creatures

The Theseus Painter seems to have enjoyed painting non-human creatures, both real and imagined.<sup>72</sup> In his animals he often displays the full extent of his craftsmanship, combined with care and inventiveness besides; see for example the goats of the Winchester College skyphos (Cat. no. 4, pl. 1 c-d); donkeys of Mississippi 1977.3.69 (Cat. no. 7, pl. 3 c-e); cattle of Taranto 4448 (Cat. no. 14, pl. 6 d); ostriches of Guardia Perticara 215223 (Cat. no. 36, pl. 16 a). His evident fondness for animals is reflected by their great variety; in addition to the foregoing: rams;<sup>73</sup> deer;<sup>74</sup> lions;<sup>75</sup> owls;<sup>76</sup> cocks;<sup>77</sup> birds, pigeon-like<sup>78</sup> or a species of a bird of prey,<sup>79</sup> which look basically the same but can be distinguished by their contexts; snakes (white);<sup>80</sup> fish;<sup>81</sup> and even a turtle (white)<sup>82</sup> and dolphins.<sup>83</sup>

Fantastic creatures were apparently one of the Theseus Painter's specialties: the female monster of Acropolis 1306 and Monpoli, private collection (Cat. nos. 15-16, pl. 7); the strange boar-like creature on side B of the latter (and possibly Acropolis 1306, for part of such a creature seems to be preserved on a separate fragment belonging to that vase); the round, two-legged, chequered griffin of Boston 55.923 and Guardia Perticara (Cat. nos. 6 and 10, pls. 3 a and 5 a). Vases depicting these creatures seem to appear at least in pairs, sometimes whole series, while hardly recurring in the work of other painters. The Theseus Painter also depicted the more usual kinds of fantastic creatures like the hippocamp of New York 17.230.9 (Cat. no. 3, pl. 2 b) and the winged horses of Helios in Taranto 4447 (Cat. no. 13, pl. 6 a-b). However, they too are carefully rendered, in a more decorative and precise way than are the run of his human figures.

### Painting: nature and architecture

Although the Theseus Painter often illustrated natural elements, he, like vase painters in general, had few subjects at his disposal to evoke the outdoors. Haspels earlier noted the tree that often stands prominently in the centre of a picture, especially on skyphoi.<sup>84</sup>

These trees vary (fig. 34). Most of them are short and wide, with curving trunks, like pollard willows. Others are high and thin. Very characteristic are the trees with two intertwined trunks which often grow from a single base and cross or meet each other higher up, for example those below the handles of ephedrismos skyphoi (Cat. nos. 54-63, see pl. 25 b). On the lekythos which was once in the Philadelphia market (Cat. no. 127, pl. 39 a) a fernlike tree stands behind Pholos. In many cases there is an incised vertical line down the middle of the trunk.

Generally, the tree consists of a few curving branches with leaves in the form of dots or, occasionally,

<sup>71</sup> Taranto 4591, Utrecht 29, Berlin 3230, Cat. nos. 50, 162, 164, pls. 21 c-d, 51 b, 52 b.

<sup>72</sup> ABL 143.

<sup>73</sup> White and Levi coll.; Conservatori; Oxford 1934.327 (Cat. nos. 32, 70, 141, pls. 15 a, 29 d, 45 a-c).

<sup>74</sup> As Lecce 560 (Cat. no. 38, pl. 16 a-b).

<sup>75</sup> As in Havana, Lagunillas (Cat. no. 11, pl. 5 b).

<sup>76</sup> As Delos 6140 (Cat. no. 72, pl. 30 d).

<sup>77</sup> As Delos 6140 (Cat. no. 72, pl. 30 c).

<sup>78</sup> Syracuse 53263 (Cat. no. 22, pl. 10 a-b).

<sup>79</sup> As Naples 81159 and once Basle market (Cat. nos. 33-34, pl. 14).

<sup>80</sup> As Toledo 63.37 and Naples 81159 (Cat. nos. 30, 33, pls. 13 e, 14 b).

<sup>81</sup> Taranto 4447 (Cat. no. 13, pl. 6 a-b).

<sup>82</sup> Acropolis 1280 (Cat. no. 76, pl. 32 b).

<sup>83</sup> Kerameikos 5671 (Cat. no. 129, pl. 40 a-b). See also Kurtz and Boardman, *Athena-Bowdoin Painter*, esp. 88; S. Vidali, *Archaische Delphindarstellungen* (Würzburg 1997) esp. 60-64.

<sup>84</sup> ABL 142-43.

more elaborate form (like the 'ivy leaves' of the Collisani lekythos (Cat. no. 134, pl. 42 a-c). White dots often represent fruit (see the Havana skyphos with Herakles and the lion, and Mt. Holyoke 1925.BS II.3, Cat. nos. 11 and 19, pls. 5 b, 9 a-b, see also fig. 34).

As stated, the tree frequently occupies the centre of the composition, attracting much attention. But often it is situated at the side of the scene or under the handle. The branches often fill large expanses across the surface, especially on skyphoi, a usage which seems to derive from the Krokotos Group. Sometimes the Theseus Painter depicted branches without including a trunk.

Rocky structures are generally depicted as large, shapeless forms, often elaborated with colour or incising.<sup>85</sup> On the lekythos once in the Philadelphia market (Cat. no. 127, pl. 39 a-c) a cloud-shaped band in diluted paint below the shoulder indicates the ceiling of Pholos's cave. Water is similarly portrayed, in reverse, at the bottom of the skyphos frieze with Helios (Taranto 4447, Cat. no. 13, pl. 6a-b). Fire is represented (like water) in dilute paint and applied in ray-shaped strokes (see Agora P 9273, Louvre F 342, Cat. nos. 95 and 165, pls. 36 j, 52 c).

Architecture is denoted in abbreviated form. Basically, one or more Doric columns support a superstructure: a solid architrave with an *ovolos* on top (Louvre CA 1837, Cat. no. 140, pl. 44 d); metopes or open spaces between crossbeams (Acropolis 1295, Cat. no. 94, pl. 37 a); and, again, a solid architrave (Uppsala 352, Cat. no. 161, pl. 51 a).

## Vases, headgear and musical instruments

The Theseus Painter appears to have been fond of depicting a wide variety of pottery shapes, often quite accurately delineated, even shapes which he never actually decorated himself: neck-amphorai, either Panathenaic-shaped or otherwise;<sup>86</sup> belly-amphorai;<sup>87</sup> calyx-kraters;<sup>88</sup> phialai and oinochoai;<sup>89</sup> lekythoi and alabastra;<sup>90</sup> kothon exaleipton.<sup>91</sup> Some portrayals conceivably represent metal ware, like a dinos on a tripod,<sup>92</sup> kantharoi,<sup>93</sup> and drinking-horns.<sup>94</sup> Curiously, the Theseus Painter is not known to have illustrated the skyphos, even though it was the shape he most often decorated.

Headgear, other than the obligatory kinds like (Athena's) helmets, Herakles' lion's-head or Hermes' petasos, are rare, being mostly confined to turban- or mitra-shaped headdresses.<sup>95</sup> We also find Scythian caps and other types,<sup>96</sup> poloi<sup>97</sup> and a very rare cap with a female bust on top.<sup>98</sup>

The Theseus Painter represented a few kinds of musical instruments: krotalai,<sup>99</sup> trumpet<sup>100</sup> and

<sup>85</sup> As Laon 37996 and Toledo 63.27, White and Levi coll., Naples 81159, once Basle market, San Antonio 86.134.54 and a lekythos in a German private coll. (Cat. nos. 29-30, 32-34, 128, 133, pls. 13 c and e, 14, 15 a, 39 e-f, 41 e).

<sup>86</sup> In several of his komoi, with amphora-bearers (Cat. nos. 45-46, 50, 155, 194-96, pls. 20 a, 21 a and d, 49, 160 c), as well as Tampa 86.52, Stuttgart KAS 74 and Malibu 86.AE.147 (Cat. nos. 40-41, 193, pls. 17 a and c, 59 a).

<sup>87</sup> Athens, NM 13916 (Cat. no. 53, pl. 24 a-b).

<sup>88</sup> Both sides of Munich 1678 (Cat. no. 154, pl. 49 a-b).

<sup>89</sup> London 1902.12-18.3, Dresden ZV 1680, Mt. Holyoke 1925 BS II.3, Delos B 6140 (Cat. nos. 18-20, 72, pls. 8 d-e, 9 a-c, 30 d).

<sup>90</sup> The alabastra once in the market (Cat. nos. 202-203, pl. 164 a and c).

<sup>91</sup> Utrecht 29 (Cat. no. 194, pl. 51 b). Compare also an alabastron fragment in Tübingen, S./10 1729, CVA 5, pl. 34.3, which might be by or near the Theseus Painter. The fragment has been attributed to the Theseus Painter, based on a comparison to the women on the two alabastra in the market by the Theseus Painter. The style, however, is cruder and more angular.

<sup>92</sup> Collisani coll. R 32 (Cat. no. 134, pl. 42 a).

<sup>93</sup> Port Sunlight 5019 (Cat. no. 153, 48 b).

<sup>94</sup> See, for example, Naples 81154, Agora P 1545, once Kropatscheck coll., Bari, Cotecchia coll., Agora P 1543 (Cat. nos. 24-28, pls. 11-12).

<sup>95</sup> Syracuse 26857 and Berlin 2005 (Cat. no. 1 and 145, pls. 1 a-b and 46 c). See also Kurtz and Boardman, *Booners*, 50-56.

<sup>96</sup> Scythian caps on Boston 99.523, Guardia Perticara and once Lucerne market (Cat. nos. 6, 10 and 130, pls. 3 a, 5 a, 40 c). Small cap with dots on Acropolis 1271 (Cat. no. 5, pl. 2 c).

<sup>97</sup> Acropolis 1306 (Cat. no. 15, pl. 7 a).

<sup>98</sup> Once Adolphseck (Cat. no. 169, pl. 54, c); the caps will be dealt with in the chapters on iconography.

<sup>99</sup> See, for example, St. Petersburg 4498, London B 346, Madrid 10930 (Cat. nos. 71, 159-60).

<sup>100</sup> Syracuse 26857 (Cat. no. 1, pl. 1 a-b).

numerous auloi.<sup>101</sup> Although a stringed instrument often occurs, it is always the same type: a lyre;<sup>102</sup> strikingly, this applies even to Herakles and Apollo who are generally more closely associated with the kithara.<sup>103</sup>

## Colour

The Theseus Painter used quite much added red and white, especially in his earlier work. In addition, he made relatively frequent use of added yellow, which was otherwise rarely employed by Attic painters. His late vases are the least colourful, with added red and white appearing less often and added yellow not at all.

Red generally marks fillets, beards, parts of clothing, blood,<sup>104</sup> meat,<sup>105</sup> satyrs' tails and animals' necks. White generally colours female skin, but also the white herons below the handles of skyphoi and the white fruit of trees, applied directly on the clay surface. It is also used for (zigzag) patterns on furniture and architectural elements; clothing; floral wreaths; bellies and horns of animals; silhouette animals, often painted against rocks;<sup>106</sup> hair of old men (and sometimes younger ones, see Alkyoneus in Taranto 4448, Cat. no. 14, pl. 6 c). We can also note the uncommon chequered motif of white and black blocks on the round bellied griffins of Boston 99.523 and Guardia Peticara (Cat. nos. 6, 10, pls. 3 a, 5 a). In one instance, chitons are painted entirely white on a white-ground vase: the lekythos Cambridge G 3.1955 (Cat. no. 131, pl. 40 d-e), where the cream-coloured chitons stand out against the rather bright white ground.

The Theseus Painter rarely depicted shield-devices in white. The few examples are: panthers or lions, ox protome and eagle of London 1926.11-15.1 (Cat. no. 17, pl. 8 a, c); wreaths and tripod of San Antonio 86.134.157 (Cat. no. 152, pl. 48 a-b).<sup>107</sup>

Added yellow, the trait which directly links the Theseus Painter to the Krokotos Group,<sup>108</sup> occurs much less often than either added red or white and was employed much more selectively; It is mainly seen on the painter's skyphoi. He frequently used it to colour hair, especially for females, but on vases of the Theseus Painter and of other painters of the Sub-krokotos Group added yellow also marks the hair and garments of males.<sup>109</sup>

In addition, added yellow colours the sun-disk above Helios' head in Taranto 4447 (Cat. no. 13, pl. 6 a-b); the herons in the middle of either side of the Winchester College skyphos (Cat. no. 4, pl. 1 c-d);<sup>110</sup> the snake placed on a rock in Toledo 63.27 (Cat. no. 30, pl. 13 e); the grapes and the edge of the pressed of Acropolis 1290 (Cat. no. 77, pl. 32 d-f); the flowers or wreaths of the human figures and donkey of Acropolis 1282 (Cat. no. 66, pl. 23 d); and the spindles of Herakles' chair and the oinochoe carried by Athena in London 1902.12-18.3 (Cat. no. 18, pl. 8 d-e). Lastly, a yellow stripe sometimes accentuates the lower edge of a garment, indicating either its border or the hem of the yellow chiton worn under it.<sup>111</sup>

<sup>101</sup> See, for example, Acropolis 1281, Mt. Holyoke 1925 BS II.3, Kerameikos 5671 (Cat. nos. 2, 19, 129, pls. 2 a, 9 a-b, 40 a-b).

<sup>102</sup> Maas and McIntosh-Snyder, *Stringed Instruments*, (chelys-) lyra, 36-39, 79-99.

<sup>103</sup> Apollo, for example, St. Petersburg 4498, London B 346 (Cat. nos. 71, 192, pls. 30 b, 159, pl. 50 a); Herakles, Syracuse 53263 (Cat. no. 20, pl. 10 a-b).

<sup>104</sup> On vases with wounded adversaries of Theseus (Cat. nos. 30 (Prokrustes' hip), 76 (Skiron's chest), pls. 13 d, 32 b).

<sup>105</sup> Malibu 96.AE.96 (Cat. no. 171, pl. 55 b).

<sup>106</sup> A turtle on the rock on Acropolis 1280 (Cat. no. 76, pl. 32 b); snake on Toledo 63.27 and Naples 81159 (Cat. nos. 30, 33, pls. 13 e, 14 b); deer and snake on Naples 81159 (Cat. no. 33, pl. 14 a). See also the silhouette fishes in the water on Taranto 4447 (Cat. no. 13, pl. 6 a-b).

<sup>107</sup> A white wreath possibly also adorns the shield of Bonn 307 (Cat. no. 143, pl. 46 a-b); on the other hand, it might be red.

<sup>108</sup> See esp. Ure, *Krokotos*, 90-91.

<sup>109</sup> Ure, *Krokotos*, 95. See, for example, Athens, NM 362, Ure, *Krokotos*, 93, no. 17, 95; CVA Athens 4, pl. 35. For examples of the yellow hair of male and female figures by the Theseus Painter see Winchester College skyphos, sea god of New York 17.230.9, female of Toledo 63.27 (Cat. nos. 3-4, 30, 44, pls. 1 c-d, 2 b, 13 e, 19 b).

<sup>110</sup> The herons below the handles of that vase are the usual white ones.

<sup>111</sup> This trait, as observed by Ure, is typical of the Sub-krokotos Group. Ure also maintains that the extensive use of yellow was inherited from Exekias. For yellow borders see Ure *Krokotos*, 93, 95; for yellow inherited from Exekias, *ibid.*, 102;



## Drawing

Technically and stylistically, the Theseus Painter is primarily notable for his powerful and flowing incising. For the depiction of human and animal figures as well as other elements he depended much more on his capabilities as a draughtsman than as a painter. Most generally, the incising, not the painting, defines his style. In contrast to the often clumsy painting, the incisions are usually very accurately and carefully executed, although the amount of detail is regularly quite limited. He strove, it seems, to link as many individual anatomical features as possible by using the smallest number of curving and curling lines; for instance, sometimes only a single line indicates the collarbone, shoulder contour and biceps. Moreover, the differences that sometimes occur in the incising of a single vase can be remarkable; for instance, on a lekythos in a German private collection compare the stiff incising of the satyr on the left side with the more flowingly lines of his companions (Cat. no. 133, pl. 41 d-e).

## Drawing: human figures

The Theseus Painter was no master at rendering details like, among other things, facial features; in this regard he contrasts with his close colleague the Athena Painter whose drawing of anatomical details like cheekbones, abdominal muscles or legs is often much more detailed. On the other hand, the Theseus Painter was highly skilled at giving an impression of accuracy by employing relatively few long and flowing incisions while, in fact, actually defining a small number of details. Haspels concisely characterises his incising as "swinging"<sup>112</sup> and describes some aspects of his manner and style of incising:

In his figures the incisions are characteristic: he makes the most of long flowing lines. For instance, where possible he will combine collarbone, shoulder-outline and biceps incisions in one long easy swinging stroke; or he will give the outline of beard, ear, neck hair all in one; or he combines in bearded faces, the outline of the face with the lip: so only one little incision, forking from main one at the end is needed to indicate the mouth [...]. He uses this abbreviated mouth in bearded faces as well; here it varies from a little triangle, like a fishes mouth gasping, to a more rounded shape with an extra line in the middle, which makes the people all look like discontented mumblers [...]; When he incises the outline of the face, the mouth is indicated either by a single line or hardly at all [...]. The people with properly worked out mouths are apt to look like his goats. In naked figures he makes much of the inscriptions of the rectus abdominis, rendering them by a number of parallel horizontal incisions [...] His uncovered heads often have a prominent tuft on the forehead, sometimes painted red, with incisions for the hair in front [...]. His occasional frontal heads [...] have this crest doubled, erect and smart.<sup>113</sup>

Other distinctive incised traits of male figures are the (often very) schematic eyes, composed of an oval and a stroke below or at each side (figs. 6-7, 10, 12, 16 a-c). Sometimes only the contour of the eye is indicated (figs. 3-5, 9, 11, 15) as either a circle or an oval. However, the Theseus Painter also drew more carefully executed black-figure eyes of standard type: curving lines with a circle inside or two concentric rings with strokes or hooks at one or each side of the eye (figs. 1, 8, 13).

The most common, characteristic ear is rendered in two parts: one line for the upper contour (often continuing into the hair at the neck or the forehead) and one for the earlobe ending in an upward curl inside the ear (figs. 12, 13, 16 a-b, 18, 22). Often the two lines are attached, creating an almost figure-eight ear. Rarely the Theseus Painter also drew double circular or semicircular ears (see fig. 11).

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Malagardis, *Skyphoi*.

<sup>112</sup> ABL 156.

<sup>113</sup> ABL 142-43. See also Eisman, *Kyathos*, 441.

Sometimes the ear is simply outlined on top as a rounded protrusion in the hair contour (figs. 10, 14-15, 21). This simplified rendering is mostly met in the later work. On the earlier vases, whose drawing is as a rule better, the nostril, cheek and moustache are often indicated by small curving strokes: a tear shape for the nostril, a curving stroke for the round cheek, and sometimes a straight stroke at the side of the mouth (see figs. 2, 6-7, pls. 13 f, 23 e). Generally, a single stroke defines the moustache. Mouths, too, are usually rendered simply by one line, though sometimes they have the form of a semicircle or half oval with a stroke in the middle, which creates a large mouth with thick lips, sometimes accentuated by added red or white.<sup>114</sup> In many youths the contours of the rather heavy jaws are delineated. The borders of beards are usually drawn as two separate lines: the upper one quite angular, with a point in the centre at the level of the cheek, and regularly connected to the ear or hair at the temple; the lower edge is either indicated by strokes for the hair of long beards or by a single line for shorter ones (compare figs. 10, 14).

In various combinations, the forelock, hair, beard and ear are often drawn rather ingeniously, connected to each other by a few incisions: two curving lines for the contours of the forelock, with strokes for the hair at the top, often joined to one of the composite parts of the ear, which in turn is often linked to the beard or the hair at the neck (figs. 2, 12, 16 a-c, 18, 20, 22). The typical forelock is not always included, however: on some – especially later – vases only the inner hair contour is drawn (figs. 9-10, 15). In contrast to the painter's common practice, the frontal faces of the satyrs in Lecce 560, Basle, Cahn collection HC 1405, and London B 513 are incised in somewhat greater detail than usual (Cat. nos. 38-39, 166; pls. 16 b-d, 53 a-c, figs. 23 a-b, full nose-contour, more detailed moustache, lines in the forehead). Wreaths and fillets can be very simply indicated as two parallel lines for the contour. But very elaborate variants also exist, with carefully drawn ivy leaves along both sides.<sup>115</sup>

The naked male body also shows several standard features. Very commonly the torso in frontal view has a line consisting of two waves for the chest muscles, often placed very low, whereas the nipples, if present, are high and very close together (figs. 12, 16 d, 17, 22). A vertical line sometimes divides the chest (figs. 4, 9). Collarbones are indicated as one or two short lines (depending on whether the figure is viewed from the front or the side) with a curl at the end. The inner markings of the biceps are generally drawn as a single curving, flowing line, often connected to the shoulder contour and frequently even to the collarbones (figs. 1 b, 12).

The fingers of open hands are indicated by parallel straight lines. Clenched fists are drawn quite rectangularly, often with the knuckles of the index and middle fingers defined by small knobs and the outer contour of the thumb extending from the wrist in a curving, elegant line: these hands look very much as if they are mittened (figs. 11-12, 16 a, b, d, 18, 22). Over time, the fists become more angular. In some rare instances, the whole contour of a spread hand and fingers is incised, for example some auloi-players (figs. 1, 21).

The bellies of naked males nearly always have several slightly curved or, sometimes, straight horizontal lines. For the genitals, in many cases, there are two curly or circular lines in combination with straight strokes (figs. 4, 16 d and e, 17 19); sometimes the genitals are drawn slightly more carefully (figs. 1, 22). Occasionally the Theseus Painter's anatomical incisions are elaborate; see for example the uncharacteristic, extensive incising of the abdominal muscles of the bent body of Alkyoneus in Taranto 4448 (Cat. no. 14; pl. 6 d; fig. 22) and, to a lesser degree, those of the right-hand amphora carrier in Stuttgart KAS 74 (Cat. no. 41, pl. 17 c).

Also somewhat special is the incising of the pancratiasts of New York 06.1021.49 (Cat. no. 42; pl. 18 a-b; fig. 18), who are exceptionally full of lines. Further, notable incising marks the frontal seated youth of the 'forge' skyphos in Salerno (Cat. no. 79, pl. 34 a-d). The special postures of these figures seem to have made the Theseus Painter alter his routine and pay more attention to the incising, which causes the figures to appear somewhat atypical. Also the almost 'rubbery' arm with which the amphora carrier of Taranto 4591 (Cat. no. 50, pl. 21 d) shoulders his burden evidently posed difficulties for the Theseus Painter.

The drawing of male legs is generally highly standardised: one or two curving lines on the thigh, connected to a curl at the end for the knee or in combination with one or more curving strokes for the

<sup>114</sup> See, for example, the monster of Acropolis 1306 or the satyr of St. Petersburg 4498 (Cat. nos. 15 and 71, pls. 7 a and 30 a).

<sup>115</sup> As the fragment Basle, Cahn coll. HC 1469 (Cat. no. 51, pl. 23 b).



knee. On later vases, the thigh line is often omitted and the kneecap indicated by one or sometimes two semicircles or half-ovals (figs. 4, 10, 14). As a rule, there is a curving line for the calf and, for the ankle, a line on the lower leg with a hook at the bottom. The contours of heads, bodies and limbs are rarely fully outlined.

In several cases the robes or short mantles of males are indicated by a few curving lines, often following the body contour, with wavy or zigzag lines for the folds hanging from the arms or shoulders (figs. 6, 9-10, 14-15, 16 a, 20, 21). The Hermes on side B of Bologna C 44 (Cat. no. 9, pl. 4 e) wears a chitoniskos with unusual, straight vertical lines in the upper part.

Exceptional is the satyr on side B of London 1902.12-18.3 (Cat. no. 18, pl. 8 e) because of his frontally depicted head, carefully incised abdomen and, even more remarkable for the Theseus Painter, the incised dots indicating body hair. The latter recalls the identical treatment of earlier satyrs, for example, by Lydos and the Amasis Painter.<sup>116</sup>

The incisions of female figures are more limited. Inner hair contours are sparsely indicated and there is sometimes a rudimentary indication of an ear. As a rule, a female has the standard almond-shaped eye and a simple line for the mouth, both thinly incised in the added white. The most notable incisions of females are generally the folds of mantles and other garments, most usually chitons (figs. 24-27). They are often more elaborately treated than those of males, with many curving, wavy and parallel lines for the folds and sharp or curving zigzag lines for hems and sleeves (see the female auloi-player of Agora P 1544 and the Athena of Berlin 2005 (Cat. nos. 45 and 145, pls. 20 a and 46 c, figs. 25-26). A few peploi have simply decorated borders, for instance, the circles between lines on the peploi of the maenads of Winchester College (Cat. no. 4, pl. 1 c-d).

## Drawing: animals

It is noteworthy that the Theseus Painter showed much more concern for detail and carefulness in his incising of quadrupeds as compared to that of humans. Nevertheless, his typically flowing, almost decorative incising style can also be discerned in the numerous animals (figs. 28-33).<sup>117</sup> His basic manner of drawing most kinds of animals is alike. Nearly all of them have an elaborately incised face, with detailed, standard black-figure eyes.<sup>118</sup> Characteristic are his goats, with long parallel strokes for beards (figs. 24, 32), as earlier noted by Haspels<sup>119</sup> who even sees the painter as having a 'mania' for them: they appear indeed to be his favourite animal.

The ears of most animals are generally defined by circular or spade-shaped incising, with a circle inside; the (large) shoulder blade is, as a rule, an elegantly curving and wavy line. The inner markings of legs are generally linked by curving and hooked lines, which are not always indicative of the animal's true

<sup>116</sup> For similarly hairy satyrs see examples by the Amasis Painter: Würzburg L 265 (ABV 151.22; Para 63; Beazley Addenda<sup>2</sup> 43); Kavalla 983 (Para 65; Beazley Addenda<sup>2</sup> 43); Basle Ka 420 983 (Para 65; Beazley Addenda<sup>2</sup> 43); New York 1985.57 (Bothmer, *Amasis*, 110-12, no. 18); Samos (Bothmer, *Amasis*, 117, fig. 71). Similar satyrs by Lydos: London 1848.6-19.5 (ABV 109.29; Para 44; Beazley Addenda<sup>2</sup> 30); New York 31.11.11 (ABV 108.5; Para 43; Beazley Addenda<sup>2</sup> 29).

<sup>117</sup> See, for example, Taranto 4448 (Cat. no. 14, fig. 31, pl. 6 d, bulls); Mississippi 1977.3.69 (Cat. no. 7, pl. 3 c-e, donkeys); Boston 99.523 (Cat. no. 6, fig. 28a, pl. 3 a-b, lions, bulls); White and Levi Coll. (Cat. no. 32, pl. 15 a, ram); Lecce 560 (Cat. no. 38, fig. 33, pl. 16 c-d, deer); Stuttgart KAS 74 (Cat. no. 41, pl. 17 b, boar). See also the description of Andreae, *Herakles*, 190-91, concerning the bulls on side B of Taranto 4448: "besonders die Rinder der Rückseite zeugen von einer über das dekorative hinausgehende begabung. Nicht nur die massige, stämmige Form der Widerkauer, die mächtigen Rinderschädel, die langen schön geschwungenen Hörner und die kräftigen kurzen Beine sind sicher getroffen; besonders wirkungsvoll werden die auch in ihrer Bewegungen des glotzenden voranschreiten, dem hochwerfen des Kopfes und dem sich-aneinanderdrängen prachtvoll erfaßten Tiere durch die farbige Behandlung [...]. Die Binnenzeichnung ist sparsam und sicher: zwei falten auf der Stirn, doppelt abgesetzte Backenknochen, am oberen Rand länger behaarte Ohren, die linie des Schulterblatts und, bei dem dritten Rind von rechts von den mehr zu sehen ist, die Rippe auf dem Leib. Die kurzen striche unter dem Blatt der Rinder geben das Buggelenk an, über den sich die Haut bei dem Rind mit hochgeworfenem Kopf anders zusammenzieht als bei denen mit gesenkten Köpfen. Die Beinmuskulatur wird nur durch ein Häkchen angegeben das wol Speiche und Ellen andeuten soll."

<sup>118</sup> Compare, for example, the bulls on Taranto 4448 (previous n.) with Hermes on that same vase. See also the 'griffin' of Boston 99.523 (fig. 28b, Cat. no. 6, pl. 3 a).

<sup>119</sup> ABL 143.

anatomy, although, once again, the Theseus Painter succeeds in creating a general impression of naturalness.

## Inscriptions and graffiti

None of the few inscriptions on the Theseus Painter's vases is legible, which is not surprising as most of the vase painters surrounding him, like the Athena Painter and the Krokotos Group, are not known to have been literate either. Similarly, very few inscriptions were written by other late black-figure painters who specialised in small shapes. Work by the Gela Painter shows no inscriptions at all, and only a handful of vases by the Edinburgh Painter, Sappho Painter and Diosphos Painter are furnished with inscriptions, mainly kalos names and the names of personages like Herakles, Apollo, Hera, etc.<sup>120</sup>

The Theseus Painter's nonsense inscriptions occur mainly on skyphoi; others are met on three pelikai, an oinochoe and a cup, (see note 50). The 'letter shapes' are very limited and blob-like, but one or more circles (O) are always included and vaguely recognisable forms resembling S, N, T and L may sometimes be discerned.<sup>121</sup>

According to M. Reho-Bumbalova, however,<sup>122</sup> side A of the skyphos in a Monopoli private collection (Cat. no. 16, pl. 7 c) bears a meaningful diagonal word between Herakles and the female monster. She reads οἶ<χ>δκα or something similar which could, in her opinion, be interpreted as the perfect of ὀίχομαι.<sup>123</sup> The proposal that a vase by the Theseus Painter has a legible inscription is very attractive, although I find it for several reasons not very plausible. First of all, this would be the only such inscription known in the work of the Theseus Painter. Secondly, the letters of the Monopoli skyphos are not significantly different from those which the Theseus Painter scribbled elsewhere, and their carelessly defined shapes make different readings of the letters unavoidable. Thirdly, the connection between the picture's subject and the supposed written comment is elusive. Moreover, meaningful inscriptions in late black figure are very rare, being mostly confined, as noted, to names and the like. Such a nearly abstract comment seems too sophisticated for late black-figure, especially if it is the painter's only known legible inscription.

Otherwise, the inscriptions of the Theseus Painter's vases consist of graffiti incised after firing. Two of them are votive texts. The one on side A of Delos B 6138 (Cat. no. 74, pl. 31 A, fig. 81 a), found in the Heraion at Delos, reads ΑΠΙΣΤΟΤΕΘΗ ΑΝΕΘΕΚΕΝ ΗΕΠΕΙ ΒΑΙΚΥΛΕΟ.<sup>124</sup> The partial graffito of Acropolis 1295 (Cat. no. 94, pl. 37 a, fig. 81 b) appears on the rim and has been restored as ἱερα [τῆς Ἀθηναίας....] κλειά ἀνέθ[εκεν] by Langlotz.<sup>125</sup>

The other graffiti are written under the feet of four skyphoi and consist of marks. The mark of Syracuse 53263 (Cat. no. 22, fig. 81 c) finds no definite counterpart<sup>126</sup> and includes numerals which might indicate that the skyphos was sold at five for a drachma.<sup>127</sup> According to A.W. Johnston, the one under the foot of Naples 81082 (Cat. no. 155, fig. 81 d) is Leagran in the broadest sense.<sup>128</sup> The mark of Naples Stg. 118 (Cat. no. 132, fig. 81 e) also has no counterpart.<sup>129</sup> The two marks under the foot of Naples 81159 (Cat. no. 33, fig. 81 f) are not mentioned in Johnston.<sup>130</sup>

<sup>120</sup> Edinburgh Painter: Oxford 250, *ABL* 216,2. Sappho Painter: formerly Barteghem, *ABL* 228,50<sup>bis</sup>; Goluchow 32, *ABL* 228,56; *Para* 246; see also H.R. Immerwahr, *Attic Script: A Survey* (Oxford 1990) 74, 91, 156, 164. Diosphos Painter: Athens market, *ABL* 233,16; Athens 12271, *ABL* 235,66; Cab. des Médailles 220, *ABL* 238,120; Louvre F 385, *ABL* 238,130; Louvre CA 1961, *ABL* 239,135; Athens, *Para* 249.

<sup>121</sup> N.Y. 06.1021.49 is mentioned in H.R. Immerwahr, *Attic Script: A Survey* (Oxford 1990) 91, no. 75, "coarse letters and imitation letters at head height", pl. 24, fig. 103.

<sup>122</sup> Reho-Bumbalova, *Vaso inedito*, 56.

<sup>123</sup> Meaning 'leaving', 'going', 'fleeing', 'disappearing'.

<sup>124</sup> For a variation see also, Dugas, *Délos* X, 179, with no. 595.

<sup>125</sup> See Graef and Langlotz, *Akropolis*, 145-46.

<sup>126</sup> Johnston, *Trademarks*, 88, no. 7, type 1.B.i.

<sup>127</sup> Johnston, *Trademarks*, 194.

<sup>128</sup> Johnston, *Trademarks*, 156, no. 3; type 9.F, 226.

<sup>129</sup> Johnston, *Trademarks*, 94, no. 9, type 9.B.

<sup>130</sup> Although one of them resembles type 9.E in Johnston, *Trademarks*, which is a very common mark.

## II. SKYPHOI

### 1. Concave-rimmed skyphoi: problems of typology

Compared to cups, the overall variation and importance of skyphoi in Attic black- and red-figure is very limited.<sup>131</sup> Skyphoi by more major painters are comparatively rare; and late(r) black-figure skyphoi appear to stem from minor workshops and painters, who often specialised in them. Nevertheless, enough development and differences exist to warrant a typology of shape, as advanced by A.D. Ure and, recently, A.N. Malagardis.

Ure's classification of Attic skyphoi, which goes all the way back to 1927, is based only on specimens found in graves at Rhitsona, as investigated by P.N. Ure and herself. Although her quite extensive lists cover a large portion of the possibilities regarding shape and decoration, not all the variations are represented.<sup>132</sup> As the concave rimmed skyphos is here of main interest because it is the type which the Theseus Painter decorated, I shall concentrate on it.

Ure divided the deep-bowled skyphoi with a concave rim into several types: A2-J and AP-Q (fig. 35).<sup>133</sup> In shape they are all basically the same: relatively large, with a rather deep bowl and a wide rim; a concave, more or less offset lip; horizontal handles, attached at an angle close to the division between rim and body; a fillet between the body and foot; and a foot generally in the form of a heavy disc, though varying much in shape.

However, Ure's arguments for extensively dividing the concave-rimmed skyphoi into many types, appear, in my judgement, very vague and artificial. She identified them simply by observing that one type of skyphos is comparatively larger or smaller than another, or that one type has sphinxes and/or palmettes at the handles, while another has not.<sup>134</sup> In most cases, the distinctions seem irrelevant and unnecessarily subjective; at any rate, they are useless as markers for distinguishing groups, workshops or potters. Basically, the main and most objective features of Ure's typology are seen in differences in the secondary decoration.<sup>135</sup>

The main features of Ure's skyphos types, as described by her, are as follows. Type A1 differs from types A2-J and AP-Q by a single trait: the rim is convex and rounded, with a reserved groove below, instead of concave and off-set as in the other types. Many of the type A1 skyphoi were linked by Beazley to the FP Class of Cups and the Group of Courting Cups<sup>136</sup> mainly because of their handle motif of palmettes and pendent lotus and their style of figurework. Skyphoi of type A2 generally share the figure style and handle decoration of A1, while also being among the earliest Attic type skyphoi which have the basic shape elements of types A3-J and AP-Q, including the concavely shaped rim.<sup>137</sup> Their rims are black.

<sup>131</sup> For Attic skyphoi in general see Malagardis, *Skyphoi*, and *CVA Athens* 4. For shapes, names and literary references to skyphoi see also G.M.A. Richter and M.J. Milne, *Shapes and Names of Athenian Vases* (New York 1935) xxiii, 26-28; M.G. Kanowski, *Containers of Classical Greece, A Handbook of Shapes* (Queensland 1984) 136-138. For plain skyphoi of similar shapes see also *Agora* XII, 81 ff. Also M.L. Lazzarini, 'I nomi dei vasi Greci nelle iscrizioni dei vasi stessi', *ArchClass* 25/6 (1973/4) 355-57.

<sup>132</sup> See, for example, a shape like a Heron Class skyphos with eyes, as the one attributed to the Caylus Painter, Washington 1362; S.J. Schwarz, *Greek Vases in the National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution, Washington D.C.* (Rome 1996) no. 25, pls. 34-35; or a shallow skyphos with an ivy rim and eyes: Burows and Ure, *Rhitsóna*, 277, no. 31.184, pl. 11a.

<sup>133</sup> Ure, *Sixth and Fifth*, 57-73. Ure has no type I. Type P is basically similar, but has a somewhat larger figure frieze.

<sup>134</sup> Ure also classified other types of skyphoi, later adopted by Beazley. Types K, L and R are 'shallow cup-skyphoi', connected to the Haimon Group; types M and N skyphoi of Beazley's 'Pistias Class'; type O skyphoi of the so-called Hermogenian type. These seem not to be linked to Heron Class skyphoi, with a single possible exception: a shallow skyphos from Rhitsona, of the shape of types K, L, or R, has ivy on the rim; Burows and Ure, *Rhitsóna*, pl. 11a, Herakles reclining between eyes.

<sup>135</sup> Ure gives an overview of different types of skyphos feet (*Sixth and Fifth*, 58, fig. 5), but, insofar as can be judged, they seem not to play an important role in Ure's typology.

<sup>136</sup> *Para* 80-85.

<sup>137</sup> See also W. Güntner, 'Ein Attisch schwarzfiguriger Skyphos mit erotischen Werbszene', *AA* 1995, 487-495, esp. 489.



The decoration of Ure's type B skyphos (all but one of the Theseus Painter's skyphoi are of this type, see Kanellopoulos 842, Cat. no. 78, pl. 33 a-b) consists of two rows of ivy or dots on the rim, a figure frieze which almost completely covers the bowl, and tongues between various arrangements of horizontal lines and stripes on the lower bowl.

Ure's type A3 skyphoi are sort of intermediate between types A2 and B. They have the lotus-palmette motif at the handles which characterises types A1-2, but they also show ivy on the rim which is standard for type B as well as for many skyphoi of the CHC Group. The chronology of the type A3 skyphos seems not to differ significantly from that of type B. As the number of known A3 skyphoi is extremely small, it is difficult to say whether they can rightfully be considered an intermediate stage in the 'development' from type A2 to type B, or whether they must instead be seen as a variant based on type B, with elements of type A2.<sup>138</sup> However, the style of decoration, as seen on the few extant type A3 skyphoi, is closest to that of types A1-2. Therefore type A3 is probably a continuation of type A2, with the ivy rim as an additional trait.

Of types C-J, P and Q, the main shared characteristic is that, in contrast to type B, they all have a narrow figure frieze, which results from the broad black band at the bottom of the bowl. Although Ure isolated many subtypes of these narrow-frieze skyphoi, they can in principle be divided according to three distinct decorative systems: ivy on the rim and tongues above the foot; black rim and tongues; and black rim and no tongues (fig. 35, second row). The subdivisions of these types make Ure's typology needlessly complicated. This becomes all the more evident from the fact that definitely 90 per cent (or more) of the skyphoi of types C-J, P and Q were made in a single workshop, that is, the CHC Group, or are connected to it. Therefore the differences would doubtless be more indicative of the personal decorative choices within that group of painters than of different types, classes or workshops.<sup>139</sup>

To simplify Ure's overly intricate typology, A.N. Malagardis recently proposed that types C-J, P and Q should be compressed into one type: type C (possibly with a few subdivisions indicating that some skyphoi have an ivy rim, others a black one, or that some have tongues, others not).<sup>140</sup> The types would then tally somewhat more closely with real workshop differences: type A corresponds with the FP Class and the Group of Courting Cups, type B with the Krokotos Group and White Heron Group, type C with the CHC Group and near it.<sup>141</sup> Another complicating factor must be considered, however. In the classification system of B.A. Sparkes and L. Talcott for the black-glaze skyphoi from the Athenian Agora, the letters 'A' and 'B' are also used for a typology of skyphoi. However, there these letters refer to standard skyphoi used in red-figure.<sup>142</sup> Their type A skyphos is not lipped and has horizontal handles placed close to the rim; their type B is comparable to their type A except for the addition of one vertical handle, like on the numerous red-figure owl-skyphoi. Further, they refer to the Heron Class skyphos as a 'cup-skyphos',<sup>143</sup> but, in my view, it is hardly shallow enough to deserve that name. Moreover, as Ure's typology for Heron Class skyphoi is widely accepted, either in its old form or the simplified one of Malagardis, we can best adhere to it.<sup>144</sup>

The earliest skyphoi with the shape and decorative scheme of the kind made by the Theseus Painter (type B) appear to be by the Painter of the Nicosia Olpe.<sup>145</sup> He is one of the earliest painters of skyphoi

<sup>138</sup> Compared to the other types, only a few skyphoi of type A3 are known.

<sup>139</sup> One very unnecessary division in Ure's typology is, for example, between types C and D: C is larger than 20.0 cm in height, D smaller.

<sup>140</sup> Malagardis, *Skyphoi*. Pipili uses this simplified classification in *CVA Athens 4*. Malagardis also gives the chronology of these skyphoi: A1 and A2 (560-530 B.C.) eventually type 'A3'; B (530-500 B.C.); C (500-450 B.C.). To simplify matters, it may suffice to name the sub-groups of the last C1-3.

<sup>141</sup> Of course there are exceptions. The Painter of the Nicosia Olpe, for example, decorated type B skyphoi, but he does not appear to belong to the Krokotos/White Heron Groups. The Theseus Painter decorated at least one type C skyphos, Kanellopoulos (Cat. no. 78, pl. 33 a-b).

<sup>142</sup> *Agora XII*, 84-87, nos. 334-54, 360-63, pls. 16-17.

<sup>143</sup> *Agora XII*, 109, n. 3, "early Cup-skyphoi." For other literature on the typology of skyphoi and critique see Freyer-Schauenburg, *Skyphoi*, 20-22; *Agora XXIII*, 58-61; *CVA Athens 4*; and esp. Malagardis, *Skyphoi*.

<sup>144</sup> Recently used in *CVA Athens 4*, and even Beazley adapted a simplified form of Ure's classification (*ABV*, 617) in the manner of Malagardis.

<sup>145</sup> Beazley named this painter after the olpe Nicosia C 809, *ABV* 452,1; *Beazley Addenda*<sup>2</sup> 114. Type B skyphoi with ivy on the rim by this painter are: Havana, *ABV* 453,10 (Beazley Archive) and Athens, NM 363, *ABV* 200, 453,11, Athens *CVA* 4, pl.

with an off-set lip (type A2, black rim, and type B, ivy rim) as well as of skyphoi without lip (type A1). The Painter of the Nicosia Olpe is generally placed between 540 and 520 B.C. and must be considered earlier than the Krokotos Group.<sup>146</sup> Stylistically, he seems to have more in common with painters of skyphos types A1-3 than with painters of type B skyphoi like those of the Krokotos Group.

The dimensions of the skyphoi by the Painter of the Nicosia Olpe are close to those of Krokotos Group skyphoi. The latter can be described as relatively small – generally around 15.0-16.0 cm high – with a similar, simple torus foot.<sup>147</sup> Several skyphoi of the 'narrow band type' connected to the CHC Group, while bearing some resemblance to the figure style of Little Master cups, are possibly also relatively early.<sup>148</sup> However, they have not yet been precisely dated.

Concave-rimmed skyphoi were evidently produced also in Boeotia at a rather early time. The preserved examples are signed by the potter Teisias, who apparently worked in Boeotia, but who according to his signatures came originally from Athens. They date prior to 515 B.C., although it is uncertain how much earlier. With concave rim and deep bowl, their shape compares to that of skyphoi by the Theseus Painter, Krokotos Group and Painter of the Nicosia Olpe. The foot, however, is rather more like an echinus than a torus, as commonly met in Heron Class skyphoi. In shape, Teisias' skyphoi look like an intermediary between Hermogenian skyphoi and Heron Class skyphoi.<sup>149</sup> Their secondary decoration also differs from that of Heron Class skyphoi although the general scheme is quite similar: a laurel branch on the offset lip instead of ivy, and alternate red and outline rays instead of red and black tongues.<sup>150</sup> They are otherwise solid black.<sup>151</sup> The Boeotian connection comes not as a complete surprise because the large concave-rimmed skyphos seems to have later enjoyed a certain popularity in Boeotia, as suggested by the many Heron Class skyphoi (many type B skyphoi by painters of the Krokotos and Subkrokotos Groups, but also of type C, by and near the CHC Group) which came to light in graves at Rhitsona.

The exact origin of the shape of the Heron Class skyphos is difficult to establish, however. The shape as such could rather easily have developed from the type A1 skyphos, with as intermediary the likewise concave-lipped skyphos of type A2. If we keep in mind cups and earlier skyphoi with an off-set lip, like the Hermogenian kind of skyphos, it comes not as a surprising that a potter might decide to place, as it were, a similar lip on top of a type A1 skyphos. The question of origin of shape combined with decorative systems (ivy and tongues) remains to be answered. The innovation possibly emerged in the workshop where the Painter of the Nicosia Olpe was employed, to judge from the fact that he seems to have introduced the decorative system of the type B skyphos. On the other hand, it might equally have been borrowed from Boeotia, where it was conceivably invented by someone like Teisias.

## 2. Heron Class skyphoi by the Theseus Painter

The basic shape of the skyphoi decorated by the Theseus Painter is quite uniform and conforms fundamentally to other type B skyphoi. It differs from them only in details such as dimensions, foot shape, etc. (see figs. 40-53 and 73-76). Differences also mark the skyphoi which the Theseus Painter decorated. The most striking difference regards the dimensions. The height and width can diverge quite a

27.

<sup>146</sup> For the most recent literature on the Painter of the Nicosia Olpe see *CVA Athens* 4, 38-40, pl. 27.

<sup>147</sup> Compare the profile drawing of Athens, NM 363 by the Painter of the Nicosia Olpe (*CVA Athens* 4, fig. 8.5) with the drawings of skyphoi in the circle of the Krokotos Group (*CVA Athens* 4, figs. 9.2-4, 10.1-2).

<sup>148</sup> See, for example, Thebes B.E. 64.342 (Green, *Birds*, 102, no. 12, 106, fig. 15 a-b), incorrectly dated around 480 B.C.; Athens, NM 22837 (*CVA* 4, pl. 58.7-5), dated 520-500 B.C.; Heidelberg 279 (*CVA* 1, pl. 42.7-8), dated 510 B.C.; once London market (*Christie's London* 26 Nov. 1980, 71, lot no. 292).

<sup>149</sup> The Hermogenian skyphos is also a type that precedes the Heron Class type. Whether Hermogenian skyphoi were 'forerunners' of the Heron Class type is difficult to say; possibly they influenced the placement, as it were, of a concave rim on top of the type A skyphos, as seen in type A2 and further.

<sup>150</sup> For the skyphoi by Teisias see K. Kilinski II, 'Teisias and Theodoros: East Boeotian Potters', *Hesperia* 61 (1992) 253-63.

<sup>151</sup> Black-glazed skyphoi of a more normal 'Heron' type also exist: some have ivied rims, others not. However, most have tongues. See, for example, Thebes R 80.106, Ure, *Sixth and Fifth*, pl. 9.



bit. This is illustrated by the profile drawings of two fragmentary skyphoi from the Acropolis (Cat. nos. 2 and 76, pls. 2 a, 32 a-b, figs. 52-53): the large skyphos Acropolis 1280 has a diameter of ca. 30.0 cm, whereas that of Acropolis 1281 measures only 21.5 cm.

By far the majority of skyphoi decorated by the Theseus Painter are what might be termed medium or large. Of about 44 skyphoi with preserved and known total height, 15 measure between 16.0-17.0 cm, and 21 between 17.0-18.8 cm. Their diameters vary between 19.7-25.0 cm (Table 3a).<sup>152</sup>

At least five other skyphoi by the Theseus Painter are considerably larger; these I refer to as 'very large' (perhaps also Acropolis 1280, which has a very wide diameter). They measure between 24.5-30.0 cm in height and 28.5-32.0 cm in diameter.<sup>153</sup> Of them, the largest measured skyphos is Delos B 6142: 30.0 cm high and 32.0 cm across the rim (Cat. no. 73, pl. 31 a-b).<sup>154</sup> The other very large skyphoi are hardly any smaller. In size, these very large skyphoi can even be comparable to small kraters.<sup>155</sup>

Three of the Theseus Painter's skyphoi are exceptionally small, lower than 16.0 cm (possibly also Acropolis 1281 which, to judge from its diameter, must have been very small). The painter's smallest known skyphos is in Winchester: height 15.3 cm, diameter 21.7 cm (Cat. no. 4, pl. 1 c-d).<sup>156</sup>

The proportions of the Theseus Painter's skyphoi also vary quite a bit. Most of them are squat and broad, generally having a much greater diameter than height, although some are occasionally proportionately higher and narrower. An extreme example is Athens, NM 498: height 17.0 cm, diameter 19.0 cm only (Cat. no. 80, pl. 34 e-f). At present, no other skyphos by the Theseus Painter is known by the author to have a diameter of less than 20.0 cm. Even the lowest skyphos, Winchester College (Cat. no. 4, pl. 1 b-c), still measures 21.7 cm across the rim.

The relative dimensions of the Theseus Painter's skyphoi are found in Table 3a, where we see that the diameter is nearly always 20 to 40 per cent greater than the height. The diameter of the proportionately widest skyphos, Winchester College – which, importantly, is stylistically one of the painter's earliest – is

<sup>152</sup> I. Scheibler suggests that the standard dimensions of Heron Class skyphoi might be around 16.0-18.0 cm high and 22.0-23.0 cm in diameter; *Skyphoi*, 17, 19. According to her, this would very closely approximate the measure of a *chous* (approximately three litres), for example, the amount of wine to be drunk at the Anthesteria. See also G. Wissowa (ed.) *Pauly's Real Encyclopädie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft* III (Stuttgart 1899) 2526-27, 'Chous'. Judging from the great differences in the dimensions of the Theseus Painter's skyphoi, it seems doubtful that Scheibler's observation could apply to all of them. But most of them (32 of the 44 complete and measured vases) indeed fall quite comfortably within her limits (see also Table 3a), including: Syracuse 26857, Mississippi 1977.3.69, London B 79, Bologna C 44, Havana, Lagunillas coll., Taranto 4448, Monopoli, private coll., London 1926.11.15.1, Mt. Holyoke, Syracuse 53263, Naples 81154, once Kropatscheck coll., Cotecchia coll. R 32, Toledo 63.27, White and Levi coll., once Basle market, Naples 81159, Greifswald 197, Lecce 560, once Basle market, Tampa 86.52, Stuttgart KAS 74, New York 06.1021.49, Taranto 4449, Amsterdam 290, Taranto 4591, Athens 13916, Copenhagen 6571, Brussels R 327, Haverford EA-1989-4, Harvard 60.321, Bonn 1646 (Cat. nos. 1, 7-9, 11, 14, 16, 18-19, 22, 24, 26-27, 30, 32-35, 37-38, 40-42, 44, 49-50, 53-55, 57, 64, 68, pls. 1 a-b, 3 c-e, 4, 5 b, 6 c-d, 7 c-d, 8 d-e, 9 a-b, 10 a-b, 11, 12 d-e, 13 d-e, 14 c-d, 15, 16 c-d, 17, 18 a-b, 19, 21 c-d, 22, 24-25, 26 c-d, 28 a-c, 29, figs. 40-42, 44-45, 47-49).

<sup>153</sup> Conservatori, ht. 25.0 cm, diam. 31.0 cm; St. Petersburg 4498, ht. 24.5 cm, diam. 29.2 cm; Delos B 6138, ht. 27.5 cm, diam. 28.5 cm; once US market, ht. 26.0 cm; diam. 28.0 cm (Cat. nos. 70-71, 74-75, pls. 29 c-d, 30 a-b, 31 c-e, 33 c). The skyphoi Delos 6140 and Acropolis 1280 (Cat. nos. 72 and 76, pls. 30 c-d, 32 a-b, fig. 52) are only partly preserved, but their dimensions were considerable: Acropolis 1280 has a diameter of ca. 30.0 cm, Delos B 6140 has a remaining ht. of 22.5 cm and a diam. of 29.5. It was not possible for me to measure the skyphos in Salerno, which is also very large (ht. and diam. certainly around 30 cm, Cat. no. 79, no profile illustrated).

<sup>154</sup> It should be noted that this skyphos has been heavily restored, which might influence the present-day dimensions. Nevertheless, the skyphos must have been very large.

<sup>155</sup> For (column-) kraters with similar dimensions compare, for example: Louvre Camp 11259, ht. 29.0 cm, diam. 26.8 cm; Louvre Camp 11260, ht. 26.7 cm, diam. 29.7 cm; Louvre Camp 11277, ht. 30.7 cm, diam. 29.6 cm; Louvre Camp 11282, ht. 18.2 cm, diam. 16.5 cm; Louvre CA 2209, ht. 24 cm, diam. 20.0 cm (CVA Louvre 12, pls. 165.1-2, 166.5-7, 177, 182.1,3,5,7, 187.2, 189.1-2).

<sup>156</sup> Its smaller dimensions (and style) made Ure think that this skyphos is early work of the Theseus Painter, still very much rooted in the style and practice of the Krokotos Group, some vases of which, she believed, are generally a bit smaller than those by later painters. Krokotos Painter: Cab. des Médailles. 343, ht. 16.2 cm, diam. 22.5 cm; London 1920.2-16.3, ht. 13.0 cm. Durand Painter: Boston 99.524, ht. 16.8 cm, diam. 22.5 cm; Thebes 6027 (R 31.172), ht. 16.0 cm, diam. 22.0 cm; Athens, NM 368, ht. 15.5-8 cm, diam. 21.0 cm. Krokotos Group, various: Athens, NM 14906, ht. 11.8-12.4 cm, diam. 17.1 cm; Athens, NM 12532, ht. 11.8 cm, diam. 17 cm; Agora 26657, ht. 16.4 cm, diam. 22.0 cm; Thebes 6094 (R 31.173), ht. 15.7 cm, diam. 22.1 cm; Athens, NM 416, ht. 16.2-16.4 cm, diam. 22.4-23 cm. The height of Heidelberg 277 is given as 25.9 cm (CVA 1, 69), which is clearly incorrect, as the diameter is 22.6 cm, and the vase is clearly wider than it is high; probably 15.9 cm is meant.

1.418 times the height. Whereas the diameter of the most slender skyphos, Delos 6138 (Cat. no. 74, pl. 31 c-e), which is also one of the painter's latest, measures only 1.036 times the height. Therefore, as appears generally to happen in the course of a vase-shape's chronology, as established by H.J. Bloesch,<sup>157</sup> the Theseus Painter's low and wide skyphoi would be his earliest. They are connected by size to the relatively small skyphoi of the Krokotos Group. High and slender skyphoi, on the other hand, can be assigned to a later phase of the painter's work. The Theseus Painter's very large skyphoi, to judge from both their painting style and their very different appearance from the small, broad Krokotos skyphoi, might have been made relatively late in his career.

Additional variation marks the feet of the Theseus Painter's skyphoi. The most frequently occurring foot, further referred to as 'type 1' (38 of the 52 preserved specimens), is spreading, with a convex base and curving, concave upper section; the base has the appearance of a heavy torus disc (figs. 40-45). The same type of foot is met on skyphoi by other Heron Class painters. Less common are the feet of skyphoi by the Theseus Painter in which the profiles of both the base and the upper section are concave, further referred to as 'type 2' (11 of the complete and fragmentary skyphoi with preserved feet, see figs. 46-50). The difference, however, is not indicative of a chronological change in the potterwork, as both types occur side by side in all phases of the Theseus Painter's stylistic development, that is, at least as long as he painted skyphoi. The skyphoi with either type of foot vary equally in their dimensions and proportions.<sup>158</sup> In addition, the supposition that skyphoi with both kinds of feet were being painted within the same chronological limits is supported by the similarities of their decoration regarding not only style but also subject and composition.<sup>159</sup> On the other hand it is striking that some subjects (and specific arrangements of subjects) are found on skyphoi which have only one type of foot; for example, the Theseus Painter's more or less complete ephedrimos skyphoi, all of which have type 1 feet (Cat. nos. 54-55, 57, pls. 25, 26 c-d).

Furthermore, it is curious that, in some instances, skyphoi with feet of one type seem to have stayed together until they reached their final destination, as if they were potted and sold in batches. Striking examples are the two skyphoi from Naples with type 1 feet (Cat. nos. 24 and 33, pls. 11 a-e, 14 a-b, figs. 40-41), and, even more so, the four from Taranto, all with type 2 feet and all but one found in the same grave (Cat. nos. 13-14, pls. 6, 44, 50; figs. 46-49). Perhaps this implies that skyphoi with feet of types 1 and 2 were possibly not always potted and sold together or at least that they were sometimes kept separate.

Feet similar to type 1 widely occur on other skyphoi of types B and C. They can, for example, be seen in the CHC Group. Feet of type 2 are rarer and seem to be limited to skyphoi of painters in the direct vicinity of the Theseus Painter,<sup>160</sup> although they are not met in the Krokotos Group.<sup>161</sup>

A third type of foot, in two degrees, appears on only two of the Theseus Painter's skyphoi (Cat. nos. 73 and 80, fig. 51). Both of them were manufactured relatively late in the painter's career (see development) which perhaps suggests that a third potter, as discussed below, entered the workshop at that time. The foot of the very large example from Salerno (Cat. no. 79, pl. 34 a-d) is a torus with an oblique, straight top.<sup>162</sup>

<sup>157</sup> See, i.a., Bloesch, *Stout and Slender*, 29: "[...] the development of Greek vase-shapes follows a regular course from heavy and plump forms to more slender and elegant ones."

<sup>158</sup> See, i.a., Boston 99.523 (Cat. no. 6, pl. 3 a-b), with 'type 1' foot, measures 15.7 x 22.0 cm; Taranto 4447 (Cat. no. 13, pl. 6 a-b), with 'type 2' foot, measures 15.9 x 22.1 cm.

<sup>159</sup> See, i.a., Bari Cotecchia (type 1) and once Helgoland, Kropatscheck (type 2, Cat. nos. 26-27, pls. 11 e-f, 12 d-e), both with Herakles and Hermes shaking hands.

<sup>160</sup> See, i.a., Cat. nos. N1, N25, N46. The only skyphos in the CHC Group (among hundreds) with a type 2-like foot is Leiden I. 1906/1,3 (CVA 2, pl. 65, fig. 19). Other types of feet are found among the CHC Group skyphoi, for example, an inverted echinus (Prague 5952 (CVA 1, pl. 36), which finds no counterpart in skyphoi by the Theseus Painter, but is known from a skyphos by the Painter of Philadelphia 5481 (Athens, NM 365, Cat. no. N30).

<sup>161</sup> The Painter of Philadelphia 5481 and the Painter of Rodin 1000, both of whom might be considered closest to the Theseus Painter, decorated skyphoi with feet of types 1 and 2, which might be one of the same potters who fashioned skyphoi for the Theseus Painter.

<sup>162</sup> Delos B 6142 (Cat. no. 73, pl. 31 a-b) and Athens, NM 498 (Cat. no. 80, pl. 34 e-f, fig. 51). The foot of the Delos skyphos is shaped differently from that of Athens, NM 498: the former has two distinctly separate levels, the latter smoothly curving ones.



However, the differences in the shape of the Theseus Painter's skyphoi are not limited to their proportions, feet and dimensions only. The contours of the bowls of most skyphoi with type 1 feet form an uninterrupted convex curve, whereas most skyphoi with type 2 feet have a bowl which straightens or shows a very slight concave curve in the very lowest section just above the foot fillet.<sup>163</sup>

Viewed in combination, the differences seem to point to different potters' hands. It would therefore appear that the Theseus Painter decorated the skyphoi of at least two potters, each of whom supplied his skyphoi with one kind of foot (type 1 or type 2). Possibly a third potter was responsible for the skyphoi with feet in two degrees.<sup>164</sup> Whether one of these men was the Theseus Painter himself is, of course, difficult to determine. However, if we bear in mind the large variety of other very distinctive shapes which he painted, as dealt with below, and the clearly different workshops to which they belong, it is in my opinion doubtful that the Theseus Painter was a potter as well. Insofar as the shapes themselves are concerned, there is no detectable continuity at all in the work of this painter. The only way I could imagine that it would be possible to discover whether he was indeed a potter is to establish whether one of the two main foot types ceased to exist when he stopped decorating skyphoi. But such a precise moment in time is impossible to pinpoint. Furthermore, the Painter of Rodin 1000 and the Painter of Philadelphia 5481 (see below) also seem to have decorated skyphoi by the potter(s) of the Theseus Painter's skyphoi, which makes it almost impossible to decide whether any one of these painters was also a potter (see also below, chapter V, workshop connections).

The Heron Class skyphos apparently vanished at the end of the black-figure period, as no example is attested in red-figure (with the possible exception of a small, ivy-rimmed, red-figure skyphos fragment).<sup>165</sup> At least one example of this type of skyphos is embellished in Six's technique.<sup>166</sup> Its shape, ornaments and dimensions are very similar to those of the Theseus Painter's skyphoi, although a possible relation in the figurework is not immediately evident.

### 3. Painting and drawing

#### Secondary decoration

The rims of the Heron Class skyphoi decorated by the Theseus Painter show either a double row of upright and pendent ivy-leaves<sup>167</sup> or simply two rows of dots, in each instance separated by a central line. On the basis of the stylistic development of the painting of the main frieze, it seems that most of the skyphoi with ivy rims are earlier than those with dots. The division between the rim ornament and the figure frieze consists of a stripe and line or, less frequently, two stripes. Below the figure frieze there is a band of alternately red and black tongues or, seldom, a band of only black tongues.<sup>168</sup> Lines and stripes in

<sup>163</sup> This feature is also visible in Guardia Perticara; Taranto 4447-9; Monopoli, private coll.; Syracuse 53263; once Helgoland, once Kropatscheck coll.; Agora P 1544; Taranto 4591 (Cat. nos. 10, 13-14, 16, 22, 26, 44-45 and 50; pls. 5a, 6, 7 c-d, 10 a-b, 11 e-f, 19, 20 a-b, figs. 46-50). The lower concave curve is sometimes very slight, however, and some of the torus-footed skyphoi seem to curve similarly.

<sup>164</sup> The skyphos Athens, NM 498 (Cat. no. 80, fig. 51) is shaped rather differently from the Theseus Painter's other skyphoi; it is much slimmer and has a rather straight rim.

<sup>165</sup> Acropolis 482, Graef and Langlotz, *Akropolis II*, pl. 39; ARV<sup>2</sup> 266,90, Syriskos Painter. Perhaps also Acropolis 499, ARV<sup>2</sup> 66,135, and Athens NS AP 430, ARV<sup>2</sup> 66,137, Oltos.

<sup>166</sup> Malibu 76.AE.127, J. Burnet-Grossman, 'Six's Technique at the Getty', *GVGettyMus* 5 (1991) 13-26, fig. 2. The height is 16.0 cm, the diameter ca. 23.2 cm. The foot is rather like foot type 1.

<sup>167</sup> Ivy is an extremely common rim ornament for Attic vases. For Siana cups see, i.a., Brijder, *Siana Cups I*, nos. 111, 121-22, 124 etc., pls. 21 d, 24-25, 26 a-b. Also kraters, S. Frank, *Attische Kelchkratere, Eine Untersuchung zum Zusammenspiel von Gefäßform und Bemalung* (Frankfurt 1990) 69-88, pl. 2. For column-kraters with ivy rim see CVA Louvre 12, pls. 169-89. For ivy on the rim compare also kyathoi; for example, one in Six's technique, Villa Giulia 78670-1, L. Hannestad, *The Castellani Fragments in the Villa Giulia, Athenian Black-figure*, vol. 1 (Aarhus 1989) no. 366. See also M. Blech, *Studien zum Kranz bei den Griechen* (Berlin and New York 1982) 55-57.

<sup>168</sup> Tongues above the foot are a common motif of earlier skyphoi; compare, for example, the skyphos of Corinthian type by



various combinations run above the tongues. Most commonly they consist of a stripe with a group of three lines. Other variants are: a line between a pair of stripes and three lines; a stripe and four lines; a pair of stripes and three lines; a line between a pair of stripes; three broad stripes; and a pair of stripes. On the skyphos Syracuse 26857 (Cat. no. 1, pl. 1 a-b) the border above the tongues is more elaborate: a group of three lines between stripes, and a group of three lines with a separate single line below.

Below the tongues there is a pair of two thin lines or no decoration at all. A red stripe surrounds the moulding between the bowl and foot. Concentric circles, usually two, are painted under the foot, which, as a rule, are not a trait of skyphoi by painters of the older Krokotos Group.<sup>169</sup> The interior of the Theseus Painter's skyphoi is solid black, apart from a small reserved tondo with a concentric circle and dotted centre.

The figure zone occupies the main part of the bowl. On at least one skyphos, Kanellopoulos 842 (Cat. no. 78, pl. 33 a-b), the frieze is made narrow by a large black section above the tongues, which leaves only about half of the bowl's surface available for the figurework. This arrangement is standard in the CHC Group.<sup>170</sup> Possibly the correspondence indicates that, on the one hand, the Theseus Painter and the White Heron Group and, on the other, the CHC Group are linked to some extent. The figurework of the Theseus Painter's narrow-figure skyphos belongs rather late in his stylistic development.<sup>171</sup>

In contrast to the CHC Group, but in accordance with the Krokotos Group, the Theseus Painter and associated painters usually placed ornaments below the handles of their skyphoi. The most common motif is a white bird, generally identified as a heron.<sup>172</sup> The supposed workshop of skyphos manufacturers has therefore been called the White Heron Group.<sup>173</sup> Most of the Theseus Painter's herons have an elegantly curving long neck, spreading, angular wings, and short, pointy tail.<sup>174</sup> The exceptions are seen below the handles of London 1926.11-15.1 and Gioia del Colle (Cat. nos. 17 and 92, pls. 8 b and 37 b). The wings are folded and the tails long, with individually marked feathers. The herons on both these skyphoi look quite like the plumper birds with folded wings under the handles of skyphoi by the Painter of Philadelphia 5481, for which see below.<sup>175</sup> This may be a reason why Beazley did not assign the London skyphos to the Theseus Painter. Nevertheless, it shows enough other stylistic traits to make an attribution certain. Some of the Theseus Painter's herons are turned to the right, others to the left.

White herons are also seen under the handles of skyphoi by painters of the so-called Sub-krokotos Group and the later White Heron Group. They are lacking, however, on skyphoi of the Krokotos Group and others.<sup>176</sup> White herons by different painters are often painted differently and can in themselves sometimes provide additional stylistic indications for an attribution.

Goats are another common handle motif of the Theseus Painter's skyphoi.<sup>177</sup> His few other choices include: squatting youths<sup>178</sup> or a youth jumping while standing on his hands,<sup>179</sup> horseman,<sup>180</sup> amphora<sup>181</sup>

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the C Painter, Louvre MNC 676 (ABV 57,118; Beazley *Addenda*<sup>2</sup> 16). See also a skyphos by the Affector, Athens Benaki Museum 33042, M. Pipili, 'A Skyphos by the Affector in Athens: Dispersed Fragments Reassembled', in O. Palagia, *Greek Offerings, Essays in Honour of John Boardman* (Oxford 1997) 87-94.

<sup>169</sup> Ure, *Krokotos*, 90, 95.

<sup>170</sup> See, i.a., CVA Athens 4, pls. 45-48.

<sup>171</sup> It is difficult to decide whether the decoration of this vase might imply that the Theseus Painter also worked in the CHC Group or that it was an experiment done outside that group.

<sup>172</sup> See J. Pollard, *Birds in Greek Life and Myth* (Plymouth 1977) 68-69, mentioning a crest as a prominent feature of herons. However, a crest is not seen on the birds at the handles of vases by the Theseus Painter and other painters of the White Heron Group. According to E. Böhr, the birds are not herons at all, but cranes (said in response to my lecture at the *AIAC*, Amsterdam, 1998).

<sup>173</sup> See also ch. I.3.

<sup>174</sup> See, for example: Winchester College Museum, also with a similar (yellow) 'heron' in the central part of the vase; London 1926.11-15.1; Naples 81154; Agora P 1543; Laon 37996 (Cat. nos. 4, 17, 24, 28, 29; pls. 1 c-d, 8 b, 11 c, 12 c, 13 b, and fig. 29).

<sup>175</sup> See, i.a., Athens, NM 362 by the Painter of Philadelphia 5481, Ure, *Krokotos*, 93, no. 17, pl. 9.3; CVA Athens 4, pl. 35. Compare also Louvre CA 1812, Ure, *Krokotos*, 94, n. 17, pl. 7.1, 4.

<sup>176</sup> That is, the Painter of the Nicosia Olpe, the CHC Group, etc.

<sup>177</sup> See, for example, Mississippi 1977.3.69, London 1902.12-18.3, once Basle market, Agora P 1544 (Cat. nos. 7, 18, 37, 45; pls. 3 d, 8 d-e, 15 d, 20 c).

<sup>178</sup> Taranto 4449 and Conservatori (Cat. nos. 44 and 70, pl. 19 c). Also Harvard 1960.321 (Cat. no. 64, pl. 28 b), although this figure is more integrated into the main scene.

and, on all the ephedrismos skyphoi, intertwined tree trunks (see fig. 34 b). The krater under the handle of Syracuse 26857 (Cat. no. 1, not figured) is a sign, among others, that this skyphos is early because the motif links it to the Krokotos Group whose painters frequently featured kraters below the handles of skyphoi.<sup>182</sup> Pendent lotuses below the handles, in combination with palmettes beside them, as on skyphoi of Ure's type A1-3,<sup>183</sup> are not a trait of any of the Theseus Painter's 'heron skyphoi'. Nor are other ornaments seen next to the handles, like the small palmettes and sphinxes of the CHC Group.

## Figure work

More than any other shape, the Theseus Painter's skyphoi show his most typical and characteristic painting style. The stances and movement of the figures are often more imaginative and complicated than those of figures on his other vase-shapes. Also his depictions of scenic motifs like trees or other environmental elements are much more varied, including rocks, water and architectural references. Moreover, in contrast to most other kinds of vases by the Theseus Painter, the skyphoi are relatively more richly furnished with such elements. Similarly, there is a greater range of animals, monsters and the attributes of people. In this respect, it is noteworthy that the style of most of the Theseus Painter's skyphoi gives rise to less debate and poses fewer difficulties of attribution than many of his other vase-shapes.

On quite a few skyphoi, however, the Theseus Painter deviates from his common style. The high, slender skyphos Athens, NM 498 (Cat. no. 80, pl. 34 e-f), for example, has very stiff, rather thin figures, as if their proportions were influenced by the slim shape of the skyphos, which might further result from their late workmanship. The appearance of the satyrs of Kanellopoulos 842 (Cat. no. 78, pl. 33 a-b), may likewise be influenced by the height of the figure frieze, but in the opposite sense, as their extremely sturdy, muscular bodies may be due to the confined space of the narrow frieze which, so to speak, crushes them into its smaller field; their proportions are exceptional for figurework by the Theseus Painter. The painting is rather careless and would therefore date from late in his career.

## Composition

The Theseus Painter variously arranged the scenes of skyphoi. The simplest arrangement is a row of figures, as in his procession-like komoi. More complex are the groups that recur several times, like the figures of ephedrismos skyphoi where each group consists of a boy carrying another one, preceded by a walking boy. The most common type of composition, however, has a main scene in the centre and, on either side, trees or male and female bystanders; trees may fill other areas of the scene. Some central compositions are heraldic, for example the Winchester skyphos (Cat. no. 4, pl. 1 b-c), which shows a heron in front of a central tree, flanked by maenads on confronting goats.

A common trait of the Theseus Painter's painting, which applies especially to skyphoi, is the frequent repetition of a representation on both sides of the same vase.<sup>184</sup> In several instances (for example the ephedrismos skyphoi, Cat. nos. 54-63, pls. 25-27, or Herakles reclining with Hermes, Cat. nos. 25-28, 75, pls. 11 e-f, 12, 33 c) the scenes are almost identical in subject, the number and positioning of the figures, and other aspects of the composition. On the other hand, both sides of many skyphoi have comparable subjects in which some details are slightly altered, by which the Theseus Painter created

<sup>179</sup> Taranto 4449 (Cat. no. 44, pl. 19 d).

<sup>180</sup> Delos B 6142 (Cat. no. 73, pl. 31 b).

<sup>181</sup> St. Petersburg 4498 (Cat. no. 71, not illustrated).

<sup>182</sup> See Cab. des Médailles. 343 by the Krokotos Painter (Ure, *Krokotos*, 90, no. 1; *ABV* 206,1; *Para* 93,1; *Beazley Addenda*<sup>2</sup> 55); Heidelberg 277 by the same painter (Ure, *Krokotos*, 90, no. 2; *ABV* 206,2; *Para* 93,2; *Beazley Addenda*<sup>2</sup> 55); Louvre CA 443, by the same painter (Ure, *Krokotos*, 91); Athens, NM 14906 (Ure, *Krokotos*, 90, no. 3; *Para* 94; *CVA Athens* 4, pl. 30); Athens, NM 12626, attributed to Ure's 'Herm Painter' (Ure, *Krokotos*, 92, no. 10; *CVA Athens* 4, pl. 33).

<sup>183</sup> Ure, *Sixth and Fifth*, 58-9. See also *Para* 83-86, 91.

<sup>184</sup> See also, Steiner, *Visual Redundancy*, 197-219.

variation. Good examples are two skyphoi with a sacrificial procession on each side (Cat. nos. 40-41, pl. 17). Both have basically the same pictorial components: two naked men carrying an amphora, a male leading a bull, a male dragging along a boar, and males with sacrificial objects. On each skyphos, however, the figures' stances and the combinations of the elements differ. Other skyphoi show equal variation: on both sides of Taranto 4447 (Cat. no. 13, pl. 6 a-b), for instance, Herakles is portrayed sitting on a shore, waving towards Helios (A), or climbing up the shore while looking round at him (B); otherwise the remainder of each scene is identical on both skyphoi. Another example is Conservatori (Cat. no. 70, pl. 29 c-d): on each side Hermes is similarly posed reclining on a goat or a ram.

The two sides of other skyphoi display different but thematically related scenes which illustrate episodes of one story or of a group of related stories. Among them, we see different Labours of Theseus on either side (Cat. nos. 29-30, 76, pls. 13, 32 a-b) or Herakles wrestling with Alkyoneus (A) and Hermes leading away the cattle (B) (Cat. no. 14, pl. 6 c-d). Very rarely there is no relation at all between the themes of both sides of a skyphos by the Theseus Painter.<sup>185</sup>

## Added colour

Added colour is a leading feature of the Theseus Painter's skyphoi: red, white and yellow. Often colour is the main tool by which he defines certain pictorial elements: the sun and fish of Taranto 4447 (Cat. no. 13, pl. 6 a-b), furniture patterns, etc. Added red and white are generally employed as on all his other kinds of vases. In two respects, however, they receive specific application on the skyphoi only: red for the alternate tongues below the figure friezes, white for the herons below the handles. The added colour is abundant and can express festiveness, like the coloured garments and wreaths of the figures of Athens, Agora P 1544 and Acropolis 1282 (Cat. nos. 45 and 66, pls. 20, 23 d), depicting a komos and a procession, respectively.

Yellow is the added colour which typifies the Theseus Painter's forerunners in the Krokotos Group. But elsewhere in Attic black-figure this colour is extremely rare. In the Theseus Painter's work it is commonly met only on the skyphoi.

## Drawing

As in the case of the Theseus Painter's painting, as described above on pages 14-17, most characteristics of his incising technique and style can be recognised on the skyphoi. The incising of the skyphoi seldom diverges from the norm. In a few specimens the incising is noticeably more carefully executed than that of other skyphoi.<sup>186</sup> This, combined with the fact that these skyphoi are relatively small and very colourful, with much added yellow, all of which are characteristics of the earlier Krokotos Group, suggests that they date from an early phase in the painter's career. The anatomical incising, although displaying many features of his basic style, is drawn with more care and detail than usual; see for example the satyrs of the skyphos Syracuse 26857 (Cat. no. 1, fig. 1, pl. 1 a-b).<sup>187</sup> Whereas these satyrs, on the one hand, show many anatomical details which are typical of the painter (continuing line from collarbone to biceps, wavy chest line with high nipples, lines from thigh to knee, etc.), they diverge, on the other, from the Theseus Painter's standard in other respects, like the detailed execution of the head and genitals. Further, note also the highly detailed drawing of the hippocamp of New York 17.230.9 (Cat. no. 3, pl. 2 b) and the careful execution of the maenads' garments on Syracuse 26857<sup>188</sup> and the Winchester College skyphos, with in the first instance the maenads even wearing the turban with wide, coloured

<sup>185</sup> Examples might be the skyphoi Boston 99.523 and Guardia Perticara with 'amazons and griffins' on one side and a lion about to attack cattle on the other (Cat. nos. 6 and 10, pls. 3 a-b, 5 a).

<sup>186</sup> Syracuse 26857, Acropolis 1281, New York 17.230.9, Winchester College, Acropolis 1271 (Cat. nos. 1-5, pls. 1-2).

<sup>187</sup> Ure attributed this skyphos to the Theseus Painter (*Krokotos*, 96, 103). Beazley apparently had doubts and placed it near the Theseus Painter (*Para* 259). M. Pipili (*CVA Athens* 4, 42) says it is in "the manner of the Theseus Painter." In my opinion, it is by the Theseus Painter himself.

<sup>188</sup> They are even wearing nebrides, otherwise not featured on vases by the Theseus Painter.



bands which typifies the Krokotos Group.<sup>189</sup>

However, a difference in the way of drawing need not always be evidence of a chronological difference, but might just result from an unusual element or stance. Without parallel in the work of the Theseus Painter, for example, are the rendering of the above-mentioned abdomen of Alkyoneus in Taranto 4448 (Cat. no. 14, pl. 6 c-d, fig. 22) and the anatomical incisions of the satyr in Naples 81154 (Cat. no. 24, pl. 11 a-e, fig. 2). Some incised features, on the other hand, may well be indicative of relatively late workmanship. Several of the Theseus Painter's very large skyphoi display yet more flowing drawing and less detail than usual.<sup>190</sup> Even later might be the incising of Athens, NM 498 (Cat. no. 80, pl. 34 e), which is especially careless and scrawly, reminiscent of the painter's lekythoi.

Finally, the incising of the skyphos Bonn 1646 (Cat. no. 68, pl. 29 a), which Haspels assigned to the Theseus Painter, stands somewhat apart. The circular eye, the almost donut-shaped ear, and the rather clumsy, stiffly outlined left arm and hand are not especially characteristic of the Theseus Painter but are more in line with the style of the Painter of Philadelphia 5481; further contrast Basle, Cahn collection (Cat. no. 69, pl. 29 b), showing the same subject, which displays the Theseus Painters' typically robust, flowing incisions.<sup>191</sup> Yet as only a few traits in the style of the Bonn skyphos might warrant a rejection of Haspels' attribution and as the subject and composition remain very close to that of the Basle fragment, the Bonn skyphos is retained by me in the Theseus Painter's corpus.

## Unpublished Skyphoi (not examined)

Some of the unpublished skyphoi attributed by various authors to the Theseus Painter could not be studied by me at first hand for diverse reasons: their current whereabouts are unknown, they could not be found in their storage rooms, permission was denied, etc. (Cat. nos. 113-124). Most of them, however, were examined and attributed by either Haspels or Beazley.

Some of them, though even unseen by me, are doubtless by the Theseus Painter. The detailed description of Acropolis 1286 by Graef and Langlotz, with Dionysos in a donkey-cart (Cat. no. 114), clearly finds its parallel in Mississippi 1977.3.69 (Cat. no. 7, pl. 3 c-e).<sup>192</sup> Only a few other vases depict a

<sup>189</sup> Compare Heidelberg 277 by the Krokotos Painter (CVA 1, pl. 42.3-5; ABV 206.1; Para 93.1); Thebes 6064 (R 31.173, ABV 209.2; Para 94); Athens 14906 (Para 94; CVA Athens 4, pl. 30).

<sup>190</sup> St. Petersburg 4498, Delos 6140, Acropolis 1280 (Cat. nos. 71-72, 76).

<sup>191</sup> The Basle fragment has been attributed to a painter of the White Heron Group, near the Theseus Painter, in its initial publication (H.J. Bloesch, *Das Tier in der Antike, 400 Werke ägyptischer, griechischer, etruskischer und römischer Kunst aus privatem und öffentlichem Besitz, Archäologisches Institut der Universität Zürich*, 21. Sept. – 17. Nov. 1974, 39 no. 227, pl. 38) as well as in the LIMC VIII, s.v. 'Tritones', no. 110. The style, however, is typical of the Theseus Painter; compare the heads of the satyr on St. Petersburg 4498, of Hermes on Delos B 6140, of Prokrustes on the lekythos Athens 515 and of the men on the lekythos Louvre CA 1837 (Cat. nos. 71, 72, 136, 140, pls. 30 a, d, 43 a-b, 44 c-d, figs. 3, 21). It can doubtless be given to the painter. Also the subject is incorrectly identified in the LIMC, where it is stated that a male triton is holding a female. The composition of the preserved upper part, however, is identical to that of the skyphos in Bonn where the fish-tail is clearly attached to the female figure.

<sup>192</sup> Graef and Langlotz, *Acropolis*, 144: "a [...] Randstück mit Punktorte. Mänlicher Kopf n. r., zwei Maultierköpfe n.r. Mänlicher Kopf n.l. Der Mann, dessen Kopf links erhalten ist kann nur hinter den Maultieren gegangen sein, nicht etwa auf dem von den Maultieren gezogenen Wagen gesessen haben, dazu wäre der Abstand zu klein. Hierzu kann gehören n mit den Hinterteilen der Maultiere und der Rest des Wagens. Von dem gleichen Wagen ist i, mit einer weißen Schlangenlinie auf dem Wagenkasten und Ansatz des Rades. Der Wagen hatte die bekannte Form des ländlichen Karrens. Die andere Seite des Skyphos zeigte die gleiche Darstellung: das Randstück e enthält die Köpfe der Maultiere und den Oberkörper des Mannes im Mantel rechts von ihm. Er ist n.r. gewendet, und dreht den mit Zweigen bekränzten Kopf n. l. zurück. Nach dem Grade der Zerstörung zu schließen, gehört wahrscheinlich an dieser Seite b, welche die Hinterteile der angeschirrten Maultiere, ein Teil des Wagens mit aufgemaltem weißen Mäander und ein Stück des Rades enthält. Nur auf dieselbe Seite mit e kann das Randstück f gehören, darauf ist die vordere Oberhälfte eines rotbärtigen Mannes im Mantel erhalten, welcher auf einem Wagen sitzt. Er hält in der linken Punktzweigen an welchen Trauben hängen (Dionysos). Unsicher ist die Zuteilung von c (mit dem Fuße des Skyphos): Vorderbeine der Maultiere und nach r. schreitendes Bein des nach ihnen zurückblickenden Mannes. Ein kleiner Brocken g mit einem efeubekränzten Hinterkopf, kann dem Dionysos auf f nicht gehören, also ist es vermutlich der einzige Rest des Dionysos der ersten Seite. Endlich der Brocken k. Enthält genug von einem Rade [...] doch bleibt ungewiß ob es zu b oder i gehört. [...] Unter den Henkeln waren Ziegenböcke mit weißen Hörnern n.r. (d und c)."



similar scene, and none of them so closely matches the published description as the Mississippi skyphos. Furthermore, other typical motifs of the Theseus Painter on the Acropolis fragments are a youth looking round while walking in front of the donkey-cart and the goats under the handles.

The attribution of the fragments Acropolis 1275 (Cat. no. N9), on the other hand, is less secure, which explains its omission from the main catalogue of this book. It illustrates a palaestra scene which, of course, is a highly common theme in black-figure. However, Graef and Langlotz's description (it has not been published photographically) is so similar to the palaestra scene of the fragmentary skyphos Amsterdam 2159 (Cat. no. 43, pl. 18 c-g) that the Acropolis fragment most probably was also painted by the Theseus Painter, or a painter near him.<sup>193</sup> Like the Amsterdam skyphos, it shows a flute-player (parts of the long mantle preserved), trainer and kneeling youth with spears (pl. 18 c-e) as well as white herons under the handles.

Several other unpublished skyphoi attributed by Haspels and Beazley find iconographical parallels in work of the Theseus Painter and can therefore be given to him on their authority: compare Berlin 4528 (Cat. no. 115) with Bonn 1646 and Basle, Cahn collection (Cat. nos. 68-69, pl. 29 a-b); Berlin (Cat. 116) with Conservatori (Cat. no. 70, pl. 29 c-d); Basle, Kambli collection (Cat. no. 117), with vases where Herakles is regaled by Athena (Cat. nos. 18-21, pls. 8 d-e, 9); Louvre Cp 108.56 (Cat. no. 118) with once Basle market and Eleusis 314 (Cat. nos. 37, 110, pl. 15 c-d). The remainder of the skyphoi not seen by me are either fragments or have no clear parallel in the work of the Theseus Painter and therefore cannot be assigned with any certainty to him on the basis of the published descriptions only (Cat. nos. 113, 119-124).

#### 4. Skyphoi near the Theseus Painter

In comparison with the other specialists in Heron Class skyphoi, to which the Theseus Painter has been reckoned since Haspels, the Theseus Painter looks exceptionally gifted, if only because the output of nearly all the other painters is mediocre. This unquestionably holds for the later painters of Heron Class skyphoi and, to a lesser extent, the earlier painters of the Krokotos Group as well as for the Theseus Painters contemporaries in the Sub-krokotos Group. In addition, these painters, for the most part, remain stylistically undefined and seem, moreover, to have limited themselves to skyphoi.<sup>194</sup> In contrast, the Theseus Painter's style is met on very many vases ranging over a variety of shapes. Nevertheless, the Heron Class skyphoi and their recognisable painters' hands are numerous enough to warrant comparison with the Theseus Painter.

##### Near the Theseus Painter or possibly his own work

Regarding a relatively large number of skyphoi, it is difficult to decide whether they are only near the Theseus Painter or were actually painted by him. Several of them have actually been attributed to the painter, but some of these attributions remain either doubtful or are even downright incorrect. The reasons vary: the piece in question is a fragment which preserves few indications supporting a definite attribution; a complete vase shows details which are uncommon for the Theseus Painter; the published photographs simply do not illustrate details which clinch an attribution.

Athens, NM 18720 (Cat. no. N1, fig. 74), for instance, whose potterwork is very close to that of the Theseus Painter's skyphoi with type 2 concave feet (compare especially Agora P 1544, Cat. no. 45, fig.

<sup>193</sup> See below, chapter XII.3, sports, and n. 759, with a description of Acropolis 1275.

<sup>194</sup> With the possible exceptions of Ure's Krokotos Painter and the Painter of Philadelphia 5481 as well as Beazley's Painter of Rodin 1000. Whereas around 200 vases can be attributed to the Theseus Painter, only 5 vases can be given with certainty to the Painter of Philadelphia 5481 and 10 are probably or possibly by his hand. Six vases are attributable to the Painter of Rodin 1000. Both painters are furthermore known to have decorated skyphoi only. The Krokotos Painter, on the other hand, has both skyphoi and eye-cups. But also in the case of this painter the number of identified vases is very small in comparison to the Theseus Painter.

50), was attributed by Beazley to the Theseus Painter. In my view, however, the attribution cannot be considered certain, as many details diverge from the painter's standard style, although the carelessness of the workmanship makes it difficult to be more definite. All things considered, it seems to me improbable that Athens, NM 18720 is by the Theseus Painter.<sup>195</sup> The same uncertainty applies to Olympia BE 634 (Cat. No. N2); even Beazley could not decide whether this skyphos must be regarded as by the Theseus Painter himself or only as near him.<sup>196</sup>

Further, the painting of a rim fragment from Chiusi (Cat. no. N3) has much in common with the Theseus Painter's style, but not in every detail, especially the very crowded network of vines contrasts with his usually small number of flowing branches. A fragment in Parma showing a partial komos was identified as part of a skyphos and attributed to the Theseus Painter (Cat. no. N10). It can hesitantly be linked to him, but since the style is closest to that of his late kyathoi and unlike anything seen on his skyphoi, it could conceivably be only part of a kyathos of his; not enough remains to be certain, however. In addition, it is difficult to decide whether or not some smallish fragments (Cat. nos. N4-9, 11-14) are by the Theseus Painter. While some of them are close to him, it seems safest to keep them in the vague category of skyphoi which are 'by or near the Theseus Painter'.

## The Krokotos Group

The Krokotos Group was defined by Ure in 1955, partly adopted by Beazley in *ABV*, and then elaborated by him in *Para*.<sup>197</sup> Its members appear to have mainly decorated skyphoi and type A cups. The name derives from the yellow chiton - *krokotos* - often worn by females. The chief, or at least the group's most clearly definable, painter is Ure's Krokotos Painter. Another named painter of skyphoi is the Durand Painter. Several identified but unnamed hands painted skyphoi connected to the Krokotos Group.<sup>198</sup>

Both Ure and Beazley are not very informative regarding the question of which painters, groups and workshops might have influenced the Krokotos Group. Ure remarked that some stylistic elements and the use of subjects and added yellow reminded her of Exekias.<sup>199</sup> On similar grounds, Malagardis sees a connection between Group E and the Krokotos Group, if not direct descent.<sup>200</sup> In my opinion, the similarities between, on the one hand, Exekias and Group E and, on the other, the Krokotos Group are not apparent. Notably, Beazley mentioned no possible link between the Krokotos Group and either Group E or Exekias. Nor do Ure or Malagardis mentioned any connections between the cup shapes of the Krokotos Group and those of Group E or Exekias. A tie cannot be discerned in their skyphoi either. Instead, as stated above, the Krokotos Group skyphoi seem, in shape and decorative scheme (type B), to

<sup>195</sup> Its (sparse) incising is not characteristic of the painter. See, i.a., the continuous incision on the arm of the mantle figure on B or the nearly unincised goats under the handles. Its style also shares features with those of the Painter of Philadelphia 5481 (rather stiff incisions which lack the flowing lines of the Theseus Painter, rounded ears, circular eyes, etc.).

<sup>196</sup> *ABV* 520, 'by or near the Theseus Painter'.

<sup>197</sup> For the Krokotos Group see esp.: Ure, *Krokotos*; *ABV* 205-209; *Para* 93-99; Bell, *Krokotos Cups*, 1-15; *Beazley Addenda*<sup>2</sup> 55; recently *CVA* Athens 4, 41-43; *CVA* Amsterdam 2, 125-129. Several skyphoi in the Krokotos Group were found in 'grave 31' at Rhitsona. Based on style and the other grave contents, they are dated to around c. 515 B.C.; see Sparkes, *Taste*, 128-29. For examples with yellow (esp. the *krokotos*) see Athens, NM 368 (Ure, *Krokotos* 91, no. 8; *Para* 94; *CVA* Athens, NM 4, pl. 29); Athens, NM 14906 (Ure, *Krokotos* 90, no. 3; *Para* 94; *CVA* 4, pl. 30; Athens, NM 12532 (Ure, *Krokotos*, 90, no. 5; *CVA* 4, pl. 31.1-4); Agora P 26652 (*Para* 94; *Beazley Addenda*<sup>2</sup> 55); Thebes 6094 (R 31.173) and Thebes 6027 (R 31.172) (*ABV* 209, 1-2).

<sup>198</sup> Several other hands or subgroups of exclusively cup painters in the Krokotos Group were distinguished by both Ure and Beazley. However, these divisions are often confusing because they partly overlap and have been given different names. Ure's Winchester group, for example, forms part of Beazley's Group of Walters 48.42, but some of the vases attributed to that group by Beazley were placed elsewhere by Ure. For the cup painters of the Krokotos Group several hands were also distinguished: again Krokotos Painter; Winchester Group (Ure); Group of Walters 48.42 (Beazley); Durand Painter, who as one of the few named painters also decorated skyphoi (both Ure and Beazley); Painter of Munich 2050; Painter of Munich 2100. The work of the last two painters was identified by both Beazley and Ure, although Ure did not supply these painters with names (Ure, *Krokotos*, 96-97, 100). Later, E.E. Bell added another name to the Krokotos workshop: Mask and Siren Painter (Bell, *Krokotos Cups*, 1-15).

<sup>199</sup> Ure, *Krokotos*, 101-102, also referring to J.D. Beazley, *Development of Attic Black-figure* rev. ed. (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London 1986) 65, on the use of yellow or a yellowish brown by Exekias.

<sup>200</sup> Malagardis, *Skyphoi*.

derive from the Painter of the Nicosia Olpe, who is not at all stylistically related to Group E. To be fair, however, the latter can also be said about the Painter of the Nicosia Olpe in relation to the Krokotos Group.

Furthermore, Beazley makes no mention of the Krokotos Group's specific relation to the Theseus Painter. But he indirectly offers some clues to his thinking on the matter. Whereas the Theseus Painter is presented in a chapter at the end of *ABV* among the late lekythos painters, the Krokotos Group is firmly anchored in his chapter on painters of type A cups.<sup>201</sup> No linkage is suggested between the Krokotos Group and the Theseus Painter, apart from their decorating Heron Class skyphoi. The foregoing implies that Beazley saw no particularly close relation between the Krokotos Group and the Theseus Painter. It seems to me, however, that they are narrowly linked, as Ure evidently thought.

As a rule, the Krokotos Group skyphoi are somewhat smaller than those of later painters/groups, whereas the basic shape and subsidiary decoration are very much the same. However, two basic features of later skyphoi are missing on the skyphoi of the Krokotos Group: the white heron and the concentric circles under the foot.<sup>202</sup>

The number of subjects on Krokotos Group skyphoi is limited. By far the most favourite one is Dionysos or a Dionysos-like figure reclining on the ground (in a vineyard?), surrounded by attendants.<sup>203</sup> Another popular theme is Dionysos mounted on a donkey, amidst followers.<sup>204</sup> One subject in particular links the Krokotos Painter/Group with the Theseus Painter: a lion about to attack bulls. It is featured several times by both painters.<sup>205</sup> As observed above, the strong stylistic similarities between the lions of Boston 55.923 by the Theseus Painter (Cat. no. 6, pl. 3 a-b) and those of London 1920.2-16.3 by the Krokotos Painter<sup>206</sup> suggest that the first may very well have been the latter's pupil.

### The Sub-krokotos Group

The so-called heirs of the Krokotos Group were labelled by Ure the Sub-krokotos Group, to which she attributed skyphoi only. In contrast to the Krokotos Group proper, the subgroup is not included in *ABV* or *Para*. Ure also pointed out that some of the subgroup's painters could also be considered 'members of the Krokotos Group itself, because the boundaries between the Krokotos- and Sub-krokotos Group are sometimes rather vague.'<sup>207</sup> The Sub-krokotos Group comprises several painters identified by Ure: Hydra Painter, Herm Painter, Painter of the Louvre Argos, Painter of Philadelphia 5481 (see below) and unnamed painters.

The Sub-krokotos skyphoi are often slightly larger than those of the Krokotos Group, but insofar as known they are never so large as some of those by the Theseus Painter. Added colour is less extensively used, although there often is considerable application of yellow. Like the Theseus Painter's skyphoi, the Sub-krokotos skyphoi feature herons below the handles and concentric circles under the foot.

Thematically, the Sub-krokotos Group shows greater variation than the Krokotos Group. Herakles, Trojan subjects and other kinds of myth are more often met. The range of subjects, however, is much smaller than in the work of Theseus Painter.

<sup>201</sup> Between Chalcidising cups and the Painter of Vatican G. 69, rather early in *ABV* ch. XIII.

<sup>202</sup> Ure, *Krokotos*, 90, 93.

<sup>203</sup> See, i.a., Heidelberg 277 by the Krokotos Painter (Ure, *Krokotos*, 90, no. 2; *Para* 93,2; *Beazley Addenda*<sup>2</sup> 55), Thebes 6094 (31.173, Ure, *Krokotos*, 91, no. 7; *Para* 94), Athens, NM 368 (Ure, *Krokotos*, 91, no. 8; *Para* 94; *CVA Athens* 4, pl. 29), Athens, NM 14906 (Ure, *Krokotos*, 90, no. 3; *Para* 94; *CVA Athens* pl. 30).

<sup>204</sup> See, for example, Cab. des Médailles 343 (Ure, *Krokotos*, 90, no. 1; *ABV* 206,1; *Para* 93,1; *Beazley Addenda*<sup>2</sup> 55) by the Krokotos Painter, and Thebes 6027 (R 31.172, Ure, *Krokotos*, 90, no. 6; *ABV* 209,1; *Para* 94; *Beazley Addenda*<sup>2</sup> 56).

<sup>205</sup> Boston 99.523 and Guardia Peticara (Cat. nos. 6 and 10, pls. 3 a-b, 5 a) by the Theseus Painter, and, in the Krokotos Group, London 1920.2-16.3 (Ure, *Krokotos*, 90, no. 4; *Para* 93,3); St. Petersburg B 402 (Gorbunova, *Ermitazhe*, 52-53, no. 33); Athens, NM 12532 (Ure, *Krokotos*, 90, no. 5; *CVA Athens* 4, pl. 31.1-4).

<sup>206</sup> Ure, *Krokotos*, 90, no. 4; *Para* 93,3.

<sup>207</sup> Ure, *Krokotos*, 93.



## The Painter of Philadelphia 5481

The Painter of Philadelphia 5481 was identified and named by Ure, who placed him in the Sub-krokotos Group.<sup>208</sup> She also considered him in some respects nearer to the Athena Painter than to the Theseus Painter.<sup>209</sup> But the remark seems a bit awkward, as the Athena Painter neither is a skyphos painter nor is in any way related to the Krokotos Group. In fact, of all the painters of the Krokotos, Sub-krokotos and White Heron Groups, the Painter of Philadelphia 5481 is closest in style and general appearance to the Theseus Painter (Cat. nos. N25-32, possibly also N33-38).

However, the Painter of Philadelphia 5481 was not accepted by Beazley. He placed two skyphoi which Ure attributed to that painter near his Painter of Rodin 1000.<sup>210</sup> M. Pipili, on the other hand, considers several skyphoi to be probably by or near the Painter of Philadelphia 5481, augmenting Ure's list.<sup>211</sup> More can be added, thereby forming a relatively large group. The number, however, is meagre compared to that of the skyphoi attributable to the Theseus Painter.

The secondary decoration of the skyphoi by the Painter of Philadelphia 5481 is generally very close to that of the Theseus Painter's skyphoi, and their shape is often nearly identical. Quite possibly the same potter or potters fashioned skyphoi for both painters; compare the profile drawing of Athens, NM 635 (Cat. no. N30, fig. 74) to the Theseus Painter's skyphoi with type 1 torus feet (figs. 40-45). Several other skyphoi of the Painter of Philadelphia 5481 have the Theseus Painter's 'type 2' foot.<sup>212</sup> In contrast, the foot of Athens, NM 362 (Cat. no. N26, fig. 75) is entirely different and has the form of an inverted echinus, which is not yet attested among the Theseus Painter's skyphoi.

The overall styles of these two painters differ quite noticeably. The incising of the Painter of Philadelphia 5481 is less fluent than that of the Theseus Painter, showing more straight and angular lines which give the figures a much stiffer appearance. It generally resembles scribbling, usually with shorter lines, and has been less carefully executed.<sup>213</sup> In addition, the white herons of the Painter of Philadelphia 5481 differ from those of the Theseus Painter; they are much plumper, look round, have a short straight neck, and hold their wings tight against the body. On the other hand, there are some minor stylistic connections.<sup>214</sup> The positioning of incised lines and the painted contours are often similar. Especially their mantle figures are often particularly close. The Painter of Philadelphia 5481 is therefore stylistically nearer to the Theseus Painter than is the Painter of Rodin 1000. The differences and resemblances between the two painters are most clearly visible on two skyphoi with nearly identical subjects: Herakles *mousikos* in Syracuse 53263 by the Theseus Painter (Cat. no. 22, pl. 10 a-b) and in Athens, NM 635 by the Painter of Philadelphia 5481 (Cat. no. N30). But as far as their subject matter is concerned, the Painter of Philadelphia 5481 clearly has other favourites than the Theseus Painter, preferring a procession of four old men (Cat. nos. N26-27).

## The Painter of Rodin 1000

Beazley first identified the Painter of Rodin 1000 in *ABV*, but later, in *Para*, he referred to the five skyphoi formerly attributed by him to that painter only as "near the Theseus Painter".<sup>215</sup> the painter had ceased to exist as an individual hand in his lists.<sup>216</sup> Nonetheless, I think that Beazley was initially right

<sup>208</sup> Ure, *Krokotos*, 95.

<sup>209</sup> Ure, *Krokotos*, 95: "In some respects he seems to be nearer to the Athena Painter."

<sup>210</sup> Thebes 17097 and Athens 362, each with a procession of four old men turned to the right (Cat. nos. N26-27).

<sup>211</sup> *CVA Athens* 4, 47.

<sup>212</sup> Type 2 skyphoi by the Painter of Philadelphia 5481: namevase (Cat. no. N25), once Basle market (Cat. no. N29). Both not illustrated.

<sup>213</sup> The double, semicircular ear by the Painter of Philadelphia 5481, for example, never occurs in the work of the Theseus Painter.

<sup>214</sup> Compare esp. Athens 635 (Cat. no. N31) by or near the Painter of Philadelphia 5481, and Syracuse 53263 by the Theseus Painter (Cat. no. 22, pl. 10 a-b), which show many stylistic similarities. Compare also the right-hand male figure of Syracuse with mantle figures by the Painter of Philadelphia.

<sup>215</sup> *ABV* 521-22; *Para* 259.

<sup>216</sup> Even prior to Beazley, the Painter of Rodin 1000 had been regarded as a separate hand near the Theseus Painter, in Mercklin, *Werkstatt*, 1-14.



when he recognized work of a specific painter.

Few vases can be given to the Painter of Rodin 1000 (Cat. nos. N39-44, possibly also N45): the five attributed by Beazley and one other (possibly two) which can be added. In *ABV* Beazley also placed two skyphoi near the Painter of Rodin 1000, which Ure had instead assigned to the Painter of Philadelphia 5481.<sup>217</sup>

The shapes and ornaments of skyphoi by the Theseus Painter and the Painter of Rodin 1000 are very similar. In fact, the skyphoi of both painters could have been fashioned by the same potter(s), as, in shape, they are not significantly different.<sup>218</sup> Also the white herons below the handles of their skyphoi are nearly identical, although the Painter of Rodin 1000 also adopted a dolphin as handle ornament,<sup>219</sup> as commonly seen on other skyphoi, none of which, however, is by the Theseus Painter. On the other hand, their styles and choice of subjects stand rather apart. Nevertheless, both painters have at least one theme for skyphoi in common: Theseus fighting Skiron (Cat. nos. 29-30, pl. 13 c, e and, Painter of Rodin 1000, Cat. no. N44). But in contrast to the Theseus Painter, the Painter of Rodin 1000 seems to have had a preference for Perseus and the Gorgons (Cat. nos. N39-41).<sup>220</sup>

The painting style of the Painter of Rodin 1000 is much rougher than that of the Theseus Painter, and his drawing capabilities are much more limited. Facial and anatomical incising, for example, is often almost absent. The details of heads are marked with a few lines or strokes, legs generally show no incising; the folds of clothing are indicated very carelessly, with only a few curving lines. The similarities are obvious enough to place the Painter of Rodin 1000 near the Theseus Painter.

### Miscellaneous skyphoi near the Theseus Painter

Although the term 'near' is a rather vague indicator of a connection between one artisan and another, it remains a useful means of underscoring fundamental similarities in styles, shapes and subjects. As discussed above, similarities exist in all three categories between the Theseus Painter, Painter of Rodin 1000 and Painter of Philadelphia 5481.

In addition, several other skyphoi have features of style, shape, theme or all three combined in common with the Theseus Painter's skyphoi, although the correspondences are less clearly defined. They cannot be attributed to individual hands. It may well be that a relatively large group of artisans was linked in one way or another to the Heron workshop.

Thematically, Bologna 130 (Cat. no. N46) shows a direct, undeniable tie to the Theseus Painter. It illustrates a procession with Dionysos in a ship-cart, a theme which is, as far as vase-paintings go, otherwise known only from two skyphoi by the Theseus Painter.<sup>221</sup> In shape, it is identical to the concave-footed skyphoi by that painter (type 2, fig. 73). However, the style of the figurework, both the painting and the incising, differs noticeably from that of the Theseus Painter and is more reminiscent of work of the Painter of Rodin 1000.

More similar in style to the Theseus Painter are Acropolis 1314 and Athens, NM 13907 (Cat. nos. N47-48). The former has been reduced to fragments, which makes it impossible to distinguish details of the original shape; the latter has the well-known torus-shaped foot, but seen in combination with a concave curve in the lower bowl. Their subjects also associate them with the Theseus Painter: Acropolis 1314 has Theseus in front of the labyrinth, recalling Acropolis 1280 by the Theseus Painter (Cat. no. 76, pl. 32 a-b); and Athens, NM 13907 has, on one side, Herakles reclining with a warrior and, on the other, a satyr. The Heraklean theme reminds one of the reclining Herakles of several of the Theseus Painter's skyphoi (Cat. nos. 24-28, 75, pls. 11-12, 31 c-e, 33 c), although the drawing is very dissimilar.

St. Petersburg B 404 is somewhat peculiar (Cat. no. N49). Its style and shape are completely unlike those of skyphoi by the Theseus Painter. The figures, while being carefully drawn, show a peculiar,

<sup>217</sup> Athens, NM 362 and Thebes 17097 (Cat. nos. N26-27).

<sup>218</sup> Type 1' feet definitely seen in Rodin 1000, once Hamburg, private coll., Rodin 552 (Cat. nos. N39-40, N44).

<sup>219</sup> Once Hamburg, private coll. (Cat. no. N40).

<sup>220</sup> Only on the kyathos Malibu 86.AE.146 by the Theseus Painter (Cat. no. 192, pl. 58).

<sup>221</sup> Additionally the subject is also featured on an Italian lead sheet, and possibly also on a black-figure fragment of unknown shape and painter's hand (see below, iconography).

uncommon kind of incising. On the other hand, the subject and composition are very reminiscent of the Theseus Painter: on each side, Theseus fighting Prokrustes, which the Theseus Painter depicted more than once (Cat. nos. 29-30, 136, pls. 13, 43 a-b), but which is otherwise very rare in Attic black-figure, hence the supposed link to Theseus Painter.

Four skyphoi in Budapest, Germany, Boston (99.525) and Copenhagen (834; Cat. nos. N50-53) have their rare subjects in common with the Theseus Painter: satyr chorus,<sup>222</sup> komos, oil-/winepress and Herakles leading a monster<sup>223</sup>). Stylistically, they are not especially close to each other. On the other hand, compositional similarities and shared decorative elements suggest they may have been made in rather close proximity to each other.

The style of Cambridge GR 180-1910, with a hunting scene (Cat. no. N54), bears some resemblance to that of the Theseus Painter. The same can be said of the skyphoi in the Guarini and the Casuccini collections as well as Reading 26.xii.10 (Cat. nos. N55-57), which also share similarities in shape.<sup>224</sup> Finally, many skyphos fragments are, or might be, near the Theseus Painter (Cat. nos. N58-64). I have not seen the one in Tel Aviv (Cat. no. N77) which, according to Beazley, is near the Theseus Painter.

### Erroneously attributed skyphoi

Many vases, skyphoi among others, have been attributed to the Theseus Painter since his initial identification by Haspels in 1936. The majority of them has been attributed by both Haspels and Beazley, but several have subsequently been assigned by a variety of scholars.<sup>225</sup> The precise criteria for some of the later attributions are not always clear, however. In some instances they seem to centre solely on the shape (especially skyphoi), superficial stylistic similarities or even only iconographical connections.<sup>226</sup> Therefore many of the later attributions can be considered dubious, if not incorrect.

At first glance it can be seen that several skyphoi or fragments have definitely been mistakenly given to the Theseus Painter: the fragments Harvard, Fogg Art Museum 1995.18.31, Athens, North Slope A-P 1549 and 2069, and a fragment from Elea (Cat. nos. N90, 92-93). The fragment Bucharest V 8455 (Cat. no. N91), once attributed to the Theseus Painter himself, is nearer to the Painter of the Nicosia Olpe.

Other skyphos fragments, in the Cahn collection, pose problems. They show scenes of a prothesis and a fountain house.<sup>227</sup> Attributed by Beazley to the Theseus Painter (Cat. nos. N79-85), they form, instead, a distinct, autonomous group for the following reasons. The ivy ornament of the rim, with atypically large and carefully painted leaves, is without parallel in the work of the Theseus Painter. The subjects also seem unusual for him, and, of them, only the fountain house is again met on another skyphos, which is unattributed (Athens, NM 12531).<sup>228</sup> Furthermore the style, with its elaborate incising of hair and garment folds and the different rendering of facial features, is very uncharacteristic of the Theseus Painter; contrast especially the male faces of Basle, Cahn collection HC 954 and HC 955 (Cat. nos. N83-84), and the very differently rendered mourners on loutrophoroi by the Theseus Painter.<sup>229</sup>

All these elements give the Basle fragments a much more old-fashioned look. One might consider them the earliest known work of the Theseus Painter, which possibly explains their rather stiff figurework and incising. On the other hand, it can rightly be objected that stylistically they cannot easily be associated with the Krokotos Group, which seems odd if we bear in mind that the Theseus Painter most

<sup>222</sup> Compare Basle Market (Cat. no. 37, pl. 15 c-d), and see Szilágyi, *Satyrchor*.

<sup>223</sup> Comparable to Acropolis 1306 and Monopoli private (Cat. nos. 15-16, pl. 7 a and c).

<sup>224</sup> Tarquinia 637 was also placed by Beazley near the Theseus Painter and called a skyphos. However, it is definitely a fragmentary amphora and stylistically not very close to the Theseus Painter (ABV 521, "by the Theseus Painter or near him").

<sup>225</sup> See Table 15.

<sup>226</sup> See, for example, the skyphos Bologna 130 (Cat. no. N46) with Dionysos in a ship-cart, attributed in ABL 253,15 to a painter near the Theseus Painter, but by several scholars, for instance, Van Straten, *Hiera Kala*, 198, no. V 24, to the painter himself. Such attributions seem to be solely based on the theme which is identical to that of Acropolis 1281 and London B 79 (Cat. nos. 2 and 8, pls. 2a and 4 a), both by the Theseus Painter himself.

<sup>227</sup> Kreuzer, *Zeichner*, 116-23, nos. 125-32.

<sup>228</sup> Malagardis, *Deux temps*; CVA Athens 4, pl. 28.

<sup>229</sup> Compare esp. the heads of male mourners on loutrophoroi by the Theseus Painter (pl. 50).

probably stems from that group, with which, as explained above, he has doubtless much in common. In fact, the style of the Basle fragments differs too much from that of the Theseus Painter as we know it to be early work of his. In short, the Basle fragments cannot convincingly be assigned to the Theseus Painter or to a painter in his immediate vicinity.

Similar doubts concern a large skyphos in a German private collection, which G. Güntner attributed to the Theseus Painter (Cat. no. N88).<sup>230</sup> However, it is not stylistically similar to the painter and the decoration is quite odd: large, carefully painted ivy leaves on the rim (very similar to the Basle fragments) and only a single line along the upper and lower edges of the figure frieze, which is made narrow by a broad black band below. In addition, the execution of the tongues is not repeated on the Theseus Painter's skyphoi: they are enclosed by lines, rounded at the top. And the painter's oeuvre supplies no parallel to the subject of the quadriga race and the handle ornaments of hydriai and, especially, palmettes. Lastly, the shape, proportions and dimensions are not in harmony with the Krokotos Group and White Heron Group. To a lesser degree, the characteristics of the skyphos in the German collection, as sketched above, also apply to two other skyphoi given to the Theseus Painter: Zimmermann collection and once in the market (Cat. nos. N86-87). In my opinion, these skyphoi are not by the Theseus Painter and may even issue from an entirely different workshop. Nor are Basle HC 335 and 339 by him (Cat. nos. N89-89bis), as their drawing is not paralleled in his work.

## 5. Concluding remarks

For more than one reason the skyphoi can be considered the Theseus Painter's leading shape, in the first place because of their sheer number as compared to that of the other vase types he decorated. Further, they seem to mark the very beginning of his career. Third, his chief stylistic traits can be most clearly discerned on them.

As discussed above, the Theseus Painter most probably began working as a painter of skyphoi in the Krokotos Group and the White Heron Group. He was possibly a pupil of the Krokotos Painter or one of his colleagues, which seems to be implied by skyphoi like Syracuse 26857 and Winchester (Cat. Nos. 1 and 4, pl. 1) whose painting is rather close to the Krokotos Group (use of added yellow, kraters under the handles, etc.). In my view, the Theseus Painter can be reckoned among the painters of Ure's Sub-krokotos Group, the full heirs of the Krokotos Group itself. He can therefore be regarded as a colleague of the Herm Painter, Hydra Painter and Painter of Philadelphia 5481, the last of whom stands closest to him. Of the later painters of the White Heron Group, the Painter of Rodin 1000 is worth singling out, not because of the quality of his work, but because he is the only named painter of that group and because of the links between his skyphoi and the Theseus Painter's regarding shape, themes, stylistic elements and the form of the white herons.

It is hard to say whether the Theseus Painter potted any of his skyphoi. In any event, it is quite certain that they were fashioned by at least two potters, possibly more, and that the same potters also supplied the Painter of Philadelphia 5481 and the Painter of Rodin 1000. That the Theseus Painter also worked as potter is, in my estimation, highly doubtful.

The link between the Krokotos Group, White Heron Group and other manufacturers of Heron Class skyphoi, like the CHC Group, is not especially clear. The Painter of the Nicosia Olpe seems to be the first to have adorned type B skyphoi, although stylistically he shows more affinities with type A skyphoi than with the Krokotos Group.<sup>231</sup> The connection between the painters of type B skyphoi and the CHC Group, which was the other major producer of concave-rimmed skyphoi, is equally puzzling. In style, secondary decoration and possibly in shape, these skyphoi seem not be related. On the other hand, the Theseus Painter is known to have decorated at least one 'narrow band' skyphos, which is the trademark of the CHC Group.

<sup>230</sup> G. Güntner (ed.), *Mythen und Menschen, Griechische Vasenkunst aus einer deutschen Privatsammlung*, Martin von Wagner Museum 1 July - 28 sept. 1997, 52-55, no. 14.

<sup>231</sup> The Painter of the Nicosia Olpe has many more type A skyphoi (examples of both type A1, with convex rim, and A2, with concave rim) than type B skyphoi (two known specimens only).



Another enigmatic point is the small number of Heron Class skyphoi by painters other than the Theseus Painter, as compared to his very numerous specimens. Perhaps this difference is due simply to the chance of survival or discovery, or perhaps much pottery by painters of Heron Class skyphoi has not yet been recognised.



### III. LEKYTHOI

#### 1. Shape

The second most popular vase-shape of the Theseus Painter is the lekythos, 25 of which can currently be assigned to him, that is, far fewer than his very numerous skyphoi. Nearly all the painter's lekythoi are the standard cylindrical type, as also decorated by the Athena Painter. According to Haspels, this specific type of lekythos might have been introduced by the Edinburgh Painter at around 500 B.C.<sup>232</sup> However, she also mentions the alternative possibility that the type might be an innovation of Gales or another painter/potter.<sup>233</sup>

Further, in her view, at least one lekythos by the Theseus Painter, Cambridge G.3.1955 (Cat. no. 131, pl. 40 d-e), so closely resembles the general decoration and, especially, shape of the Edinburgh Painter's cylindrical lekythoi that it must have been made in that painter's workshop.<sup>234</sup> Indeed, the shape of many of the Edinburgh Painter's lekythoi is very similar that of the Cambridge lekythos (fig. 54); compare for example Athens, NM 1130, by the Edinburgh Painter.<sup>235</sup> Incidentally, the latter, as seen on the Cambridge lekythos, shows the same use of different shades of white to distinguish the ground colour from the chitoniskos of one human figure (Odysseus). As the device is not met in other work of the Theseus Painter, it was perhaps a borrowing from the Edinburgh Painter.

Therefore it seems quite probable that the Theseus Painter (as well as the Athena Painter) decorated at least a portion of his lekythoi in the workshop which employed the Edinburgh Painter. It is furthermore possible that the Theseus Painter began as a decorator of lekythoi in that same lekythos workshop: the time when the Theseus Painter switched to lekythoi appears generally to correspond more or less with the start of the Athena Painter's career.<sup>236</sup>

In shape, the basic features of the Theseus Painter's lekythoi are: large conical mouth; high, narrow neck; ridge between neck and shoulder; broad, flat handle; rather flat, sloping shoulder; nearly straight body, curving inwards in the lowest section; high foot disk, sometimes with a ring or fillet between it and the body. Some of the painter's lekythoi are relatively slender,<sup>237</sup> with a more angular curve in the lower body (figs. 57-59); others have a lower section which is more bulging and rounded, like some of the Edinburgh Painter's lekythoi (figs. 54-56).

The Theseus Painter's lekythoi, like skyphoi, are most clearly marked by their dimensions and the shape of their feet. The first group of lekythoi (Cat. nos. 125-131, pls. 38-40), as shown in figs. 54-56, are very large. All of them are more than 30.0 cm high.<sup>238</sup> The largest is Cambridge G.3.1955, with a height of 36.0 cm (Cat. no. 131, pl. 40 d-e). Stylistically, these large lekythoi seem to be among the Theseus Painter's earliest ones: transitional from middle period to late. They are comparable in style to the Theseus Painter's latest skyphoi (see also Table 3b) and presumably contemporaneous with them, which would imply that he switched to lekythoi around the time he made his last skyphoi.

Most of the Theseus Painter's lekythoi, on the other hand, measure between 20.0 and 30.0 cm in height (large). His smallest known specimen is London 1904.7-8.5, only 16.5 cm high (Cat. no. 138, pl. 43 d-e, fig. 60), which, according to Haspels, is one of his latest lekythoi because of the absence of detail in the

<sup>232</sup> ABL 86.

<sup>233</sup> ABL 69, 86.

<sup>234</sup> ABL 145.

<sup>235</sup> Haspels, ABL 217, 27, pl. 29.3; ABV 476; Para 217; Beazley Addenda<sup>2</sup> 120.

<sup>236</sup> ABL 89, 141, 145, 147. See also Kurtz, *AWL*, 14-15. The notion that the starting point of the Athena Painter more or less corresponds with the moment when the Theseus Painter switched to lekythoi could be chronologically sound. The earliest lekythoi of the Theseus Painter belong to his transitional period (c. 495-490 B.C., see development and chronology). The Athena Painter, however, may have slightly preceded him, as his starting point is generally placed at around 500 or slightly afterwards.

<sup>237</sup> See, i.a., Bonn 307 (Cat. no. 143, pl. 46 a-b).

<sup>238</sup> Armonk, Pinney, 33.2 cm; Goulondris coll. 265, 34.0 cm; once Philadelphia market, 31.7 cm; San Antonio 86.134.54, 31.2 cm; once Lucerne market, 30.0 cm (Cat. nos. 125-30, pls. 38-40 c).

representation.<sup>239</sup> In my view, however, the latter simply results from the small size of the lekythos, with relatively little picture surface. However that may be, the London lekythos is certainly later than the Theseus Painter's very large lekythoi.

Various types of feet (or classes) can be recognized, which might be indicative of different potters who worked in one or more workshops. Most feet of the Theseus Painter's lekythoi show a concave curve on the vertical side of the plate and a rather sharp upper edge as well as sometimes a sharp lower one (figs. 57-59). Other lekythoi have a large, rather plump torus foot disk whose vertical side either is slightly convex (fig. 56)<sup>240</sup> or curves inwards from top to bottom (figs. 54-55).<sup>241</sup> Finally, the Theseus Painter is known to have decorated at least one lekythos with a foot plate in the shape of smallish, thin disk, (fig. 60), comparable to fig. 56 but much more delicate and without a central spike. In addition, the foot is notable because of its simple, unarticulated form which, insofar as I am aware, is not repeated in another lekythos of the Theseus Painter. Moreover, the different types of feet appear to parallel the chronology of the painter's style. The large lekythoi with heavy torus and echinus feet (figs. 54-56) are comparatively early, whereas the others (figs. 57-60) can be designated as either late or very late.<sup>242</sup> Brussels A 1953 (Cat. no. 135, pl. 42 d-e) has the same plump, torus foot as Cat. nos. 125-28, fig. 56, but because it is considerably smaller and its style of painting and drawing clumsier, it is probably slightly later than the large lekythoi.

Almost exactly the same types of feet occur on lekythoi of the Athena Painter. Compare fig. 56 with fig. 77, and figs. 57-59 with fig. 78.<sup>243</sup> However, Haspels' suggested chronological divisions for this painter's lekythoi with the various feet do not fully tally with my suggested line of development for the Theseus Painter. In her lists, the Athena Painter's 27 early lekythoi exhibit all types of feet, although the majority of them are in the form of either a heavy torus disk or a echinus, as found on the Theseus Painter's large, comparatively early lekythoi.<sup>244</sup> Relatively numerous are those with a concave side.

Apart from the standard cylindrical shape noted above, at least two of the Theseus Painter's lekythoi are the very late chimney type, once in the Peyrefitte collection and Boston 21.277 (Cat. nos. 146-47, pls. 46 d-f). The chimney-lekythos was widely manufactured by very late black-figure workshops, for example, the Haimon Group. On the other hand, it is not known to have been a product of either the Athena Painter or the Edinburgh Painter. In shape, these two lekythoi of the Theseus Painter are closest to the chimney-lekythoi of the Beldam Painter,<sup>245</sup> who was a very late specialist in the type. Probably they issued from the workshop of that painter. Stylistically, they show the Theseus Painter's very late and clumsy manner of painting and drawing.

## 2. Painting and drawing

### Secondary decoration

The secondary decoration of the Theseus Painter's lekythoi is less uniform than that of his skyphoi. Two kinds of shoulder decoration exist. Most frequently, the shoulder is surrounded by palmettes, "with tendrils and bud at the outer palmettes", an ornament which, in Haspels' opinion, seems to have been

<sup>239</sup> ABL 146.

<sup>240</sup> Goulandris coll. 265; San Antonio 86.134.54 (Cat. nos. 126, 128, pls. 38 a-b, 39 a-c).

<sup>241</sup> Kerameikos 5671, once Lucerne market (Cat. nos. 129, 130, pl. 40 a-c).

<sup>242</sup> The very late chimney lekythoi (Cat. nos. 146-47, pls. 46 d-f) are not represented by drawings, but their feet are rather similar to figs. 57-59.

<sup>243</sup> Concave curve, i.a., Amsterdam 3754 (*MuM* 26, no. 40, forthcoming *CVA*); Princeton 5247 (ABL 256,36; ABV 522; *Beazley Addenda*<sup>2</sup> 130); Amsterdam 8977 (*Para* 261; forthcoming *CVA*). Flat torus disk, for example, Karlsruhe B 28 (*CVA* 1, pl. 12.4-6); Palermo 675 (*CVA* 1, pl. 18.4-7). Echinus (not illustrated in figures), for example, Karlsruhe B 27 (ABL 257,79); New Haven, Yale 1913.112 (ABL 255,26).

<sup>244</sup> ABL 147; 254-55, nos. 1-27.

<sup>245</sup> ABL 266-69; ABV 586-87; *Para* 292-94; *Beazley Addenda*<sup>2</sup> 139. See also ABL pls. 53-54. Also Kurtz, *AWL*, 19.

partly introduced (or developed) by both the Edinburgh Painter and the Athena Painter.<sup>246</sup> Other lekythos shoulders are embellished with rays.

The palmette motifs can be divided into two distinct types, each consisting of five palmettes. The first, which is met on most of the Theseus Painters lekythoi, consists of palmettes with a solid core and seven to nine large, wide leaves. Volutes and single, solid dots punctuate the field (fig. 36 b).<sup>247</sup> The second type has palmettes with an open core, and 11 to 13 small, thin leaves. In the surrounding field, volutes are also included, but in contrast to the first type, there are small dot-rosettes instead of single dots (fig. 36 a).<sup>248</sup> The shoulders of the Athena Painter's lekythoi show the first kind of palmette motif only: palmettes with large leaves and solid dots in the field.

Shoulders with rays seem to occur only among later lekythoi of the Theseus Painter.<sup>249</sup> In Haspels' opinion, this shoulder ornament was adopted from the workshop of the Beldam Painter, and these lekythoi "must have been made in an establishment close to the Beldam workshop."<sup>250</sup> This would provide further confirmation of the above-established connection between the Theseus Painter's chimney-lekythoi and the Beldam painter's workshop. In addition, Haspels remarked that the system of shoulder palmettes with 11-13 leaves would also be linked to the same workshop,<sup>251</sup> confirming that the lekythoi with this motif stem from late in the Theseus Painter's career.

Variation also marks the ornamental band directly below the shoulder. The motifs occur in various combinations with the different shoulder ornaments. Most common is a double row of dots or a net-band.<sup>252</sup> Other bands consist of a single meander to the right,<sup>253</sup> more complex, stopped meander with crosses,<sup>254</sup> and stopped meander (fig. 37a-d).<sup>255</sup> Several lekythoi have only a single line below the shoulder.<sup>256</sup>

Haspels observed that the Theseus Painter seems not to have borrowed another innovation of the Athena Painter for lekythoi: the completely black neck.<sup>257</sup> On the Theseus Painter's lekythoi, only the lower section is commonly black. Some of his lekythoi have a red stripe around the upper surface of the foot.

Several of the Theseus Painter's lekythoi are white ground. Haspels credited the Edinburgh Painter with the idea of coating the picture surface of cylindrical lekythoi with a white slip.<sup>258</sup> The usage was subsequently taken over for several lekythoi by both the Athena Painter and the Theseus Painter.<sup>259</sup>

<sup>246</sup> ABL 145. According to Haspels (ibid., 86), the Edinburgh Painter also introduced, for the shoulder, the system of five palmettes instead of the previous seven.

<sup>247</sup> See, for example, Armonk, Pinney coll.; once Philadelphia; San Antonio 86.134.54; Naples Stg. 118 (Cat. nos. 125, 127-28, 132, pls. 38 a-b, 39, 41 a-c).

<sup>248</sup> See, for example, Athens, NM 9684; Athens, NM 9686; Berlin 2005 (Cat. nos. 139, 142, 145, pls. 44 a-b, 45 d-e, 46 c), ABL 146. These palmettes are also connected to the Beldam Painter by Kurtz, *AWL*, 19.

<sup>249</sup> See Oxford 1934.372, Boston 21.277 and once Paris, Peyrefitte coll. (Cat. nos. 140, 146-47, pls. 44 c-d, 46 d-f).

<sup>250</sup> ABL 178.

<sup>251</sup> ABL 146, referring to the shoulder palmettes of Berlin 2005, "derived from the Beldam Painter's [...], are many petalled and rather dry."

<sup>252</sup> Palmettes on the shoulder: Armonk, Pinney coll.; Athens, Goulondris coll. 265; once Philadelphia market; Kerameikos 5671; San Antonio 86.134.54; once Lucerne Market; Naples Stg. 118; Brussels A 1953 (Cat. nos. 125-30, 132, 135, pls. 38-40 c, 41 a-c, 42 d-e). Rays on the shoulder: Bonn 307 (Cat. no. 143, pl. 46 a-b).

<sup>253</sup> Palmettes on shoulder: Athens, NM 515, London 1904.7-8.5 (Cat. nos. 136 and 138, pl. 43 a-b and d-e). Rays on the shoulder: once Paris, Peyrefitte coll. (Cat. no. 147, pl. 46 f).

<sup>254</sup> Collisani coll. R 32; Berlin 2005, (Cat. nos. 134, 145, pls. 42 a-c, 46 c), both with palmettes on the shoulder.

<sup>255</sup> Cambridge G 3.1955 palmettes, (Cat. no. 131, pl. 40 d-e).

<sup>256</sup> Palmettes on the shoulder: German private coll.; Syracuse 33501; Athens, NM 9684; Athens, NM 9686 and London, Embiricos coll. (Cat. nos. 133, 137, 139, 142, 148 pls. 41 d-e, 43 c, 44 a-b, 45 d-e, 46 d-g). Rays on the shoulder: Oxford 1934.372; Erlangen I 238; Boston 2177; (Cat. nos. 141, 144 and 146, pls. 45 a-c, 46 d-e). Unpublished lekythos is Athens market (Cat. no. 149).

<sup>257</sup> ABL 148.

<sup>258</sup> ABL 86; Kurtz, *AWL*, 14, although the earliest white-ground lekythoi are attributable to Psiax (Mertens, *AWG*, 195).

<sup>259</sup> Other vase shapes by the Theseus Painter are also white ground: kalpis Madrid 10930, several oinochoai, kyathoi Malibu 86.AE.146 and Erlangen I 522, and all the alabstra (Cat. nos. 160, 167-69, 192, 195, 201-205).



## Style of painting and drawing

In relation to the Theseus Painter's skyphoi, the painting and drawing of the majority of the lekythoi are clearly later and aspects of the figure style differ. Whereas the human figures of the skyphoi are rather broad and muscular, their anatomy is less bulging on most lekythoi. The first remarkable feature of the figurework of lekythoi is the relative slenderness of the human figures compared to those of most skyphoi. The contours of the painted silhouettes are more angular and straight. Some figures of the relatively early lekythoi, however, continue to display the characteristically early muscularity.<sup>260</sup> Therefore, the gradual increase in the slenderness of the figures must be regarded as a stylistic development and not exclusively as a result of the high, slender shape of the lekythoi, even though the latter would also have played its part. Perhaps the trend towards slenderness was influenced by the Athena Painter, who tended to favour slender figures. On many lekythoi of the Theseus Painter and the Athena Painter it is evident that they influenced each other. The link is especially clear on the lekythos San Antonio 86.134.54 by the Theseus Painter (Cat. no. 128, pl. 39 d-f) which has often been alternately attributed to both painters.<sup>261</sup>

Stylistically, the Theseus Painter and the Athena Painter, so to speak, can be considered brothers. In fact, the subjects of the Theseus Painter's lekythoi seem often to be related more to those of the Athena Painter than to those of his own skyphoi or other shapes. The examples are, among others, Polyxena at the fountain, Peleus and Thetis, Judgement of Paris, sirens, Pyrrhic dance, fight, etc. It must be pointed out, however, that some of the same themes sometimes reappear on his other vases, including skyphoi. Another characteristic of the figurework of the Theseus Painter's lekythoi is the reduction in both the amount of overlap and the depiction of movement. Even in fights, for example, the action is less clearly depicted on the lekythoi than on the skyphoi.<sup>262</sup> It is also remarkable that basic stylistic elements of the painting of the skyphoi are absent: the white heron completely vanishes and the broad, low, intertwined trees become rare. And a new type of fir-like tree emerges, which is not attested on the skyphoi.<sup>263</sup>

In contrast to the often dynamic arrangements of the figures of his skyphoi, the Theseus Painter seems, for his lekythoi, to have taken over the rather stiff arrangements of isolated figures preferred by the Athena Painter. The figures rarely lie or overlap, and standard groups, for example, like those of the ephedrimos skyphoi, are less often repeated. On the lekythoi, furthermore, a row of figures is more frequently turned in one direction, as if forming a procession.<sup>264</sup> In a few instances, however, the common compositions of the skyphoi recur on lekythoi: a central figure surrounded by (sometimes antithetic) figures.<sup>265</sup>

The lekythoi are also less colourful than the skyphoi. Added red and white is still sometimes quite prominent, whereas added yellow is generally absent. The lekythos Cambridge G 3.1955 (Cat. no. 131, pl. 40 d-e), as remarked above, shows a curious mixture of two kinds of white slip: the usual bright white

<sup>260</sup> See, for example, once Philadelphia market, San Antonio 86.134.154, (Cat. nos. 127, 129, pl. 39).

<sup>261</sup> Various attributions of the San Antonio lekythos. To the Athena Painter: W. Hornbostel, (*Kunst der Antike, Schätze aus norddeutschem Privatbesitz*, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe Hamburg (Mainz 1977) 292-93, no. 254; W. Hornbostel, *Aus Gräbern und Heiligtümern, die Antikensammlung Walter Kropatscheck*, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg 11 July - 14 Sept. 1980, 107-109, no. 64); Catalogue Münzen und Medaillen (*MuM Basle* 63, 1983, no. 36); H.A. Shapiro (*Greek Vases in San Antonio*, 24, no. 62). To the Theseus Painter: H. Mommsen (*CVA Berlin* 7, p. 50); M. Pipili (*CVA Athens* 4, p. 51); M. Steinhart (*AA* 1993, 201, n. 1). Several lekythoi attributed to the Athena Painter show an identical subject: London 651 (*ABL* 256,48); once Basle market (*MuM Sonderliste G*, 1964, no. 42; *Para* 261); Amsterdam 8977 (*Para* 261; *Gezicht op de oudheid, aanwinsten 1965-1981, Allard Pierson Museum*, Amsterdam 1982, 45; forthcoming *CVA*); Bari 2732 (Haspels, *ABL* 257,68, pl. 48.2). They are all stylistically very close to one another, while differing from the San Antonio lekythos. Compare, for example, by the Athena Painter, the wings of the sirens of the above-mentioned lekythoi and of a swan carrying Hyakinthos (M. Steinhart, 'Apollon auf dem Schwan, Eine neue Lekythos des Athenamalers' *AA*, 1993, 201-212) with those of the sirens of the San Antonio lekythos and the Greifswald skyphos (Cat. no. 35, pl. 15 b). Whereas the last two are similar to one another, they differ completely from work attributed to the Athena Painter.

<sup>262</sup> See, for example, Armonk, Pinney coll. and Goulondris coll. 265 (Cat. nos. 125, 126, pl. 38).

<sup>263</sup> Once Philadelphia market (Cat. no. 127, pl. 39 a).

<sup>264</sup> Good examples are: once Lucerne market, Cambridge G.3.1955, Oxford 1934.372, Louvre CA 1837, Athens 9686, Berlin 2005, Boston 21.277 (Cat. nos. 130-31, 140-42, 146-47, pls. 40 c-e, 44 c-d, 45, 46 c-e).

<sup>265</sup> Like Kerameikos 5671, San Antonio 86.134.54 (Cat. nos. 128-29, pls. 39 d-f, 40 a-b).

for the ground, as found in the Theseus Painter's other white-ground work, and a more creamy, yellowish white, though distinctly different from the added yellow of his skyphoi, for chitons and other details.

A development in the incising that has already been noted in the late skyphoi is continued in the lekythoi. Although most of the common characteristics of incising can be discerned, the drawing becomes much less flowing than on the Theseus Painter's early skyphoi. In addition, he altered details of the incising on his lekythoi: the standard thigh line with a curl at the end for the knee is sometimes omitted and replaced by a semicircular or semi-oval kneecap, which is never a feature of skyphoi (figs. 4, 10, 14). Occasionally, a double semicircle defines the ear and the characteristic forelock is replaced by a row of strokes for the hairline. Even animals are affected by this comparative increase in 'stiffness'. The differences in the incising are most visible on the late lekythoi. Over time, the incising, in both detail and overall appearance, looks increasingly more like that of the Athena Painter.

One lekythos stands apart: Berlin 2005 (Cat. no. 145, pl. 46 c, fig. 26). It displays what Haspels called "exaggerated crinkliness", which she also noted in the kalpis Madrid 10930 (Cat. no. 160, pl. 50 b). The trait is most clearly visible in female garments: double rows of small wavy lines, which are not met in other work of the Theseus Painter.

The facial incising of females is often slightly more elaborate on the white-ground vases than on those with the usual red or orange ground. This is probably due to the fact that in white ground the skin of the women remains black. White-faced women, on the other hand, have more facial details picked out in red or reservation; for the differences, compare the woman on the red-ground lekythos Goulandris collection 265 (Cat. no. 126, pl. 38 c-e), with the women on the white-ground lekythos Berlin 2005 (Cat. no. 145, pl. 46 c). In general, the female figures of lekythoi bear a great resemblance to those by the Athena Painter; compare for example the fleeing Nereid on a lekythos by the Athena Painter<sup>266</sup> with the fleeing woman of Athens, Goulandris 265 (Cat. no. 126, pl. 38 c-e).<sup>267</sup>

### 3. Lekythoi near the Theseus Painter

#### Near the Theseus Painter or perhaps by himself

Of several lekythoi, it is difficult to determine whether they are actually by the Theseus Painter or by a colleague who painted quite similarly. Delos 568 (Cat. no. N15), showing maenads dancing 'through a porch', with thyrsos, deer and goat, was placed by Haspels near the Theseus Painter. She was uncertain, however, whether the lekythos might instead have been decorated by the Theseus Painter himself. It seemed to her that in general appearance the style of the deer is very much like that of the painter. But she found other elements, like the rendering of the maenads' garments, very dissimilar from those in the painter's work. On the other hand, the goat overlapped by the central maenad is quite like others by the Theseus Painter, though not entirely. The shape of the lekythos (slightly bulging body, heavy torus foot) and its secondary ornamentation (palmettes on the shoulder and net-band around the side) correspond with those of the Theseus Painter's large lekythoi. Nevertheless, I think Haspels was probably right to leave Delos 568 out of the core work attributed to the Theseus Painter.

Another lekythos, once Paris, Peyrefitte collection (Cat. no. N16), with maenads similar to those of Delos 568, pursued by satyrs, shares some stylistic aspects with the Theseus Painter; note for example the belly and knee incisions of the satyrs and the close parallel lines for the folds of the maenads' garments. Once again, the shape is similar to that of his large lekythoi. However, the neck and shoulder decoration differs completely: it consists of a black field with very carefully painted red-figure palmettes. Haspels mentions several lekythoi from the workshop of the Athena Painter, either black- or red-figure, which

<sup>266</sup> Palermo, CVA 1, pl. 19.1-3.

<sup>267</sup> Once, Athens market (Cat. no. 149) was attributed by Haspels. I was not able to see it.

have exactly the same palmette motif on the shoulder.<sup>268</sup> According to Beazley, the Peyrefitte lekythos is in the "manner of the Athena Painter." Because of the style of the satyrs, I am more inclined to place it near the Theseus Painter, if not to assign it to his hand.

A lekythos which might be a late work of the Theseus Painter or near him has rays on the shoulder: Hanover 1966.33 (Cat. no. N17). It depicts an auloi-player between two dancing warriors, in similar fashion to Bonn 307 and the oinochoe once in the Theodor collection, Brussels (Cat. nos. 143 and 168, pls. 46, 54 a). The style reminds one of the Theseus Painter. The shape seems to be connected to the workshops of the Haimon/Beldam Painters.

A lekythos in Bucharest (Cat. no. N18) shows some elements which are also reminiscent of the Theseus Painter.<sup>269</sup> The subject and arrangement of the scene - a naked small boy with a mirror and a woman between mantled boys leaning on sticks - are almost identical to Utrecht 29 (Cat. no. 162, pl. 51 b). There are also some similarities in style, for example the musculature and faces of both naked boys. The incising of the garments, however, is quite uncharacteristic of the Theseus Painter and the 'inverted' collarbone is not seen on his vases. On the other hand, the faces of both larger youths are quite similar to the youths of Munich 1678 (Cat. no. 154, pl. 49 a-b); and the shape and secondary decoration are also quite similar to those of lekythoi by the Theseus Painter; compare for example Syracuse 33501 or Athens, NM 9686 (Cat. nos. 137, 142, pls. 43 c, 44 a-b, fig. 58). A definitive attribution, however, remains uncertain.<sup>270</sup>

M.B. Moore assigned the lekythos fragment Agora P 15953 (Cat. no. N20) to the Haimon Painter or near him.<sup>271</sup> However, its style also shows many similarities to that of the Theseus Painter's latest phase; compare for example the youths of Uppsala 352 (Cat. no. 161, pl. 51 a) and the pelikai Munich 1678 and Naples 81082 (Cat. nos. 154 and 155, pls. 49 a-d).

## The Athena Painter

In both general terms and in relation to the Theseus Painter the Athena Painter is an important late black-figure artisan, who is stylistically closest to the Theseus Painter. The fact that these two painters are narrowly related was already made apparent in Haspels' *ABL* where they share one chapter, which would rarely be appropriate in the case of other distinctly individual painters.<sup>272</sup>

Nevertheless, however close in style and the use of some shapes like the lekythos and the oinochoe they may be, the Athena Painter and the Theseus Painter can be sharply differentiated. This is most evident from their preferred shapes. The Theseus Painter originated in the Krokotos Group and, for the most part, was a painter of skyphoi. The Athena Painter, on the other hand, is not known to have decorated any skyphoi at all. How it happened that the Theseus Painter switched to lekythoi later in his career, apparently in association with the Athena Painter, is difficult to establish. It may have been that he became involved in the "workshop of the Athena Painter", which would then have made them close colleagues, as suggested by the correspondences in their pottery shapes,<sup>273</sup> secondary decoration and style.

In most instances, the Athena Painter cannot be stylistically confused with the Theseus Painter. The human figures often stand more rigidly, and the male heads are generally much squatter than those of the Theseus Painter. The differences are clearest in the incising. The Athena Painter's incising is much more detailed, less flowing, as can best be seen in faces, for example the treatment of the cheekbone and

<sup>268</sup> *ABL* 162, 262, 1-4. See also *ABV* 523-24.

<sup>269</sup> *CVA* 2, pl. 39.3, 7-9.

<sup>270</sup> Agrigento AG 22641 (Cat. no. N19) is only known to me from a very bad photograph. It has, insofar as visible, some elements that remind me of the Theseus Painter.

<sup>271</sup> *Agora* XXIII, no. 1184.

<sup>272</sup> *ABL* 141: "these two artists influenced each other." See further, *ABL* 147-65; *ABV* 522-33; *Para* 260-66; *Beazley Addenda* 7/30-32; S. Karouzou, *Satyroi*, 58-71; M. Steinhart, 'Apollon auf dem Schwan', *AA* 1993, 200-212; Clark, *Olpoi and Oinochoai*, 824-865.

<sup>273</sup> Except for possibly the Theseus Painter's chimney lekythoi, once Paris, Peyrefitte coll. and Boston 21.277 (Cat. nos. 146-47, pl. 46 d-f), which are associated with the Beldam Painter.



moustache of Poseidon in Oxford 247,<sup>274</sup> and in anatomy, like the body of the komast of Palermo 2788.<sup>275</sup>

In two respects, the Athena Painter stands technically apart from the Theseus Painter. First of all, it has been suggested that the Athena Painter might also have worked in red-figure as the so-called Bowdoin Painter,<sup>276</sup> whereas the Theseus Painter is not thought to have possibly practised that technique. Secondly, the Athena Painter perhaps made use of the 'outline' technique, in which the Diosphos Painter is a specialist.<sup>277</sup> This kind of painting appears, for example, in Bonn 538, of which, unfortunately, it cannot be decided whether the decoration is by the Athena Painter himself or only near him.<sup>278</sup> In any event, the Theseus Painter has not been associated with any vases showing outlined figures.

As to iconography, the Theseus Painter and the Athena Painter have rather dissimilar preferences, although they share a special theme like Herakles leading a female monster by a rope, which occurs virtually nowhere else in Attic black-figure.<sup>279</sup> Other examples of shared subjects are Nereus/Poseidon on a seahorse,<sup>280</sup> Achilles and Polyxena at the fountain,<sup>281</sup> Peleus and Thetis,<sup>282</sup> and two heroes seated at a (burial) mound.<sup>283</sup>

### Miscellaneous lekythoi near the Theseus Painter and erroneously attributed lekythoi

Only a few lekythoi have been placed near the Theseus Painter. A lekythos once in Adolphseck (Cat. no. N70), with Theseus and the Minotaur, was designated by Beazley as such. Its drawing, though very clumsy, bears some resemblance to that of the Theseus Painter. It has a foot that is similar to the lekythoi with a foot on which the side of the plate curves inwards towards the base (figs. 54-55). The secondary decoration of this lekythos, comprising rays and a single meander, is comparable to that of the Peyrefitte lekythos (Cat. no. 147, pl. 46 f).

Haspels also assigned a lekythos to near the Theseus Painter: Oxford 513 (Cat. no. N71). The figurework is noteworthy for the absence of anatomical incising, which makes it difficult to establish the exact position of this lekythos in relation to the Theseus Painter. At any rate, the designation 'near the Theseus Painter' seems appropriate. The same can be said of three other lekythoi, all described by Haspels as near the Theseus Painter or in his manner: Agrigento C 869, London 78-1.20 (542), Syracuse 20901 (Cat. nos. N72-74). Each displays some resemblance to the Theseus Painter's general style of painting and composition. In each instance, on the other hand, the incising is not particularly similar to that of the Theseus Painter. Tübingen 4853 (Cat. no. N75) might also belong near the painter. Figures by the Theseus Painter have similar proportions and some elements are reminiscent of him; note for example the curly hook in the right-hand hind-leg of the horse to the left.<sup>284</sup>

<sup>274</sup> ABL 255,19; Boardman, *ABFV*, fig. 20.

<sup>275</sup> ABL 257,61; *ABV* 522,61; *Para* 260.

<sup>276</sup> ABL 157-60; *ABV* 522; *ARV<sup>2</sup>* 677-89; *Para* 405-407; Beazley *Addenda<sup>2</sup>* 279-80. See also Kurtz and Boardman, *Athena-Bowdoin Painter*.

<sup>277</sup> ABL 110-12.

<sup>278</sup> *ABV* 523 ('may be by himself'); Kurtz, *AWL*, pl. 14.5.

<sup>279</sup> By the Theseus Painter, Acropolis 1306 and Monopoli, private coll. (Cat. nos. 15-16, pl. 7); and by the Athena Painter, Boston 98.924 (ABL 260,129; *ABV* 524; Beazley *Addenda<sup>2</sup>* 131).

<sup>280</sup> By the Theseus Painter, New York 17.230.9 (Cat. no. 3, pl. 2 b); and by the Athena Painter, Athens, NM 5893 (ABL 254,1), New Haven 1913.12 (ABL 255,26), Munich 1558 (ABL 255,18), Oxford 247 (ABL 255,19).

<sup>281</sup> By the Theseus Painter, Athens 9684 (Cat. no. 139, pl. 44 a-b); and by the Athena Painter, Louvre F 366 (ABL 256,40); Munich (ABL 257,78); Karlsruhe B 27 (ABL 257,79; *CVA* 1, pl. 13.1-2); Basle private (*Para* 261); Amsterdam 3737 (*Para* 261); once Roman market (*ABV* 523,4); Toledo 47.62 (*ABV* 523,5; Beazley *Addenda<sup>2</sup>* 130); Muzzano, private coll. (*MuM* 40, 1969, no. 77); Washington WU 3278 (K. Herbert and S. Symeonoglou, *Ancient Collections in the Washington University*, St. Louis Missouri 1973, 13, figs. 15-17).

<sup>282</sup> By the Theseus Painter, Syracuse 33501, London 1904.7-8.5 (Cat. no. 137-38, pl. 43 c-e); and by the Athena Painter, Palermo (*CVA* 1, pl. 19.1-3).

<sup>283</sup> By the Theseus Painter, Naples 81156, once Basle market, once Paris market (Cat. nos. 33-34, 200, pl. 14); and by the Athena Painter, once market (ABL 256,51).

<sup>284</sup> *CVA* Tübingen 3, pl. 47,5.

The lekythos London B 648 (Cat. no. N94) was initially attributed by Haspels to the Beldam Painter. In the meanwhile it seems to have been reattributed to the Theseus Painter.<sup>285</sup> In my opinion, however, Haspels was right: the style of this vase is so limited that it cannot even be considered some of the latest work of the Theseus Painter. The black-bodied lekythos Malibu 86.AE.251 (Cat. no. N95) was attributed to the Theseus Painter because of similarities in shoulder palmettes.<sup>286</sup> In my opinion this is too meagre an argument for such an attribution.

#### 4. Concluding remarks

The lekythoi are the second most numerous vase type of the Theseus Painter. They are not at all related to the skyphos-producing Krokotos Group and White Heron Group. In style, secondary decoration, iconography and shape, most of the Theseus Painter's lekythoi are related to the Athena Painter. Some of his more careless work is instead linked to the Beldam Painter.

The style of the Theseus Painter's lekythoi is generally later than that of the majority of his skyphoi. However, the latest skyphoi and the earliest lekythoi stylistically overlap in many respects and therefore may well be contemporaneous.

In style, furthermore, the Theseus Painter's lekythoi (especially the later ones) are more in accordance with the Athena Painter than with his own skyphoi.

The Theseus Painter's lekythoi show differences in shape, which leads to the conclusion that more than one potter shaped them, one of whom may have been the Theseus Painter himself. On the other hand, it seems much more probable that the potters of the Theseus Painter's lekythoi were established craftsmen of the Athena Painters' workshop, which the Theseus Painter would have joined exclusively as a painter. Perhaps the potters were related to or descended from the Edinburgh Painter's workshop.

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<sup>285</sup> ABL 267,14; illustrated in, Lehnstaedt, *Prozessionsdarstellungen*, no. K76, pl. 4.3. Brandt, *Musikanten*, no. Attsf. 19, notes that C. Scheffer attributed it to the Theseus Painter, 'Competition, Consumption, and Cult in Archaic Black Figure', in *The Iconography of Greek Cult in the Archaic and Classical Periods*, Congress Delphi 1990 (Delphi 1992) no. A 21. The attribution is not correct.

<sup>286</sup> See CVA Malibu 5, with 263.3-5.

## IV. OTHER SHAPES

### 1. Pelikai

#### Shape

Only eight pelikai of standard type are attributed to the Theseus Painter (Cat. nos. 150-157, pls. 47-49). They can be divided into two groups: large and small. Apart from their dimensions, the small and large pelikai are further distinguished by aspects of shape like types of feet and rims as well as by their chronology. Stylistically, the Theseus Painter's large pelikai are clearly earlier than the small ones.

The heights of the Theseus Painter's three large pelikai (Cat. nos. 150-52, pls. 47-48 a-b, fig. 61) range from 33.4 to 37.8 cm. Each has a torus mouth and a torus foot. R.M. Becker assigned the specimens in Malibu and Columbia (Cat. nos. 150-51, pl. 47) to the workshop of the Nikoxenos Painter on the basis of their strong resemblance in shape to the latter's large pelikai,<sup>287</sup> which applies equally to those of the Eucharides Painter, for which see below. It is also notable that the shape and general decoration of the Theseus Painter's large pelike in San Antonio (Cat. no. 152, pl. 48 a-b), which was unknown to Becker, are very similar to that of his large pelikai in Malibu and Columbia.<sup>288</sup> Becker further suggested that the Theseus Painter and the Nikoxenos Painter were closely linked, as they evidently decorated pelikai, which were fashioned in the same workshop.<sup>289</sup> This link seems to be evident from the potterwork, but the decoration of the Theseus Painter and that of the Nikoxenos Painter are not closely connected. Some minor similarities exist between him and the Eucharides Painter only, as explained below.

However, the most evident correspondences between the Theseus Painter and both the Nikoxenos Painter and the Eucharides Painter lie in the potterwork of the pelikai they decorated. The Theseus painter's pelike in Columbia (Cat. no. 151, pl. 47 c-d), for instance, is nearly identical in shape and very close in dimensions to Louvre F 376 by the Nikoxenos Painter.<sup>290</sup> The Malibu pelike (Cat. no. 150, pl. 47 a-b) has a slightly different foot which is more similar to the feet of Louvre Cp 10785<sup>291</sup> and Kassel T 675,<sup>292</sup> both of which Becker placed, by shape, in the "Umkreis der Nikoxenos-Werkstatt", although the painters of these two pelikai are not necessarily related to the Nikoxenos Painter. Beazley attributed the Kassel pelike, for instance, to the Leagros Group. In addition, compare the shape of fig. 61 (Theseus Painter) and fig. 79 (Nikoxenos Painter). In shape, each of the other two large pelikai of the Theseus Painter (Cat. nos. 150, 152, pls. 47 a-b, 48 a-b) is slightly broader and plumper than the Columbia pelike.

Thus, it remains very difficult to establish the character of the supposed relation between the Theseus Painter and the Nikoxenos workshop. A significant stylistic relation, as seen in the case of the Krokotos Group and the Theseus Painter's skyphoi or the Athena Painter and his lekythoi, seems not to exist; and except for the kalpis London B 346 (Cat. no. 159, pl. 50 a, below), no other type of vase decorated by the Theseus Painter finds a counterpart in the output of Nikoxenos workshop. It would therefore seem that although he decorated pelikai which were actually potted in the Nikoxenos workshop, he was less narrowly connected with its artisans than with those of the Krokotos Group and the Athena Painter.

<sup>287</sup> Becker, *Peliken*, 8-9, catalogue 11, nos. 31-32.

<sup>288</sup> The San Antonio pelike was not published when Becker, *Peliken*, appeared (see *ibid.*, 105, n. 43).

<sup>289</sup> Becker, *Peliken*, 9. The Nikoxenos Painter and the Eucharides Painter are known to have worked in both black-figure and red-figure. Beazley was in some doubt whether the Eucharides Painter was either a pupil of or a late phase of the Nikoxenos Painter, although he kept on treating them as separate individuals. For the black-figure vases of the Nikoxenos Painter and the Eucharides Painter see *ABV* 392-98; *Para* 172-74; *Beazley Addenda*<sup>2</sup> 103-104.

<sup>290</sup> Becker, *Peliken*, no. 20; *ABV* 393.16. Also comparable in shape is Oxford G 247, Becker, *Peliken*, no. 24; *ABV* 396.21; *Para* 173; *Beazley Addenda*<sup>2</sup> 104, Eucharides Painter.

<sup>291</sup> Becker, *Peliken*, no. 34a, "Umkreis der Nikoxenos-Werkstatt", a red-figure pelike not attributed to a particular painter.

<sup>292</sup> Becker, *Peliken*, no. 44, "Umkreis der Nikoxenos-Werkstatt"; *ABV* 376.223<sup>ba</sup>; *Para* 176; *Beazley Addenda*<sup>2</sup> 100, Leagros Group.



In comparison to the larger pelikai the Theseus Painter's five small pelikai (Cat. nos. 153-57, pls. 48 c-d-49, fig. 62) differ not only in their dimensions (height ranging from 17.2 to 19.1 cm.) but also in the shape of their rims and feet.<sup>293</sup> The foot has a rather straight, vertical side,<sup>294</sup> the rim resembles a pointy torus with a sloping top.<sup>295</sup> All the small pelikai of the Theseus Painter show slight differences in the details of their rims and feet.

Becker placed the Theseus Painter's small pelikai in an independent class: "Klasse der kleinformigen Theseus-maler Peliken."<sup>296</sup> According to her, they were then the only known small-size Attic black-figure pelikai.<sup>297</sup> However, Von Bothmer mentioned at least one other small pelike which has comparable dimensions and the same kind of panel decoration.<sup>298</sup> It has been neither attributed to a particular painter nor noted by Beazley.

Pelikai of smallish size are indeed very rare. Even the rather clumsy pelikai associated with the Red-line Painter are considerably larger than the Theseus Painter's small pelikai.<sup>299</sup> Pelikai of such small size become more frequent only in the later red-figure period.<sup>300</sup>

The execution and quality of the potterwork of the Theseus Painter's small pelikai is quite inferior to that of the large ones. In comparison, their handles, rims and feet are basically crude, simple forms without any refinement. Viewed in combination with the later style of figure painting, this suggests that they must date from later in the painter's career. Becker argues that the small scale and the 'inferior' workmanship of the Theseus Painter's small pelikai are indications that they must originate in a separate (but unidentified) workshop which produced small shapes like the skyphoi and lekythoi which the Theseus Painter decorated.<sup>301</sup> However, as treated above, many of the Theseus Painter's skyphoi are relatively large and their decoration is better and earlier than that of his small pelikai. Furthermore, the his skyphoi and lekythoi, unlike his pelikai, can be associated with distinct artisans and workshops: Krokotos Group, Athena Painter, Edinburgh Painter.

According to Becker,<sup>302</sup> the pelike Cab. des Médailles 250 (Cat. no. 156, pl. 49 e-f) stands apart from the Theseus Painter's four other small pelikai. Minor differences are seen in the shape of the rim, which is flatter, and the foot, which is more complex and ridged. On the other hand, its style and secondary decoration are similar to those of the other small pelikai.

## Painting and drawing

Each panel of the Theseus Painter's large pelikai has a border of quite carefully rendered pendent lotuses at the top and simple, single lines on the sides and at the bottom (Pls. 47, 48 a-b).<sup>303</sup> Other decorative elements like palmettes under the handles, as found on the Nikoxenos Painter's pelikai, are not included. The Theseus Painter's basic kind of ornamentation is common to many other black-figure pelikai.<sup>304</sup> Pelikai decorated in the same manner are placed in the Leagros Group and, especially, by or near the

<sup>293</sup> Compare the drawings of Columbia and the two small pelikai Louvre F 391 and Munich 1678, in Becker, *Peliken*, pl. 38 e, and pl. 9 a, d.

<sup>294</sup> Becker describes it as a "Mischung aus Torus und Echinus", *Peliken*, 24.

<sup>295</sup> Becker, *Peliken*, 24, "Schräg aufsteigende Lippe mit sanft gewölbter Oberseite."

<sup>296</sup> Becker, *Peliken*, 24-25, cat. 27-28, nos. 78-82. Also Dresden 218, either the Theseus Painter or the Athena Painter.

<sup>297</sup> Except for a miniature pelike from the Kerameikos, which is even smaller: 12.15 cm high; Becker, *Peliken*, cat. no. 68.

<sup>298</sup> Bothmer, *Pelikai*, 43, no. 27., 18.0 cm high: Rawtenstall, once Hope coll. 30, E.M.W. Tillyard, *The Hope Vases, A Catalogue and a Discussion of the Hope Collection and on late Attic and South Italian Vases* (Cambridge 1923).

<sup>299</sup> See Becker, *Peliken*, cat. nos. 59-77. Whereas the small pelikai by the Theseus Painter all measure less than 20.0 cm in height, the average for pelikai from the Red-line Painter's workshop is much more than 20.0 cm.

<sup>300</sup> See, for example, the small pelikai by the Geras Painter, Becker, *Peliken*, cat. nos. 176-204. But apart from their dimensions they are not comparable to the Theseus Painter's small pelikai.

<sup>301</sup> Becker, *Peliken*, 25.

<sup>302</sup> Becker, *Peliken*, 24-25.

<sup>303</sup> See also Bothmer, *Pelikai*, 42-43, nos. 13-23.

<sup>304</sup> See the preceding note

Acheloos Painter.<sup>305</sup> One of the Nikoxenos Painter's pelikai has the same kind of simplified secondary decoration.<sup>306</sup>

On the other hand, the secondary decoration of the small pelikai is different: each has a double row of carelessly placed dots at the top and on the sides of the picture panel. This further confirms what is suggested by the potterwork: the large and small pelikai form two separate groups, even though they were decorated by the same painter. Von Bothmer has compiled a short list of pelikai with the same type of panel ornamentation as the Theseus Painter's small ones: in fact, most of them are by the painter himself.<sup>307</sup>

As seen in the shape and ornamentation, the large and small pelikai attributed to the Theseus Painter can also be distinguished by style. The large pelikai basically conform with the style and chronological phase of the painter's skyphoi; compare for example the style and, especially, the incising of the auloi-playing satyrs and goats on the skyphos which was once in the Basle market (Cat. no. 37, pl. 15 c-d) with those on both sides of the Malibu pelike (Cat. no. 150, pl. 47 a-b). The Theseus Painter employed comparatively much colour on the large pelikai (especially the one in San Antonio, pl. 48 a-b). The Columbia pelike, on the other hand, is rather carelessly incised.

In the view of T.H. Price, the Columbia pelike is of "inferior quality [...] and probably painted by a pupil of the painter of a pelike in Chicago."<sup>308</sup> The painter of this Chicago pelike was identified by Beazley as the Eucharides Painter, who, as known, is narrowly related to the Nikoxenos Painter.<sup>309</sup> The notion that the painter of the Columbia pelike – the Theseus Painter – must therefore be considered a pupil of the Eucharides Painter is neither accepted nor rejected by Becker. However, no other observer, including Beazley, has suggested a possible connection between the Eucharides Painter and the Theseus Painter. In my opinion, the possibility seems indeed far-fetched if we consider the above-mentioned indications that the Theseus Painter stems from the Krokotos Group and was later connected to the Edinburgh Painter and the Athena Painter.

On the other hand, some similarities – generally minor – are seen in the work of the Theseus Painter and the Eucharides Painter.<sup>310</sup> In part, they concern style, as the Eucharides Painter sometimes has a somewhat curly way of incising, which in instances can be reminiscent of the Theseus Painter. But they are mainly found in their treatment and arrangement of subjects.<sup>311</sup> The stylistic resemblances between the Nikoxenos Painter and the Theseus Painter are even weaker.

In contrast, the style of the Theseus Painter's small pelikai can only be characterised as very clumsy and late. Much of his typically flowing incising is absent. Nevertheless, details are still recognisably by his hand, although they have been rendered much more carelessly than in his earlier work; for example, see the incisions of the chests, bellies, legs and knees of the naked youths in Munich 1678, (Cat. no. 154, pl. 49 a-b), and compare the incisions of the donkeys in Cab. des Médailles. 250, (Cat. no. 156, pl. 49 e-

<sup>305</sup> London 1865.11-18.40 (Bothmer, *Pelikai*, no. 13, *ABV* 384.20, *Beazley Addenda*<sup>2</sup> 101); Cambridge 57.1937 (Bothmer, *Pelikai*, no. 14, *ABV* 386.11, *Beazley Addenda*<sup>2</sup> 102); Delphi 236 (Bothmer, *Pelikai*, no. 18, *ABV* 388); Amsterdam (forthcoming *CVA*, near or recalling the Acheloos Painter).

<sup>306</sup> Louvre F 376 (Bothmer, *Pelikai*, no. 21; *ABV* 393).

<sup>307</sup> Bothmer, *Pelikai*, 43, nos. 24-28.

<sup>308</sup> Price, *Pelike*, 432.

<sup>309</sup> Chicago University; *ABV* 396.23; *Beazley Addenda*<sup>2</sup> 104.

<sup>310</sup> Compare in particular the Columbia pelike (Cat. no. 151, pl. 47 c-d).

<sup>311</sup> Both painters are fond of goats, which are rather characteristic of each painter. Both of them also like to portray Apollo with female companions and processions like komoi and thiasoi; compare also Hermes with maenads and goats in St. Petersburg 1517 by the Eucharides Painter (*Para* 174.33<sup>bis</sup>; *Beazley Addenda*<sup>2</sup> 104). One particular and otherwise unparalleled subject might appear on two vases by the Eucharides Painter and the Theseus Painter. The Eucharides Painter's pelike Oxford G 247 (563) (*ABV* 396.21; *Para* 173; *Beazley Addenda*<sup>2</sup> 104) shows, on one side, a satyr on a rock, a goat, another standing satyr and a figure in front, identified as Hermes. The seated satyr holds an object which has been variously identified: according to T.H. Price, a musical instrument, according to Beazley, a box and 'abacus', for which see *JHS* 28 (1908) 314-15; *CVA* Oxford 2, pl. 8.7-8; Price, *Pelike*, 432. The satyr holding an object, however, is very similar to the one on the Theseus Painter's lekythos in a German private coll. (Cat. no. 133, pl. 41 d-e) who has a writing-pad in his lap, holds a styluslike object, and is surrounded by goats and another satyr who Beazley thought was 'counting the flock'. Possibly both vases depict the same or similar themes, thus hinting at a possible relation between the two painters. The connection between these vases was previously noted by C. Blümel in the initial publication of the German lekythos, in *Antike Kunstwerke* (Berlin 1953), 16-17. Price also noted the similarities between the subjects of both vases but did not let this influence her interpretation (Price, *Pelike*, 432, n. 12).

f) with those of the skyphos Mississippi 1977.3.69 (Cat. no. 7, pl. 3 c-e). There is very little colour on the small pelikai.

### Unpublished or not seen by the author

Louvre F 391 (Cat. no. 157) has not been properly published.<sup>312</sup> In Becker's drawing, however, it can be seen that Louvre F 391 is shaped similarly to the Theseus Painter's other small pelikai, which led her to assign it without hesitation to her group of "kleinformatigen Theseus-maler Peliken", which would confirm Beazley's initial attribution.

One of the very rare black-figure neck-pelikai has been attributed to the Theseus Painter (Cat. no. 158). Unfortunately it must yet be published.<sup>313</sup> A neck-pelike has a distinctly off-set neck, like a neck-amphora, but with the body's largest diameter below the halfway point. Von Bothmer has listed only six neck-pelikai in black-figure, among which the one attributed by Beazley to the Theseus Painter.<sup>314</sup> Becker mentions no additional black-figure examples, while noting a few which are red-figure or black-glaze.<sup>315</sup>

### Related pelikai and erroneously attributed pelikai

None of the painters associated with the Theseus Painter, whether they specialised in skyphoi, like the Krokotos Group, or in lekythoi, like the Athena Painter, are known to have decorated pelikai. Beazley mentioned one unpublished pelike which he considered by either the Theseus Painter or the Athena Painter. It is apparently shaped like the Theseus Painter's small pelikai, as Becker incorporated it in her group of "kleinformatigen Theseus-maler Peliken."<sup>316</sup> Without proper publication, however, it cannot of course be established whether this pelike was indeed decorated by either the Theseus Painter or the Athena Painter.

A pelike once in the market (Cat. no. N96)<sup>317</sup> has been assigned to the Theseus Painter. Although the shape and dimensions are roughly comparable to those of his larger pelikai, the style is not his. As the published photograph is very poor, it is impossible to see whether this pelike was decorated by a painter near the Theseus Painter or perhaps by the painter himself.

## 2. Kalpides

### Shape

Only four kalpides have been given to the Theseus Painter. As regards his pelikai, his kalpides can be divided into two categories: large and small. In contrast to the large pelikai, however, the two large kalpides, London B 346 and Madrid 10930 (Cat. nos. 159-60, pl. 50), have only their dimensions in common - 37.5 and 38.0

<sup>312</sup> A rather dark photograph can be seen in the *Beazley Archive Pottery Database*, vase no. 351535.

<sup>313</sup> Becker, *Peliken*, 92, nn. 309-10, states that no photograph could be found in the Beazley archive.

<sup>314</sup> Bothmer, *Pelikai*, 46-47, nos. 1-6.

<sup>315</sup> Becker, *Peliken*, 87-88, nos. 318-30. According to Becker, the earliest neck-pelikai are found in the circle of the Pioneers (Becker, *Peliken*, nos. 318-19). The (published) black-figure neck-pelikai are chronologically not far away from the Theseus Painter. In style, New York 07.86.72 is also rather close to the Theseus Painter (Bothmer, *Pelikai*, no. 5, pl. 22; Becker, *Pelikai*, no. 320). The shape of the Theseus Painter's neck-pelike (echinus mouth, as mentioned in, *Select Exhibition of Sir John and Lady Beazley's Gifts to the Ashmolean Museum 1912-1966*, Oxford 1967, 102, under no. 379) might be similar to that of Würzburg 233 (Bothmer, *Pelikai*, no. 6; Becker, *Peliken*, no. 329; E. Langlotz, *Martin von Wagner Museum der Universität Würzburg Griechische Vasen*, Munich 1932, pl. 61).

<sup>316</sup> Dresden 218: Para 260; Becker, *Peliken*, cat. no. 76.

<sup>317</sup> *Sotheby's London*, 12/13 Dec. 1983, no. 387.



cm high, respectively - whereas their shape, decoration and even drawing style diverge quite a bit. The dimensions of the Madrid kalpis are not certain, as it is heavily restored. However, the scale of the body and foot definitely indicate that it must originally have been of similar or equal height.

The London kalpis is skilfully potted, with a high torus mouth, concave on top, heavy torus foot, and rather sharply angled curve from shoulder to body. According to Haspels, it is comparable to the kalpides Athens, NM 1037 by the Nikoxenos Painter and Würzburg 325 near the Eucharides Painter, both of which, like the Theseus Painter's large pelikai and the London kalpis, might be connected to the workshop of the Nikoxenos and Eucharides Painters.<sup>318</sup> Haspels further observed that the kalpis Athens, NM 1037 is stylistically connected to "the more careless work of the Athena Painter."<sup>319</sup> A kalpis assigned to the Eucharides Painter himself, Vatican 427, supplies further confirmation of a possible relation.<sup>320</sup> But as in the case of his pelikai the exact nature of the relation between the Theseus Painter's London kalpis and the Nikoxenos-Eucharides workshop remains unclear: nevertheless, the London kalpis strongly indicates that some kind of tie must have existed.

The Madrid kalpis is stylistically much later than the one in London.<sup>321</sup> Because of heavy restoration, nothing much can be said about the original shape, possibly even the present height is not correct. The rim and neck, which unfortunately do not belong to the kalpis, may have been joined to it in the last nineteenth century and may even derive from a red-figure example.<sup>322</sup> The foot, which might be part of the original kalpis, differs very much from that of the one in London. In short, although both kalpides were definitely decorated by the Theseus Painter, they stand quite far apart from one another because of the differences in their potterwork, secondary decoration, style and chronology.

In contrast, the small kalpides in Utrecht and Uppsala (Cat. nos. 161-62, pl. 51, figs. 63-64) have much more in common with another. Unlike the London kalpis, they are rather crudely potted (and decorated). Their dimensions and shape differ somewhat.<sup>323</sup> The Uppsala kalpis has a torus-like rim with an additional ridge on the inner edge, the foot is an echinus. In the Utrecht kalpis both the rim and foot are torus-shaped. Although not entirely comparable in shape, the Theseus Painter's small kalpides seem to bear resemblances to the kalpides decorated by the Painter of Vatican G. 49, one of the artisans who was associated with the Athena Painter's workshop.<sup>324</sup> Also somewhat similar are the kalpides by the Painter of the Half-palmettes.<sup>325</sup>

## Painting and drawing

The painting and drawing of the London kalpis (Cat. no. 159, pl. 50 a) is generally careful, with pendent lotuses on the top of the panel and a net-pattern on the sides. This ornamental scheme is very common in the work of the Nikoxenos Painter and the Eucharides Painter, appearing on most of their kalpides.<sup>326</sup>

The figure style of the London kalpis greatly resembles the general style of the Theseus Painter's skyphoi. It shows his typically flowing incising. The garment folds of the three females surrounding Apollo are quite neatly drawn. And also the drawing of the deer is carefully rendered. Although the shape and secondary decoration find parallels in the Nikoxenos workshop, as remarked, the style of painting and drawing seems to have little or nothing in common with either the Nikoxenos Painter or the Eucharides Painter. On the other hand, Würzburg 325, which is near the Eucharides Painter,<sup>327</sup> is rather close in subject matter and composition to the Theseus Painter's London kalpis.

<sup>318</sup> Athens 1037 (ABV 393,18, Nikoxenos Painter, found in the Marathon tumulus, ABL 145). Würzburg 325 (ABV 398,5; Beazley Addenda<sup>2</sup> 104, near the Eucharides Painter).

<sup>319</sup> ABL 145.

<sup>320</sup> ABV 397,31; Beazley Addenda<sup>2</sup> 104.

<sup>321</sup> According to Haspels, it is very late (ABL 146).

<sup>322</sup> Earlier suspected by Beazley and confirmed to me in a letter from P. Cabrera, National Archaeological Museum, Madrid.

<sup>323</sup> Uppsala: ht., 23.2, diam., 19.4; Utrecht: ht., 28.7, diam., 22.3 (Cat. nos. 161-62, pl. 51).

<sup>324</sup> Compare, for example, ABV 536,42-43 and Para 268,44-47.

<sup>325</sup> ABV 573; Para 287; Beazley Addenda<sup>2</sup> 137.

<sup>326</sup> ABV 393,17-20, 393,1-2, 393, 397,30-35, 398,5; Para 172, 174; Beazley Addenda<sup>2</sup> 103, 104.

<sup>327</sup> ABV 398,5.

The Madrid kalpis (Cat. no. 160, pl. 50 b) was manufactured much later. Stylistically it is comparable to the lekythos Berlin 2005 (Cat. no. 145, pl. 46 c), which also shows what Haspels called "exaggerated crinkliness" of the garment folds. Furthermore, it has the distinction of being the only known white-ground kalpis by the Theseus Painter.

The panel of the Madrid kalpis has carelessly painted net-bands on the sides. Very remarkable are the ovolos around the rim and the band of red-figure florals at the base of the neck. Beazley remarked in a review of the Madrid *CVA* featuring the kalpis that the qualification 'restored' is too mild a description for the condition of this vase, probably implying that the restored and/or alien parts outnumber the original ones.<sup>328</sup>

In contrast to the Theseus Painter's large kalpides, the two small ones are closer to one another. Each has a simple meander above the figured panel (in Uppsala, on the neck, to the right; in Utrecht, on the shoulder, to the left).<sup>329</sup> Further, the figure decoration is comparatively more sober, as also applies to the small pelikai.

The style of the Utrecht and Uppsala kalpides is quite careless, even in comparison to the Madrid kalpis. It resembles that of the Theseus Painter's small pelikai and some of his lekythoi, all of which can be designated as late or even very late.

### Erroneously attributed kalpis

A kalpis in the German market has recently been attributed to the Theseus Painter (Cat. no. N97). Its shape is indeed rather similar to the Theseus Painter's London kalpis. Stylistically, however, it is more similar to the Eucharides Painter, to whom I am more inclined to attribute it.

## 3. Olpai

### Shape

The two olpai attributed to the Theseus Painter are Athens, NM 13262 and Berlin 3230 (Cat. nos. 163-64, pls. 52 a-b). The one in Athens shows an unbroken curve from the rim to the footless base. The handle is no higher than the rim. Beazley classed the Athens olpe among several 'red bodied olpai', which exhibit no apparent connection in style or workshop. In shape, however, the Athens olpe is more or less comparable to the olpai Rhodes 1350<sup>330</sup> and Agora P 2700,<sup>331</sup> the latter of which is fragmentary. Like the Athens olpe by the Theseus Painter, they are flat-bottomed. On the other hand, the style of painting and drawing of neither of them is particularly close to the Theseus Painter, and both of them seem to predate Athens, NM 13262.

The olpe Berlin 3230 has an ogival rim and an echinus foot. According to A.J. Clark, the form of its ogival rim is special, comparable to that of olpai in the Leagros Group and by the Painter of Vatican G. 49.<sup>332</sup> Overall, however, the Berlin olpe has more in common with the olpai of the Painter of Vatican G. 49; for the shape, compare it for example to Berlin 1919 and Amsterdam 3417 by that painter,<sup>333</sup> each of which has the lipped rim and torus foot of the Berlin olpe. The correspondence is not too surprising, as both the Theseus Painter and the Painter of Vatican G. 49 are linked to the Athena Painter's workshop.

<sup>328</sup> J.D. Beazley, 'Review of *CVA Madrid*', *JHS* 51 (1931) 121.

<sup>329</sup> The Uppsala kalpis is the smallest of the two, its shoulder is also much more rounded. Melldahl and Flemberg compare it to a kalpis by the Painter of the Half-palmettes: London B 349, *Melldahl and Flemberg*, 63-64, fig. 10.

<sup>330</sup> *ABV* 450.1, "lower part of the vase reserved, no distinct foot, small lip"; Clark, *Olpai and Oinochoai*, no. 382, 215.

<sup>331</sup> *ABV* 450.2; 451.11; *Agora XXIII*, no. 682.

<sup>332</sup> Clark, *Olpai and Oinochoai*, 346.

<sup>333</sup> Berlin 1919 (*ABV* 536.36; *CVA* 7, pl. 38, 1-2; Amsterdam 3417, *ABV* 536.39, forthcoming *CVA Amsterdam*).

## Painting and drawing

The figure style of the small olpe Athens, NM 13262 (Cat. no. 163, pl. 52 a) resembles that of the Theseus Painter's skyphoi. It has the same curly, flowing incisions; compare for instance the naked males of his komos and ephedrismos skyphoi (Cat. nos. 54-63, pls. 25-27). The stance of the komast on the Athens olpe is very close to that of the komast to the left of handle B/A of the skyphos Agora P 1544 (Cat. no. 45, pl. 20 b) and even more, though in mirror image, to the partial komast on side B of the cup-skyphos Agora P 1383 (Cat. no. 177, pl. 56 d-g).

The olpe Berlin 3230 (Cat. no. 164) shows a rather common decorative scheme above the figure panel: ivy on the rim, net and meander below, dot-bands on the sides. This kind of neck ornamentation is very common, for example, in the work of the Painter of the Half-palmettes.<sup>334</sup> In contrast, Athens, NM 13262 is undecorated apart from a single figure on the otherwise completely red-ground body. The painting of the Berlin olpe is much cruder than that of the Athens olpe and more like that of the Theseus Painter's late lekythoi and small pelikai. Therefore, it was doubtless made late in the painter's career.

## Erroneously attributed olpai

In my opinion, nothing in the style of painting and drawing of the three olpai assigned to the Theseus Painter by C. Fournier-Christol (Cat. nos. N99-101) suggests a relation to the Theseus Painter. Nor do they seem to be linked to him in any other way. On the other hand, all three were indeed decorated by a single painter.

## 4. Oinochoai

### Shape

The Theseus Painter's oinochoai vary considerably in shape and class. Louvre F 342 (Cat. no. 165, pl. 52 c-d) is Beazley's type II and has been assigned by him to the Class of Cambridge 162.<sup>335</sup> Four of the other five oinochoai of this class are by painters of the Leagros Group (including the Acheloos Painter); one "recalls late Psiax."<sup>336</sup>

Clark remarks that Louvre F 342 differs slightly from the core group of the class and might even issue from another workshop.<sup>337</sup> In shape, it rather resembles Bologna Pu 203 by the Edinburgh Painter, who is also related to the Leagros Group.<sup>338</sup> It has a similarly squat body and flattish, ridged, trefoil rim. Therefore, while Louvre F 342 may stand apart from the rest of the Class of Cambridge 162, it still might have a Leagros connection.

The oinochoe London B 513 (Cat. no. 166, pl. 53 a-c, fig. 66) is, according to Clark, also "comparable to the Class of Cambridge 162."<sup>339</sup> However, details of the shape differ from those of the Theseus Painter's Louvre oinochoe: the rim has the form of a high, smoothly curving trefoil; the echinus foot, in comparison to that of the Louvre oinochoe, is broader and less ring-like; and the section of the

<sup>334</sup> Berlin 3230 (Clark, *Olpai and Oinochoai*, no. 737). For similar decoration by the Painter of the Half-palmettes, see *ABV* 573, Para 288; Clark, nos. 727-36. Some olpai of the Painter of Vatican G. 49 have this decorative scheme (Clark, nos. 725-26).

<sup>335</sup> *ABV* 433, 1-6; Clark, *Olpai and Oinochoai*, nos. 1296-1302.

<sup>336</sup> Bologna 71, *ABV* 433; Beazley *Addenda* 71.

<sup>337</sup> Clark, *Olpai and Oinochoai*, 618-19.

<sup>338</sup> *ABV* 477, 10; Clark, *Olpai and Oinochoai*, no. 1202.

<sup>339</sup> Clark, *Olpai and Oinochoai*, no. 1304.



handle is concave, whereas that of the Louvre oinochoe is more or less cylindrical. Nevertheless, the Theseus Painter's London oinochoe also seems associated with the Leagros Group.

Whereas the decoration of the next two oinochoai is by the Theseus Painter, the potterwork is linked to the Athena Painter's workshop. Adolphseck (Cat. no. 169, pl. 54 c-d) is a standard type of the Athena Painter's workshop (Beazley's shape I, group IV or V, class C).<sup>340</sup> The oinochoe once in Brussels, Theodor collection (Cat. no. 168, pl. 54 a), while also found in the Athena Painter's workshop, is shape II and belongs to the Class of London B 630.<sup>341</sup> In shape, however, both oinochoai are otherwise very close with regard to their handles, rims and bodies.

Petit Palais 313 (Cat. no. 167, pl. 53 d-e) is a white-ground 'flat-mouthed' oinochoe which has also been assigned to the Class of London B 630. However, it stands apart from the core group of the Class of London B 630 because of its circular mouth and has therefore been placed in a subgroup showing a range of divergences.<sup>342</sup> Petit Palais 313 further differs from the core group because of its highly curving handle and broad, bulging body. As seen above, the Class of London B 630 is associated with the oinochoai of the Athena Painter's workshop.<sup>343</sup>

The unpublished oinochoe once in the New York market (Cat. no. 170) has been attributed by Clark to the Theseus Painter.<sup>344</sup> Apparently it is comparable, in shape, to the many oinochoai of the Keyside Class. But as I have been unable to see it I cannot make further comment.

## Painting and drawing

The decoration of the Theseus Painter's oinochoai can be divided into two categories: elaborate, with much added ornament, or sober and white-ground. The first comprises the very neatly decorated oinochoai Louvre F 342 and London B 513 (Cat. nos. 165-66, pls. 52 c-d, 53 a-c): on the sides of the figure panel, rows of carefully rendered pendent ivy-leaves divided by a line, and, on the shoulder, enclosed alternate red and black tongues.

Whereas the white-ground oinochoai Petit Palais 313, once Brussels and once Adolphseck 13 (Cat. nos. 167-69, pls. 53 d-e, 54) are more sparsely decorated, with less added colour. Each has a simple row of black tongues on the shoulder and a black lower body, in the manner of oinochoai from the Athena Painter's workshop. Petit Palais 313 is also provided with an ivy branch on each side of the body.

The oinochoe once in Brussels, described by P. Heesen as very close to the Theseus Painter, is in fact attributable to the painter himself; compare for example the warrior on the lekythos Bonn 307 (Cat. no. 143, pl. 46 a-b), the anatomical incisions of the Herakles in the tondo of the cup Taranto IG 6515 and, especially, the armed dancers of the oinochoe once in Adolphseck (Cat. no. 169, pl. 54 b-c); further see also the subject of Bonn 307 and San Antonio 86.134.157 (Cat. nos. 143 and 152, pls. 46 a-b, 48 a-b).

The drawing of the Louvre and London oinochoai stylistically resembles that of the Theseus Painter's skyphoi; compare for instance the naked body of Polyphemos on the Louvre oinochoe with the naked youths of ephedrismos and komos skyphoi. In addition, Odysseus and his companions, with their petasos-like caps, are similar to the Theseus Painter's many depictions of Hermes on skyphoi. Note also the satyr with frontal face in London 513 and such satyrs in Lecce 560 and Basle, Cahn HC 1405 (Cat. nos. 38-39, pl. 16 b-d).

The style of the Theseus Painter's remaining oinochoai is less careful and accords more with his lekythoi and other later work, which is not at all remarkable because these oinochoai are linked with the Athena Painter's workshop, just as are most of his lekythoi; compare for example the manner in which the kneecaps are incised on many of the Theseus Painter's lekythoi (as not seen on his skyphoi) and on the oinochoai in the Petit Palais and once in Brussels and Adolphseck. Another characteristic of both his lekythoi and other later work is the quite stiff, rudimentary drawing of faces and bodies.

<sup>340</sup> ABV 526-32; Clark, *Olpai and Oinochoai*, no. 1671.

<sup>341</sup> Heesen, *Theodor*, 70-72, no. 9. For the class see ABV 525-26; Para 263; Clark, *Olpai and Oinochoai*, 840-42, nos. 1690-99.

<sup>342</sup> Clark, *Olpai and Oinochoai*, no. 1699.

<sup>343</sup> ABV 525-26.

<sup>344</sup> Clark, *Olpai and Oinochoai*, no. 1103<sup>bis</sup>.

## Related oinochoai and erroneously attributed oinochoai

As we have seen, most of the Theseus Painter's oinochoai are connected to the workshop of the Athena Painter in regard to shape and, to a lesser degree, style. Thus, as in the case of the lekythoi, they confirm that the potterwork of vases by the Theseus Painter closely associates him with the Athena Painter's workshop. Haspels was the first to attribute quite a few oinochoai to the Athena Painter<sup>345</sup> and an even larger number to his workshop. Beazley reorganised her list and reattributed many of the oinochoai which she had initially assigned to the Athena Painter to other workshop painters.<sup>346</sup> He also furnished some of them with names: Painter of Sèvres 100,<sup>347</sup> Painter of Vatican G. 49<sup>348</sup> and Painter of Rhodes 13472.<sup>349</sup> Two of the latter's oinochoai belong to the Athena Painter's workshop.<sup>350</sup> Beazley also identified different classes of oinochoai in the Athena Painter's workshop<sup>351</sup> and the Athena Painter himself adorned a few of the same varieties as the Theseus Painter: a single oinochoe of the Class of London B 630,<sup>352</sup> several oinochoai of classes IV and V.

One oinochoe placed by Beazley near the Athena Painter (Cat. no. N21)<sup>353</sup> is, in my opinion, very close to the Theseus Painter. It is shape IV and depicts a gigantomachy with Hermes. While deviating in some details, it definitely shows important stylistic elements of the Theseus Painter. It remains uncertain, however, whether the oinochoe is by the painter himself or only near him.

A white-ground oinochoe with athletes has been designated as "probably by the Theseus Painter", although the style, especially the incising, is not similar to his. Therefore the oinochoe is definitely not by him.<sup>354</sup>

## 5. Cups and cup-skyphoi

### Shape

Six cups and one cup-skyphos are given to the Theseus Painter (Cat. nos. 171-177, pls. 55-56, figs. 68-70). None of them, it seems, finds links to painters and groups which are generally associated with him, like the Krokotos Group, Sub-krokotos Group or the Athena Painter. The cups can be subdivided. J.R. Guy places Malibu 96.AE.96 (Cat. no. 171, pl. 55 a-c) near the Theseus Painter, but it can certainly be assigned to the painter himself (compare for example the figure on side B with the komast of Agora P 1383, Cat. no. 177, pl. 56 d-g, mentioned below). It is almost identical in shape, dimensions and ornamentation to two cups attributed by Beazley to the Painter of Nicosia C 975.<sup>355</sup> The specific shape of the Malibu 96.AE.96 and those of the Painter of Nicosia C 975 are rather atypical. The contour of the body and stem form an uninterrupted curve, like type B cups. The foot is a rather uncommon, high torus

<sup>345</sup> ABL 259-60.

<sup>346</sup> ABV 524.

<sup>347</sup> ABV 533-34.

<sup>348</sup> ABV 534-36.

<sup>349</sup> ABV 449.

<sup>350</sup> Lecce 563 (Clark, *Olpai and Oinochoai*, no. 1798, ABV 449,6, 527,15; *Para* 195, 264) and Cab. des Médailles 271 (Clark, *Olpai and Oinochoai*, no. 1797, ABV 449,9).

<sup>351</sup> I, Sèvres Class; II, Class of London B 630; III, R.S. Class; IV-VII. All these oinochoai are Beazley's shapes I and II, but with variations in details of the shape. See ABV 524-33; also Clark, *Olpai and Oinochoai*, 842-46, nos. 1700-27 (Sèvres Class), 840-42, nos. 1690-99 (Class of London B 630), 832-36, nos. 1649-67 (R.S. Class).

<sup>352</sup> London B 516 (ABV 525,5).

<sup>353</sup> Harvard 1927.154 (ABV 528,47). It is compared by Beazley to Harvard 1927.143 and Cab. des Médailles 274 (ABV 529,52, 69).

<sup>354</sup> Attributed in the sales catalogue *Hesperia Art Bull.* 45/6, no. A 17.

<sup>355</sup> *Para* 99-100; *Beazley Addenda* 56.

disk, comparable to the feet of many of the Theseus Painter's skyphoi. Stem and foot are divided by a moulding.

In shape, the feet of the cups by the Painter of Nicosia C 975 differ only slightly from the Malibu cup. The dimensions of Nicosia C 975 are not reported in its publication.<sup>356</sup> The cup once in the Basle market is 8.5 high and 20.0 cm in diameter,<sup>357</sup> which is nearly identical to the dimensions of Malibu 96.AE.96 (8.5 and 19.7 cm respectively). Based on this correspondence, as well as on that of the secondary decoration of the three cups, it seems highly probable that the Theseus Painter and the Painter of Nicosia C 975 decorated cups simultaneously in the same workshop or were at least related in some fashion.

Although identical in decoration to the Malibu 96.AE.96 and the cups of the Painter of Nicosia C 975, the fragmentary cup-skyphos Agora P 1383 (Cat. no. 177, pl. 56 d-g, figs. 38a, 69), has a very differently shaped bowl. The vase is heavily restored: the handles and foot are missing, and the foot's restoration as a ring-foot is solely based on the foot of an unpublished bowl found in the same shaft as Agora 1383.<sup>358</sup> Therefore the original overall shape remains uncertain. In any event, the bowl is broad and shallow, with a very wide (0.8 cm), extremely angular rim, which is very different from the shape of any kind of standard cup or cup-skyphos.

The fragmentary cup Agora P 1384 (Cat. no. 172, pl. 56 h, figs. 38b, 70), was assigned by Beazley to near the Painter of Nicosia C 975 because of its ornamentation, and then by M.B. Moore to the painter himself.<sup>359</sup> As far as discernible, however (only a small part of the figurework is preserved), the figurework is stylistically more consistent with the Theseus Painter's (curving line with a curl at the end for the thigh and knee, curving stroke for the calf) and is probably by his hand. In contrast to its secondary decoration, Agora P 1384 differs in shape from the cups of the Painter of Nicosia C 975 and Malibu 96.AE.96 as well as the Agora cup-skyphos P 1383.<sup>360</sup> In comparison to the them, Agora P 1384 has a much smaller (restored) diameter of only about 14.0 cm instead of the approximately 20.0 cm of Malibu 96.AE.96 and the market cup by the Painter of Nicosia C 975 or the 24.5 cm of Agora P 1383. In general shape they also differ. Whereas Malibu 96.AE.96 and the cups of the Painter of Nicosia C 975 show a continuously convex curve from the rim to stem, Agora P 1384 is marked by a slight concave curve just below the rim. Agora P 1383, on the other hand, has a deep groove below the rim, similar to skyphoi of Ure's type A1. In conclusion, Malibu 96.AE.96 and Agora 1383 and 1384 have identical secondary ornamentation and are stylistically consistent, so that all three can be given to the Theseus Painter. Between them, on the other hand, the potterwork differs too much to be the handiwork of a single potter.

One known cup of the Theseus Painter, in Winchester College Museum, is a type B eye-cup (Cat. no. 176, pl. 56 c). In shape and ornamentation it strongly contrasts with the eye-cups of the Krokotos Group, which are the standard type A for black-figure.<sup>361</sup>

Finally, the three type C cups of the Theseus Painter. Two of them – London B 446 and Taranto 6515 (Cat. nos. 173-74, pls. 55 d-f, 56 a, fig. 68) – are so-called Preyss cups, initially listed and named by H. Bloesch.<sup>362</sup> The shape is large, with an off-set lip and a continuously flowing curve from stem to torus foot, sometimes with a ring in between or a ridge on top of the foot. Most of the Preyss cups noted by

<sup>356</sup> E. Gjerstad, *Greek Geometric and Archaic Pottery found in Cyprus* (Stockholm and Lund 1977) pl. 49.3-94.

<sup>357</sup> *MuM Sonderliste R, Attische schwarzfigurige Vasen*, Nov. 1964, no. 69, where it is said that Beazley assigned another cup, Oxford 1960.1219, to the Painter of Nicosia C 975. However, the latter is a standard type A cup without any of the secondary decoration which is specific to the other three cups; nor is its decoration stylistically very close to them. The only remarkable feature common to the Oxford cup and the other three is the red-ground lower section, without a ground line.

<sup>358</sup> Vanderpool, *Shaft*, 308.

<sup>359</sup> Para 100, "somewhat similar cup [...] Two black lines instead of the top-band"; *Agora XXIII*, no. 1825, pl. 117 "by the Painter of Nicosia C 975?"

<sup>360</sup> The ornamentation is probably the reason for Moore's attribution to the Painter of Nicosia C 975.

<sup>361</sup> See Bloesch, *FAS*. True type B cups are relatively rare in black-figure and occur in substantial amounts only among late black-figure groups like the Haimon Group (*ABV* 561-62; *Para* 284; *Beazley Addenda*<sup>2</sup> 136) and as the late cups of the 'Campana Painter' (*ABV* 653-54; *Para* 315; *Beazley Addenda*<sup>2</sup> 146). Type A, Bloesch, *FAS*, ix: "Die Schalen des Typus A, der äusserlich durch einen zwischen Fuss und Schalenbecken gestetzten Fusswulst kenntlich ist [...]" Type B, Bloesch, *FAS*, ix: "Chachrylion darf als der Erfinder der Schale des Typus B gelten die an Stelle des Fusswulstes zwischen Fuss und Schalenbecken nun ein kleiner Wulst, in der Regel aber nur einen schmalen Absatz auf der Fussplatte aufweisen."

<sup>362</sup> Bloesch, *FAS*, 29-30, nos. 1-9.



Bloesch were later placed by Beazley in the Haimon Group.<sup>363</sup> Bloesch listed the Taranto cup, Beazley later identified the London cup as a Preyss cup.<sup>364</sup>

In shape, several cups of the Haimon Group are near to the Theseus Painter's Preyss cups; see especially the profile drawing of Heidelberg S 99 in that group (fig. 80).<sup>365</sup> Even closer is a cup near the Theseus Painter in Paris.<sup>366</sup> It seems that none of the other Preyss cups is as large as the Theseus Painter's London example, whose diameter of 39.0 cm exceeds the Preyss cup average. Lastly, the third type C cup of the Theseus Painter, Salerno 158a (Cat. no. 175, pl. 56 b), is not a Preyss cup.

## Painting and drawing

Malibu 96.AE.96 and Agora P 1383 and P 1384 (Cat. nos. 171, 177 and 172, pls. 55 a-c, 56 d-g) share their secondary decoration with the cups of the Painter of Nicosia C 975: a spiralling volute on the side of each handle, the curving stem of which is attached, below the handle, to a pomegranate joined to a pendent leaf suspended from a straight line (fig. 38).<sup>367</sup> Insofar as known, this kind of handle motif is typical of cups by the Theseus Painter and the Painter of Nicosia C 975 only. Further, the Theseus Painter's cup Malibu 96.AE.96 and both cups of the Painter of Nicosia C 975 show a broad band around the exterior rim, as does also the Agora cup-skyphos P 1383 which, in addition, has a line below, like Agora P 1384, whose rim band is narrower. In their ornamentation, the cups of the Painter of Nicosia C 975 are also comparable to the cups of the Group of Camiros Palmettes<sup>368</sup> and several special cups by the Amasis Painter.<sup>369</sup> Unfortunately, few vases of the Painter of Nicosia C 975 are known and, apart from the Theseus Painter's cup Malibu 96.AE.96, they find no comparisons in the work of another painter or workshop. As far as style is concerned, the two painters seem hardly similar to each other. Whereas the Theseus Painter is associated with a multitude of painters and groups as sketched above, Beazley rather indiscriminately placed the Painter of Nicosia C 975 among makers of proto-A and type A cups who are not apparently related by either style or workshop.<sup>370</sup>

The Winchester College cup (Cat. no. 176, pl. 56 c) is a standard eye-cup, with white male eyes. Below the handle-zone there is a zigzag line bordered by lines, a feature which is without parallel in the Theseus Painter's work.<sup>371</sup> It features the standard motif of ivy-branches below the handles.

The Theseus Painter's two Preyss cups, London B 446 and Taranto 6515 (Cat. nos. 173-74, pls. 55 d-f, 56 a), have a black rim, figure frieze in the handle-zone, reserved band around the lower body and inner tondo. Their handle ornament – a large ivy-leaf – is not met on any of the painter's other vases. It can be seen, however, on the Preyss cups in the Haimon group. This correspondence, together with the particular shape of these Preyss cups, as pointed out above, strengthens the tie between the Preyss cups by the Theseus Painter on the one hand and the Haimon Preyss cups on the other. Incidentally, the style of the Haimon Preyss cups is relatively careful work, which might mean that they belong to a comparatively early stage in the group's development. Alternatively, they may simply have been adorned by the group's better painters. The Theseus Painter's type C cup in Salerno (Cat. no. 175, pl. 56 b) also has a figured tondo, but the exterior is entirely black-glazed.

The figure drawing of Malibu 96.AE.96 and that of the cup-skyphos Agora P 1383 are particularly

<sup>363</sup> Bloesch, *FAS*, nos. 1, 3, 5, 9; *ABV* 560, nos. 514, 516, 519, 522.

<sup>364</sup> Taranto 6515 (Bloesch, *FAS*, 29, no. 7); London B 446 (*ABV* 520,32). Of the other four cups in Bloesch's list, nos. 2, 6 and 8 are unknown. No. 4, Florence 3894, is, in fact, a band cup near the Lysippides Painter (*ABV* 265,2).

<sup>365</sup> Heidelberg S 99 (Bloesch, *FAS*, no. 3; *ABV* 560,516; *CVA* 4, pl. 158.1-4, fig. 16 on p. 36). It has a dinos under each handle instead of a large ivy leaf as on London B 446 by the Theseus Painter.

<sup>366</sup> Louvre CA 1924 (Cat. no. N76).

<sup>367</sup> Para 99-100, Nicosia C 975 and once Basle market: "same principle as in the Amasis cups (*ABV* 157,87-9"; Beazley *Addenda* 56; *ABV* 215; Para 104. Possibly they are connected to the Group of Camiros Palmettes?

<sup>368</sup> *ABV* 215; Para 104; Freyer-Schauenburg, *Camiroi*, 154, n. 16-17; H.A.G. Brijder, in *Greek Vases in San Antonio*, 102, no. 49.

<sup>369</sup> *ABV* 157,87-89; Para 65; Freyer-Schauenburg, *Camiroi*, 154, n. 16; Bothmer, *Amasis*, 228, no. 63; Beazley *Addenda* 46.

<sup>370</sup> *ABV* and *Para*, chapter 13.

<sup>371</sup> Compare, for example, the black zigzag on a type B cup of the Campana Painter, Louvre F 412 (*CVA* 10, pl. 119,4; *ABV* 654,12).

close to one another: they display rather much detail in the incising, comparable to the Theseus Painter's middle-phase skyphoi. London B 446 and Salerno 158a, on the other hand, show what might be called a more mannered style, with less detail and more flowing lines, comparable to the Theseus Painter's latest skyphoi and earliest lekythoi.<sup>372</sup> The drawing of Taranto 6515 is more angular and resembles that of the Theseus Painter's late oinochoai and lekythoi (see especially the anatomy of the dancers of the oinochoe once in Brussels, Cat. no. 169, pl. 54 a). The drawing of the Winchester cup is also rather sketchy.

Of Agora P 1384, too little remains to discern any indications of style in relation to development. But the identicalness of its subsidiary decoration to that of Malibu 96.AE.96 and Agora P 1383 lets us assume that it was stylistically comparable.

## Related cups and erroneously attributed cups

Contrary to what one might expect, the Theseus Painter's known cups noticeably differ in shape from those of the Krokotos Group and seem, in this respect, not to be connected to them at all. This is rather strange, as the Krokotos cups seem to be just as important as the skyphoi and are, moreover, at an aesthetically higher level. One explanation may lie in the chronology. The cups of the Krokotos Group seem generally earlier than its skyphoi. Possibly the Theseus Painter's career began when the painters of the Krokotos Group had mostly switched to skyphoi and possibly stopped embellishing cups.

Whereas all the recognised Krokotos Group cups are type A, the Theseus Painter evidently decorated many of the types of cups known in the late sixth and early fifth centuries B.C. - except for precisely type A. Therefore it can be concluded that he turned out only skyphoi when he was attached to the Krokotos Group, and that he may have switched to cups when he was not very involved with the Krokotos/Heron Groups anymore.

In style, a type B cup similar in shape to the Theseus Painter's Winchester cup, bears some resemblance to his work (Cat. no. N22). The themes are Herakles reclining and satyrs and, in the tondo, women at a kline. The cup reminds one of the cup London B 446 by the Theseus Painter himself, although it was probably not painted by him.

A cup in Copenhagen (Chr VIII 457) was initially attributed by Haspels to the Theseus Painter,<sup>373</sup> but was soon afterwards identified by Ure, on the basis of reasonable arguments and, according to her, a reattribution by Beazley, as belonging to her group of 'Krokotos Cups'.<sup>374</sup> The reassessment seems correct.

A cup-skyphos of Ure's class K<sup>375</sup> was given by P. Hatzidakis to the Theseus Painter (Cat. no. N102),<sup>376</sup> who also supposes that the White Heron Group produced a series of such cup-skyphoi.<sup>377</sup> As far as Ure's class K cup-skyphos is concerned, the attribution seems unacceptable.

## 6. Loutrophoroi

Loutrophoroi form a relatively large portion of the Theseus Painter's extant work (Cat. nos. 178-91, pl. 57). Unfortunately, none of them is intact. The best preserved is complete from the shoulder down (Athens 1957 Aa 193, Cat. no. 182, pl. 57 c-d). In another instance a relatively complete part of the neck remains (Cat. no. 178, pl. 57 a-b). All the other specimens are even more fragmentary. Because of their

<sup>372</sup> See, i.a., the very large skyphoi of the Theseus Painter (Cat. nos. 70-76, pls. 29 c-32 b, 33 c, fig.).

<sup>373</sup> ABL 252,77.

<sup>374</sup> Ure, *Krokotos*, 96. See also Bell, *Krokotos Cups*, 7, attributed to the Mask and Siren Painter.

<sup>375</sup> Ure, *Sixth and Fifth*, 68-69, low cup-like bowl, black off-set rim, narrow figure frieze on the body, made narrow by a black band, without ivy or tongues. See also ABV 568-70, 575, 579-81, all related to or in the Haimon Group.

<sup>376</sup> Hatzidakis, *Cup-skyphoi*, no. 420.

<sup>377</sup> Hatzidakis, *Cup-skyphoi*, nos. 406-420.

partial state and very sporadic publication (the published photographs are limited to Cat. nos. 178-182, pl. 57, and Cat. no. 183, which is published in the *Beazley Archive Database*), nothing can be said about their shape, dimensions, related potters and painters, etc.

Several of the Theseus Painter's loutrophoros fragments depict what looks like processions; others show standard scenes of mourners. The meagre secondary ornamentation that remains, is largely standardised: simple meanders on the rim, net-bands, dots, rays and the like.

Three loutrophoroi have recently been given to the Theseus Painter and one placed near him. Of the three attributions, however, only Athens 1957 Aa 193 (Cat. no. 182, pl. 57 c-d) can rightly be assigned to the painter himself. Stylistically, the other two loutrophoroi and the one said to be near him bear hardly any resemblance to his work (Cat. nos. N103-105). Therefore it is safest to exclude them. An Oxford fragment initially attributed to the Theseus Painter has recently been correctly reattributed by H. Mommsen to her Painter of the Berlin Loutrophoroi.<sup>378</sup>

## 7. Kyathoi

### Shape

Several of the Theseus Painter's nine kyathoi (Cat. nos. 192-200, pls. 58-62, figs. 71-72) were attributed by Beazley or Eisman. Omaha 1936.484 (Cat. no. 197, pl. 62) was initially placed near the Theseus Painter but is now assigned by me to the painter himself; note especially the anatomical incising of the central amphora-carrying satyr in pl. 62 c.

In shape, all the kyathoi are comparable: ogive body and inverted ogive foot with a double-ridged plate.<sup>379</sup> According to Clark, the two kyathoi in Malibu (86.AE.146-47) must have been fashioned by one potter (Cat. nos. 192-93, pls. 58-59, figs. 71-72).<sup>380</sup> Very probably, the Theseus Painter's other kyathoi were also made by this potter. It should be pointed out that the foot of the Omaha kyathos is more echinus- than ogive-shaped, though it has the usual double-ridged plate; but since this kyathos is much restored, the foot may have originally been identical to that of the other kyathoi. Eisman, however, connects it by shape to the Caylus Painter.<sup>381</sup>

In addition, Eisman assigns the Theseus Painter's kyathoi to the Nikosthenic workshop, and to a potter who also worked for the Group of Vatican G. 57 and "possibly for Psiax."<sup>382</sup> However, V. Tosto doubts very much that any kyathos without a Nikosthenic signature is from or closely connected to Nikosthenes' workshop, as maintained by Eisman.<sup>383</sup> It would then seem that the workshop affiliations and dating which Eisman proposes for the Theseus Painter's kyathoi cannot be automatically accepted. In shape, moreover, the Theseus Painter's kyathoi are not particularly suggestive of any of those mentioned by Eisman. Especially the feet of the kyathoi in the Group of Vatican G. 57 differ from those of the Theseus Painter's kyathoi. And even though some of them show a double-ridged foot-plate,<sup>384</sup> none has the elegant ogive upper part

<sup>378</sup> Oxford 1936.609, (CVA 3, pl. 25.8; H. Mommsen, *Exekias I, Die Grabtafeln, Kerameus* vol. 11, Mainz 1997, 70, no.73, initially attributed to the Theseus Painter by J. Boardman. See also forthcoming, CVA Amsterdam).

<sup>379</sup> The kyathos once in the Basle market (Cat. no. 198, pl. 61 c-d) is only known to me from a very poor illustration in Eisman, *Kyathos*, pl. 33, and only slightly better photographs in the *Beazley Archive Pottery Database*. As far as visible, this kyathos appears not to have an ogive foot, but is straight with a double-ridged footplate.

<sup>380</sup> CVA Malibu 2, 30, 84-85, figs. 18-19.

<sup>381</sup> CVA Joslyn Art Museum, Omaha, 17; Eisman, *Kyathos*, 484-85.

<sup>382</sup> Eisman, *Kyathos*, 447-48. See, i.a., Compiègne 1074 (Eisman, *Kyathos*, no. 71; ABV 612,22); London B 463 (Eisman, *Kyathos*, no. 77, ABV 613,44); St. Petersburg 4472 (Eisman, *Kyathos*, no. 106; Gorbunova, *Ermitazhe*, 198-99, no. 174); Munich 1986 (Eisman, *Kyathos*, no. 113, Para 305,4<sup>ba</sup>) in the Group of Vatican G. 57; Milan 482 (Eisman, *Kyathos*, no. 21; ABV 293,15) Psiax.

<sup>383</sup> Tosto, *Nikosthenes*, 100-102.

<sup>384</sup> See, for example, once Hillsborough Hearst (ABV 611,18, Para 305; *Beazley Addenda*<sup>2</sup> 143); Naples Stg 134 (ABV 613,5; once Basle market, Para 305,7).



which characterises the feet of the Theseus Painter's kyathoi. Only the foot of the Omaha kyathos possibly seems to find parallels in the Group of Vatican G. 57 but, as said, it has been heavily restored.

Eisman proposes that the kyathoi are the Theseus Painter's earliest work,<sup>385</sup> as based on his chronological sequence of changes in the shape of Attic kyathoi. However, this seems to be contradicted by the style of painting and drawing which looks rather late.<sup>386</sup> Clark seems to agree with Eisman only in part and dates the Malibu kyathoi to 510-500 and about 500 B.C. (Cat. nos. 192-93, pls. 58-59, figs. 71-72).<sup>387</sup> For a discussion of the dating of the Theseus Painter's kyathoi, see below, painting and drawing, and development and chronology.

## Painting and drawing

According to Eisman, the Theseus Painter, together with the Caylus Painter and the Philon Painter, was one of the first to abandon the common decorative scheme of the eye-kyathos and to surround the bowl with figurework.<sup>388</sup> He even suggests that possibly the Theseus Painter actually introduced this innovation because he was the most accomplished of the three painters.<sup>389</sup> Although possibly true, the suggestion is hard to substantiate.

At least two of the Theseus Painter's kyathoi are white-ground: Malibu 86.AE.146 and Erlangen I 522 (Cat. nos. 192 and 195, pls. 58 and 61a).<sup>390</sup> The Omaha kyathos (Cat. no. 197, pl. 62) is distinguished from the others by a band of alternately black and reserved squares around the rim.<sup>391</sup> No other special kind of ornament embellishes the kyathoi.

The style of drawing on the Theseus Painter's kyathoi is very basic, comparable to that of the small pelikai and kalpides as well as the alabastra. Anatomical details and folds are indicated by only a few sketchily incised lines. Yet there are some fundamental traits of incising, painting and composition which definitely point to Theseus Painter; compare for example his typical amphora-bearers on skyphoi (Cat. nos. 45-46, 50, pls. 20 a, 21 a, d) with those in Malibu 86.AE.147, Philadelphia, Erlangen and Heidelberg (Cat. nos. 194-96, pls. 59-60, 61 a-b).

## 8. Alabastra

Five alabastra can definitely be attributed to the Theseus Painter (Cat. nos. 201-205, pls. 63-64, 65 a-c) and one is possibly by or near him (Cat. no. N23). The Havana alabastron stands somewhat apart (Cat. no. 201, pl. 63). It is much more elaborately decorated and, unlike the others, has two protruding knobs just below the shoulder. In shape and dimensions, on the other hand, it hardly differs.

Three of the five alabastra were assigned by Beazley to the Theseus Painter. The more elaborately decorated alabastron in Havana shows, at the top, a narrow frieze of silhouette horsemen in a hunting scene and, below, a prothesis. The secondary ornaments consist of somewhat complex meanders on the

<sup>385</sup> About 515-505 B.C., Eisman, *Kyathos*, 443-48.

<sup>386</sup> For style see below and compare Malibu 86.AE.147, Philadelphia L 64.540, Heidelberg S 53, etc., with other work of the painter.

<sup>387</sup> *CVA* Malibu 2, 28.

<sup>388</sup> This is not surprising, as the Theseus Painter is known to have used the eye motif in only one instance: the cup Winchester, College Museum (Cat. no. 176, pl. 56 c).

<sup>389</sup> Eisman, *Kyathos*, 442.

<sup>390</sup> The Malibu kyathos was attributed initially by Von Bothmer to a painter near the Theseus Painter, and later by Eisman to the Theseus Painter himself (*CVA* Malibu 2, 28), with whose work it indeed has much in common and with which it shares some stylistic elements. Nevertheless, the kyathos shows peculiar traits and, furthermore, stands apart from the Theseus Painter's other kyathoi because of the careful execution of the figure scene.

<sup>391</sup> *CVA* Omaha, 17.

neck and below the main frieze,<sup>392</sup> tongue-band on the shoulder, and a band of squares and dots below. The other two alabastra attributed by Beazley (Cat. nos. 202, 205, pl. 64 a-b) have much simpler representations of athletes and women and far fewer secondary ornaments. The drawing style of the alabastron once in the Basle market is very crude and has very little in common with the style generally associated with Theseus Painter's skyphoi. Its secondary decoration consists of a black neck, shoulder and base, and a simple meander to the right below the edge of the shoulder. The Philadelphia alabastron (Cat. no. 205) is nearly identical (with cock instead of column) to the one once in the Basle market (Cat. no. 202, pl. 64 a-b), but is in silhouette. It is, as far as known, the only vase assigned to the Theseus Painter that has no incision.

Two alabastra were added subsequent to Beazley. (Cat. nos. 203-204, pls. 64 c-e, 65 a-c). The style of painting and drawing is as crude as that of the Basle alabastron, attributed by Beazley, and it shows similar subjects and secondary decoration.

A few late lekythos painters also produced alabastra. Some of them are by the Edinburgh Painter and the Sappho Painter, but by far the most are by the Diosphos Painter.<sup>393</sup> The Emporion Painter, connected to the Beldam Painter, also decorated many alabastra.<sup>394</sup> Stylistically, they recall somewhat the clumsiness of the Theseus Painter's alabastra. According to J. Mertens, a continuous succession of alabastron painters goes from Psiax to the Emporion Painter.<sup>395</sup> Maybe the Theseus Painter is linked by the Beldam Painter to the Emporion Painter and therefore started to decorate alabastra late in his career.

## 9. Single pieces and undetermined shapes

One plate can be attributed to the Theseus Painter: Chicago 1967.115.256 (Cat. no. 206, pl. 65 d). In the plate's publication, the tondo goat is rightly likened to goats by the Theseus Painter, although the comparison did not result in an attribution. The plate's shape and subsidiary decoration are comparable to Callipolitis-Feytmans' type B II,<sup>396</sup> comprising rather simple, small plates potted and decorated in several phases between 520 and 450 B.C. Many of them have a single figure in the centre, like the Theseus Painter's plate.

Beazley thought that two unpublished fragments of closed shapes (Cat. nos. 208-209) possibly belong to amphorai.<sup>397</sup> But as we have no amphora by the Theseus Painter it is safer simply to consider the fragments as parts of unidentified closed shapes. Very possibly, they belong to a pelike or a kalpis, closed shapes which we know the Theseus Painter decorated. Perhaps the theme of the fragment Acropolis 843 (Cat. no. 209) - Apollo and a goddess - indicates that the vase was a kalpis because Apollo seems to be the main subject of the Theseus Painter's large kalpides (Cat. nos. 159-160). The small fragment in the British School at Athens is even more difficult to place (Cat. no. 207, pl. 65 e).

Lastly, H.A. Cahn has assigned a white-ground krater to the Theseus Painter: (Cat. no. N98). The style seems rather uncharacteristic of the Theseus Painter, however.<sup>398</sup> The collarbone and chest incisions, for example, differ completely from the Theseus Painter's general manner. In my opinion, the krater can hardly be his work.

<sup>392</sup> Mertens, *AWG*, 98, "cyma and almost Dourian stopped meander with crosses"; similar to that below the shoulders of the lekythoi Louvre CA 1837 and Berlin 2005 (Cat. nos. 140 and 145, pls. 44 c-d, 46 c).

<sup>393</sup> Mertens, *AWG*, 95-96, nos. 4-14, mentions about half of the more than 20 pieces by this painter listed by Haspels and Beazley, in *ABL* 237, *ABV* 510, *Para* 249-50.

<sup>394</sup> *ABL* 165-69; *ABV* 524-25; *Para* 291.

<sup>395</sup> Mertens, *AWG*, 99.

<sup>396</sup> D. Callipolitis-Feytmans, *Les plats attiques à figures noires* (Paris 1974) 285-309.

<sup>397</sup> *ABV* 519, 12-13.

<sup>398</sup> Insofar as visible, as the quality of the photograph does not allow for a detailed analysis.

## 10. Concluding remarks

As shown, the Theseus Painter, besides the main shapes of the skyphos and the lekythos, decorated different vase-types, most of which seem to link him to various, apparently mutually unrelated workshops. In comparison to the skyphoi, the number of pelikai is relatively small. They can be divided into two groups: the large ones are stylistically associated with his skyphoi. Their shape suggests a relation to the Nikoxenos Painter and the Eucharides Painter, although the extent of the relation is not entirely clear. It seems that the Theseus Painter decorated pelikai produced by a potter who also worked for both of these painters.

His small pelikai, on the other hand, stand apart and have nothing in common with the large ones. The style is, for example, much later, and they also differ in shape. In fact, there seem to be no pelikai by other artisans which are comparable to the small ones by the Theseus Painter. This leads to the conclusion that he collaborated with a potter who fashioned a special type of pelike exclusively for him. The question of whether this potter was the Theseus Painter himself remains answerable.

Like the pelikai, the kalpides can be divided into groups as well. The rather careful style of painting and drawing of the London kalpis is comparable to that of the Theseus Painters' skyphoi. Its shape again suggests an affiliation with the workshop in which the Nikoxenos Painter and the Eucharides Painter decorated their vases.

The Madrid kalpis is very fragmentary, which makes it difficult or even impossible to say anything about its shape except that it differed from that of the London kalpis. Stylistically, it can be connected to at least one of the Theseus Painter's lekythoi by a specific feature: both display what Haspels called 'exaggerated crinkliness'.

The small kalpides, on the other hand, can be less easily placed. They are slightly comparable to the kalpides of the Painter of Vatican G. 49 and the Painter of the Half-palmettes, both linked to the Athena Painter's workshop. Whether they also issued from that workshop is uncertain, however.

In shape, the Theseus Painter's kyathoi, it seems, cannot be convincingly likened to kyathoi of any other Attic manufacturer. As in the case of the small pelikai, one might conclude that the Theseus Painter decorated kyathoi which a potter made exclusively for him, if he was not himself the potter. The style of the kyathoi suggests a very late date in his career.

The two olpai differ from each other in shape. The Athens olpe is red-bodied and footless, by which it resembles several other similar specimens, which are not assignable to one workshop. The shape of the Berlin olpe is rooted in the workshop of the Athena Painters. Whereas the Athens olpe is relatively early and stylistically similar to the Theseus Painter's skyphoi, the Berlin olpe is quite late and more in line with the style of his lekythoi.

Except for Louvre F 342 and London B 513, which seem linked to earlier producers like the Leagros Group, all the Theseus Painter's oinochoai show a relation to the Athena Painters' workshop. While differing in shape from each another, they all fit into an oinochoe subgroup of the Athena Painter's workshop. The Louvre and London oinochoai are rather carefully decorated, both the figurework and the secondary decoration. The style of the other oinochoai is more like that of the Theseus Painter's lekythoi, although their painting has sometimes been slightly less carefully executed.

There are various classes among the Theseus Painter's cups. Most interesting are the cups and the cup-skyphos which, in shape (Malibu 96.AE.96) and ornamentation (Malibu 96.AE.96, Agora P 1383, P 1384), show a relation to the Painter of Nicosia C 975, although its exact nature remains unclear, especially as the Painter of Nicosia C 975 seems stylistically to have nothing in common with the Theseus Painter. London B 446 and Taranto 6515 find comparisons among the Preyss cups of the Haimon Group. Finally, possible links to the Theseus Painter's loutrophoroi and alabastra cannot easily be established.



## V. WORKSHOP CONNECTIONS

Although the use of 'workshop' in Attic late black-figure can be rather vague, it basically denotes a group of painters and/or potters who are connected by style and/or potterwork as well as, to a lesser degree, by secondary decoration and related iconography. As shown in the preceding chapters, the Theseus Painter appears to have been affiliated with quite a few very different workshops at various times in his career. Some affiliations are evident from stylistic similarities in the painting as well as the potterwork of individual artisans. In other instances, the link is limited to the potterwork or certain kinds of secondary decoration. In all examples, however, the workshops are themselves characterised by differences in the shapes produced. Moreover, they seem generally not to be associated with each other or to have anything else in common except that they collaborated with the Theseus Painter who worked for or with them.

The Theseus Painter's main shape, the skyphos, is linked to the painters (and potters?) of the Krokotos Group, who are regarded as specialists in both skyphoi and cups. To a lesser degree, the same applies to the skyphos producers in the White Heron Group. His skyphoi are of various types, which suggests they were fashioned by different potters (see figs. 40-51, and Table 4). Whether one of these potters was the Theseus Painter himself, remains undecided, although as stated above, I find this highly unlikely.

Other extant shapes decorated by the Theseus Painter at approximately the time as the skyphoi include some large pelikai, the kalpis London B 346, a few cups, a cup-skyphos and two oinochoai. They show no tie to the Krokotos workshop, whereas some of them seem to be more or less closely connected to other black-figure workshops or groups: for the large pelikai and the early kalpis, the Nikoxenos/Eucharides workshop; for the two early oinochoai, possibly the Leagros Group.

These relations appear somewhat odd, however. First, it would seem that Theseus Painter collaborated simultaneously with very different workshops, which does not seem common practice in Attic late black-figure. Secondly, the quantity of the Theseus Painter's work linked to the Nikoxenos/Eucharides workshop and the Leagros Groups is very small as compared to his numerous skyphoi.

Furthermore, many of the Theseus Painter's later vases are doubtless related to the Athena Painter and his workshop: the majority of the lekythoi, several oinochoai and possibly the olpe Berlin 3230. The connection is not solely based on similarities in shape, as the Theseus Painter and the Athena Painter must have influenced each other also in matters of style and iconography. In addition, the Theseus Painter's type C cups are the Preyss Group type, which commonly occurs in the Haimon Group, and perhaps their potterwork is connected to it, although again the style of the Theseus Painter and the Haimon Group generally bear no resemblance.

On the other hand, some of Theseus Painter's vases cannot easily be seen in relation to an established workshop, but seem instead to form an isolated group or to be the products of separate workshops. His cups of special type, for example, show ties to the Painter of Nicosia C 975, but unfortunately the potterwork and decoration of the latter's cups are hard to link to any other painters or workshops, which would provide further insight in workshop connections of the Theseus Painter. It is even more difficult to associate the small pelikai and kalpides and the kyathoi with a particular workshop. These pelikai and kalpides seem to form a separate group in themselves, as might also apply to the kyathoi. Regarding the latter, Eisman saw a connection to Psiax, the Nikosthenic workshop and the Group of Vatican G. 57. However, the kyathoi of none of them is especially similar to those of the Theseus Painter in either shape, decoration or iconography to suspect a workshop connection, let alone close enough to be the work of one potter.

Because of the lack of evident links to other individual artisans or workshops, the Theseus Painter's special cups, kyathoi and small pelikai and kalpides therefore contrast somewhat with the greater share of his work, that is, the many skyphoi and lekythoi which are firmly rooted in established workshops.<sup>399</sup> Perhaps this circumstance indicates that the Theseus Painter actually potted some of his pelikai, kalpides or kyathoi, or that he worked closely with one or more potters who only supplied him with these shapes. The suggestion remains very tentative, however, and is in no way backed up by evidence.

Because of the foregoing as well as because of the great differentiation in the Theseus Painter's vase-shapes, it is very difficult to establish the overall history of his workshop affiliations. Often a painter specialises in a few shapes and is associated with one or more painters who decorate the same shapes and

<sup>399</sup> Although one of the small pelikai might possibly be by the Athena Painter (see above).

who are stylistically related to him. These correspondences make it possible to identify (or, as it were, reconstruct) a probable workshop centring on one or more specific painters. In addition, the similarities in the potterwork let us recognise the handiwork of potters who parallel the painters in such a group or workshop. In comparison to painters, however, the identification of potters' hands remains more difficult. By correlating potters' and painters' signatures with his lists of painter's hands, Beazley advanced, as far back as 1944, several possible combinations of potters and painters working together in a workshop situation.<sup>400</sup> Based on the signatures, furthermore, he concluded that more than one kind of painter-potter cooperation existed: potter x worked with painter y; a vase was painted and potted by one and the same artisan; a painter could work with various potters on different shapes, sometimes in separate periods of his career, presumably often collaborating exclusively with one particular potter at one time in his career and later switching to another one.<sup>401</sup> Makron and Douris, for example, seem to begin by painting cups potted by Euphronios and later to work with the potters Hieron and Python respectively. Another example is Euphronios himself, who seems to have collaborated as painter with different potters of large vases (for example, a signature of Euxitheos as potter) and cups (for example, a signature of Kachrylion as potter) and to have ended his career as a potter himself.<sup>402</sup> However, such shifts, it seems, generally took place within the confines of a single workshop and not, as in the case of the Theseus Painter, between unconnected workshops. Moreover, in each phase of his career the Theseus Painter apparently collaborated simultaneously with different unrelated workshops; note, for instance, his middle-period skyphoi, pelikai, kalpides and oinochoai. Therefore his altering workshop affiliations seem not necessarily to coincide with his development or chronology, as they are not always confined to a single phase in his career.

Possible instances of ties between potters and painters can also be deduced from the identification of potters' hands in the potterwork.<sup>403</sup> First of all, there are the painter-potters, that is, painters who themselves potted the vases they decorated and who can be recognised as such because their painting always occurs in combination with the same potter's hand.<sup>404</sup> Secondly, another kind of collaboration consists of small groups or pairs of painters who indiscriminately decorated pots fashioned by an equally small number of potters or who were painter-potters and decorated each other's vases.<sup>405</sup> Other possibilities, are that several seemingly unrelated painters adorned vases by one potter;<sup>406</sup> or that one or two potters collaborated with a very large group of painters.<sup>407</sup>

With regard to the Theseus Painter, the links between him and one or more potters' hands cannot easily be established. None of the above-mentioned varieties of collaboration seems completely applicable to him. This is due, on the one hand, to the very many different shapes and 'sub shapes' that he decorated and, on the other, to the amount of workshops that seem to have been involved in their production. Furthermore, the relationships are all the more difficult to map because of the sometimes rather limited stylistic resemblance between the Theseus Painter and, in turn, the painters who worked for these workshops. Haspels suggested that the Theseus Painter may have offered his services to diverse

<sup>400</sup> Beazley, *Potter and Painter*, 50 ff.

<sup>401</sup> Beazley, *Potter and Painter*, 55-56.

<sup>402</sup> See, for example, F. Villard, 'Euphronios vers 500', in M. Cygulman et al. (eds), *Euphronios, Atti del Seminario Internazionale di Studi, Arezzo 27-28 maggio 1990* (Milan 1992) 23-27.

<sup>403</sup> Pioneered by H.J. Bloesch, *FAS; id. Stout and Slender*. He supplied potters with names more or less in the manner that Beazley named painters, for example, Eukleo Potter, Clubfoot Potter, etc. See also H. Mommsen, *Töpferstudien*, and H.A.G. Brijder in *Vasenforschung nach Beazley, Bericht vom Symposium des Deutschen Archäologen-Verbandes, Tübingen, 24. - 26. 11. 1978* (Mainz 1979) 14-17. See also I. Scheibler, *Griechische Töpferkunst, Herstellung, Handel und Gebrauch der antiken Tongefäße* (Munich 1983) 113-15.

<sup>404</sup> Among Siana cups, the C Painter (Brijder, *Siana Cups I*, 23-24) and Heidelberg Painter (Brijder, *Siana Cups II*, 335); or the 'Tyrrhenian' painters decorating and potting their own amphorae, J. Kluiver, 'The Potter-Painters of 'Tyrrhenian' Neck-Amphorae: A Close Look at the Shape', *BABesch* 68 (1993) 186-87.

<sup>405</sup> See, for example, Siana cups, Brijder, *Siana Cups I*, 23-24, the pairs consisting of the Taras Painter and Malibu Painter and the Double-palmette Painter and the Omobono Painter.

<sup>406</sup> The Amasis Painter and (incidentally), Lydos and the Taleides Painter decorated vases by Amasis. See also Mommsen, *Töpferstudien*, 14a-c; also J. Boardman, 'Amasis, The Implications of his Name', *Amasis Papers*, 144.

<sup>407</sup> Like the potters Euphronios and Kachrylion, each of whom supplied at least ten different painters; Beazley, *Potter and Painter*, 56. See also the collaboration of Nikosthenes and Pamphaios; Tosto, *Nikosthenes*, 193-95; Immerwahr, *Pamphaios*, 341-52. For types of collaboration in general, see also I. Scheibler, 'Formen der Zusammenarbeit in attischen Töpfereien', in *Studien zur alten Geschichte, Festschrift S. Laufer* (Rome 1986) esp. 787-790, 799-803.



workshops throughout his career,<sup>408</sup> like a freelance, which, of course, must remain speculative. She also proposed that he left the 'skyphos workshop' of the White Heron Group and started decorating other shapes for other workshops because "he was tired of inspiring the hacks of the White Heron workshop." Although such an awareness of qualitative differences in the work of fellow painters would certainly have existed, her suggested motive for the Theseus Painter's change of workshop is, in my view, far-fetched. In addition, it would imply that, in sixth- and fifth-century B.C. Athens, so much importance was attached to artistic qualitative differences that they could prompt an Attic vase painter to leave a workshop, which, once again, cannot be substantiated. Most importantly, perhaps, the Theseus Painter was, in fact, not much more skilled than some other painters of Heron Class skyphoi (like the Painter of Philadelphia 5481).

On the other hand, it seems that the Theseus Painter's various workshop affiliations can be partly defined or at least seen as sometimes paralleling his chronological development. After his middle period (see below), for instance, he stops decorating skyphoi, which warrants the conclusion that he left the Krokotos and White Heron Groups and went on to decorate pottery which originated in one or more other workshops. In this respect Haspels certainly has a point.

Painters who were furnished with pottery over the years by a variety of potters are seen more often.<sup>409</sup> A possible explanation for the practice is that large workshops existed in which painters decorated the work of different potters indiscriminately.<sup>410</sup> This seems generally to occur more often in red-figure than in late black-figure. Late black-figure painters like the Athena Painter, Haimon Group, Leafless Group, CHC Group, etc. appear to stick more to their limited repertory of vases and to the fixed workshops to which they belong. There are exceptions, however, like the Sappho Painter, who display somewhat more variety in their shapes. Yet none of them seems to have varied their vase-shapes and the workshops (that is, the potters) with which they collaborated as much as the Theseus Painter. In this respect he therefore seems closer to red-figure painters than those in late black-figure, although he apparently collaborated only with the more 'conservative' manufacturers of late black-figure. In any event, whether this circumstance means that the Theseus Painter was not permanently affiliated with a particular workshop or one or more individual potters at a given time in his career remains uncertain.

A possible alternative explanation would be that, as suggested elsewhere, 'painter-based workshops' existed beside those which were 'potter-based'.<sup>411</sup> The implication is that painters were not always directly linked to potters in a workshop situation but sometimes operated as independent craftsmen who could freely draw on different workshops for their undecorated pottery. This explanation might seem applicable to the diverse work of the Theseus Painter if it were not that with regard to most shapes he decorated he seems to have adopted the customs and rules, concerning composition and secondary decoration, of the painters of the workshop from which the pottery presumably originated. It seems logical that in such circumstances a painter would conform to the workshop's practice for the decoration of a specific shape. But the Theseus Painter apparently went further, as is especially visible in relation to the Athena Painter whose influence extends to the style and iconography of the Theseus Painter's lekythoi. For example, none of the lekythoi shows the weird monsters of his skyphoi; instead, they feature a favourite theme of the Athena Painter, Polyxena at the fountain, as well as Peleus and Thetis and the Judgement of Paris.<sup>412</sup>

<sup>408</sup> ABL 146.

<sup>409</sup> See Immerwahr, *Pamphaios*, 346-47, and table. Oltes painted vases potted by Tleson (ARV<sup>2</sup> 66,127), Nikosthenes (ARV<sup>2</sup> 58,8), Pamphaios (ARV<sup>2</sup> 53,1-2; 54,5), Kachrylion (ARV<sup>2</sup> 58,51; 59,54-57; 59,60), Chelis (ARV<sup>2</sup> 57,43), Hyschilos (ARV<sup>2</sup> 55,13-16, unsigned, based on shape), Euxitheos (ARV<sup>2</sup> 54,4; 60,64, 66), several pieces with *epoiesen* signatures, but names lost (ARV<sup>2</sup> 60,65; 67,139). Epiktetos painted vases by Andokides (ARV<sup>2</sup> 77,90), Nikosthenes (ARV<sup>2</sup> 71,8), Pamphaios (ARV<sup>2</sup> 71-72,14-1572,17, unsigned, based on shape; *Para* 329,14bis), Hyschilos (ARV<sup>2</sup> 70-71,1-4; 71,7; 79,1), Python (ARV<sup>2</sup> 72,16), Pistoxenos (ARV<sup>2</sup> 77,86), plate signed by Epiktetos himself as a potter (ARV<sup>2</sup> 78,102) and several *epoiesen* signatures, but names lost.

<sup>410</sup> Immerwahr, *Pamphaios*, 347.

<sup>411</sup> See Immerwahr, *Pamphaios*, 347, and A. Seeberg, 'Epoiesen, Egrapsen and the Organisation of Vase-trade', *JHS* 114 (1994) 163.

<sup>412</sup> In this regard, I cannot satisfactorily explain the fact that whereas the Theseus Painter in this phase apparently stopped painting weird monsters, the Athena Painter is known to have illustrated the subject on one of his oinochoai (Boston 98.924, *ABV* 524,1; *Beazley Addenda*<sup>2</sup> 131, by or near the Athena Painter). Perhaps this is due to the previous, lingering influence of the Theseus Painter's iconography, like the scenes of heroes seated at a mound adopted by the Athena Painter from the Theseus Painter.



A similar phenomenon is seen in the Theseus Painter's cups. Depending on the group or workshop to which he was attached, the secondary ornamentation consists either of the complex volutes of the Painter of Nicosia C 975 or the large ivy-leaf of the Preyss cups by painters of the Haimon Group.<sup>413</sup> These motives are not met before or after in the work of the Theseus Painter.

The Theseus Painter's evident willingness to adopt the decorative practices of different workshops seems to contradict the notion of an independent artisan who largely decided matters of production for himself. Instead, it suggests an artisan who had to comply to the rules and regulations of the workshop in which he was employed at a given time. Therefore, as advanced by Haspels, the Theseus Painter may largely have worked much as a freelance artisan who moved between Attic workshops.

With regard to the question whether the Theseus Painter was also a potter at any time during his career, three options present themselves. First, he was never involved in potting, but either obtained his vases from various potters or was dependent on the potters in the workshop where he was employed. Next, he sometimes also potted, sometimes fashioning the vases he decorated; one can consider the small *pelikai* or the *kyathoi* which are hard to relate by shape to any fixed workshop. Third, he possibly worked throughout his career as a potter and was responsible for many or most of the vases he painted.

In the light of the foregoing discussions of the painter's vases and affiliations, it is hard to imagine that the third option can apply. In character, the vase-shapes of the Theseus Painter vary so greatly that it is hard to accept they could be the work of a single potter or even of only a few potters. Absolutely no unity of shape or elements of shape whatsoever links the different vase-types. For the same reasons, the possibility that he was responsible for a substantial part of the potterwork seems equally highly improbable.

However, each of the other two options is plausible. It is very possible that, as remarked, the Theseus Painter fashioned a small portion of his vases or specialised as potter in a few of the numerous shapes he decorated (for example *kyathoi* and small *pelikai*). In this respect, however, problems of identification arise. First of all, if signatures are not present, we have no way of knowing for certain that the potter and the painter of a particular vase were the same individual. Second, in none of the different shapes decorated by the Theseus Painter we can identify common distinct traits which point to one potter's hand. As a result, it is virtually impossible to determine whether the Theseus Painter both shaped and decorated a specific vase. Very possibly, on the other hand, he may have conformed as potter so much to the standards of the workshops to which he was attached that we simply cannot distinguish the vases he potted from those of other potters employed in the same workshops. As explained, a comparably high degree of adaptation influenced his style and iconography.

Nevertheless, in the light of the huge differences in vase shapes that he decorated and the wide diversity of workshops that he can be linked to – both of which we would more probably expect in connection with exclusively a painter than with a painter-potter – I am inclined to think that the Theseus Painter probably was never involved in potting.

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<sup>413</sup> Malibu 96.AE.96; Agora P 1383-84 (Cat. nos. 171-72, 177, pls. 55 a, c, 56 f, h) and London B 446 (Cat. no. 173, pl. 55 d, f), resp.

## VI. DEVELOPMENT AND CHRONOLOGY

### 1. Development

The Theseus Painter's style of painting and drawing varies rather much. As remarked above, this is partly due to differences in the proportions and dimensions of the individual shapes, as becomes readily apparent when one compares the broad and low skyphoi and the high and narrow lekythoi. The changes in the amount of available picture surface also significantly influence the painter's style, as is visible, for example, in the proportions of figures and, apparently, even the kinds of incisions.<sup>414</sup>

Nevertheless, such stylistic differences can most certainly act as indicators of 'style groups'. It also proves possible to establish a chronological development linked to the style groups. In some instances, the style groups are also connected to particular shapes, for example, the alabastra which are narrowly associated with the Theseus Painter's 'very late' style. I divide these groups into five phases, with chronological indications that will be explained below: 1, early (515/510-505 B.C.), 2, middle (505-495 B.C.), 3, transitional from middle to late (495-490 B.C.), 4, late (490-485 B.C.) and 5, very late (485-480/475 B.C.).

The Theseus Painter's manner of depicting human figures – especially males – undergoes many changes during his career. In his early work he generally paints broad, rounded human figures. The musculature is often indicated by rather exaggerated forms: bulging blobs of black glaze represent the muscles of shoulders, arms and calves; buttocks and bellies are broad, round and protruding. Later, the figures usually become thinner, less muscular, and the forms of the bodies are more angular. Naked males, for instance, often have a very thin waist. Comparable changes also mark the other pictorial elements. In the later phases, attempts to depict more complicated figures or compositions are largely abandoned. The figures become more isolated and static, standing in a fashion comparable to that of his companion the Athena Painter.

Whereas pictures from the Theseus Painter's middle phase are quite full of human and animal figures, etc., which often overlap, his later scenes are as a rule less crowded. The painter's incising changes likewise. He started making rather carefully drawn and often rather detailed incisions. They became less careful in subsequent stages, culminating in the very limited, clumsy drawing of his latest vases. Examples of some differences in drawing from various phases are seen in satyrs (figs. 1-5), Herakles (figs. 6-11) and youths (figs. 12-15).

The drawing style of animals also shows a development, although it is less marked than in the human figures. Changes are most evident in the Theseus Painter's most popular animal, the goat. Clearly contrasting are the older, rather detailed goats of the Winchester skyphos (Cat. no. 4, pl. 1 c-d) and the less carefully drawn ones under the handles of Agora P 1544 (Cat. no. 45, pl. 20 c). Even more summarily rendered are the goats of the pelike Malibu 71.AE.297 (Cat. no. 150, pl. 47 a-b). The painter's later animals, in comparison to his earlier ones, have more slender proportions and stand on higher legs (compare also the snouts which look almost like human noses); the incising is more angular and less detailed.

In addition, the painter's early work shows much added colour, including a lot of yellow, whereas the use of added colour on his later vases becomes more sober and yellow completely vanishes. Regarding the secondary decoration, on the other hand, it is often difficult to discern a distinct development. In many instances, as best represented by skyphoi, the secondary ornaments undergo no fundamental changes at all, but are a standard feature of the shape. Nevertheless, the ornamentation of skyphoi shows small, but notable, differences. On many skyphoi, which I designate as 'transitional from middle to late', the ivy motif on the rim (which, as a rule, is somewhat clumsily executed anyway) has often deteriorated to

<sup>414</sup> The incised details of the skyphoi are, roughly speaking, rather broad and flowing, whereas the drawing of the lekythoi, for example, is more limited and scribbly. For these stylistic differences compare two extreme examples with the same subject: the skyphos Taranto 4448 and the lekythos Brussels A 1953 (Cat. nos. 14, 135, pls. 6 a, 42 d). The same differences are detectable in the Theseus Painter's other 'broad' and 'high' pictorial spaces, for example, the pelikai as opposed to the alabastra.

merely two rows of dots; compare the skyphoi with ivy (Cat. nos. 1, 4, 13-14, pls. 1, 6) and the large transitional vases with dots (pls. 29-31). This feature is however not always indicative for transitional skyphoi, as three skyphoi with dots on their rims – Guardia Perticara, Monopoli private collection, once Kropatscheck collection (Cat. nos. 10, 16, 26, pls. 5 a, 7 c-d, 11 f-g) – appear stylistically otherwise not to differ from the skyphoi assigned to the middle group and have therefore been included in it.

The skyphoi also show some variation in the lines and stripes between the figured frieze and the tongues, which might be further indicative of developmental phases. Whereas Syracuse 26857 (early, Cat. no. 1, pl. 1 a-b) has a comparatively complex system of bands and lines above the tongues, Athens, NM 498 (transitional from middle to late, Cat. no. 80, pl. 34 e-f) is surrounded by three clumsily painted stripes only.

With regard to other shapes, like pelikai, kalpides and oinochoai, the specimens are too few in number to discern any development, because the decorative system finds either none, or very few, counterparts on other examples by the Theseus Painter. For all of them, however, one rough distinction can be made: in the earlier ones the ornamentation is rendered with more care and the decoration is more elaborate than in the later ones.

The only vase shape of the Theseus Painter that exhibits some development in the secondary decoration is the lekythos. The earliest lekythoi have broad palmettes with 7-9 leaves on the shoulder; later ones, thinner palmettes with 11-13 leaves. And the latest lekythoi have no palmettes at all, but are adorned with rays on the shoulder, a device associated with the Beldam Painter who is considered very late in the chronology of lekythos painters.

Viewed in combination with the stylistic phases the specific shape of an individual vase type can also be seen to change somewhat over time. The Theseus Painter's large cylindrical lekythoi, for example, show a figure style which can be regarded as relatively early in comparison to that of his other lekythoi (Cat. nos. 125-32, pls. 38-40, 41 a-c), although later than most of his skyphoi. In shape, his large lekythoi are related to those of the Edinburgh Painter and the Athena Painter. However, other lekythoi are clearly later in style and different in shape. The best examples are the two chimney-lekythoi: once Paris, Peyrefitte collection, and Boston 21.277 (Cat. nos. 146-47, pl. 46 d-f). Their distinctive form associates them with very late black-figure workshops like those of the Haimon Painter and the Beldam Painter, of which the general dating is certainly much later than the main body of work of either the Athena Painter or the Edinburgh Painter.

The Theseus Painter's skyphoi also show parallel changes in shape and painting style. The earliest ones tend to be rather small, shallow and broad. In style, the larger (particularly the very large skyphoi) are definitely later than the smaller ones.

## Phases

Basically, the work of the Theseus Painter can be divided into five phases: early, middle, transitional from middle to late, late, very late. However, it needs to be borne in mind that the Theseus Painter's development is more gradual, as it were, flowing than its division into phases might seem to imply.

### 1. Early phase

Cat. nos. 1-6; pls. 1-2, 3 a-b

Few vases of the Theseus Painter can be considered early work. The early phase comprises exclusively skyphoi. Previously Ure saw that Syracuse 26857 and Winchester College are early (Cat. nos. 1 and 4, pl. 1).<sup>415</sup> In my opinion, so are the skyphos fragments Acropolis 1281 (Cat. no. 2, pl. 2a, Dionysos in a ship-cart<sup>416</sup>) and Acropolis 1271 (Cat. no. 5, pl. 2 c-d, 'washermen', attributed to near the Theseus Painter

<sup>415</sup> Ure, *Krokotos*, 95-96, 103.

<sup>416</sup> *ABL* 250,29.



by Haspels<sup>417</sup>) as well as Boston 99.523 and New York 17.230.9 (Cat. nos. 3, 4, pls. 2b, 3 a-b).

Generally, the Theseus Painter's early skyphoi are smaller (closer in size to skyphoi connected with the Krokotos Group) than those of his subsequent phases. Proportionately, they are usually broader in relation to the height, as compared to the later skyphoi (see Table 3 a). All the early skyphoi have a broad, rounded torus foot.

Their style can be described as quite stiff, while their painting style is very precise and their incising relatively detailed. They bear much resemblance to Krokotos Group skyphoi.

The stylistic differences between the early skyphoi and the later ones can be most clearly seen in Syracuse 26857. Its painting is exceptionally careful (Cat. no. 1, pl. 1 a-b, fig. 1 a-b); compare the satyrs with those of later vases by the Theseus Painter.<sup>418</sup> Nevertheless, many stylistic elements are consistent with the Theseus Painter; note for example the wavy chest-muscles, single line for both collarbone and biceps, curving line in the thigh, continuing down to the knee, although in one instance the thigh line is doubled, as found on only a few other vases of the Theseus Painter.<sup>419</sup> The Syracuse skyphos also shares stylistic features with the Krokotos Painter:<sup>420</sup> stiffness of composition and incising, and rather elaborate incisions. Otherwise without parallel in the Theseus Painter's skyphoi are the kraters used as handle ornaments, which are, instead, a main trait of Krokotos Group skyphoi. Ure recognised, rightly in my opinion, that the Syracuse skyphos was decorated by the Theseus Painter, whereas Beazley was apparently less certain and placed it near the Theseus Painter.<sup>421</sup>

Another early skyphos, Winchester College (Cat. no. 4, pl. 1 c-d), is notable for its lavish use of yellow, ornate style and stiff composition. Ure also considered it one of the Theseus Painter's earliest pieces.<sup>422</sup> Its maenads wear stiffish garments, without the characteristic wavy and zigzag lines marking the clothes of almost all the other female figures by the Theseus Painter. Both maenads and goats are rendered very neatly, with atypically detailed facial incisions for the females. Another feature strongly linking the Winchester College skyphos to the earlier Krokotos Group is the abundant use of yellow.

As remarked, Acropolis 1281 and 1271 (Cat. nos. 2 and 5, pls. 2 a, c-d, fig. 53), are, in my opinion, early too. Their dimensions, as far as known, are quite small.<sup>423</sup> The drawing of Acropolis 1281 is careful and detailed; and the incising of the head and upper body of the satyr confronting Dionysos in his ship-cart is very like that of the Syracuse skyphos. The other skyphos with a Dionysian ship-cart (Cat. no. 8, pl. 4 a-b) lacks the detail and exactness of Acropolis 1281, which suggests it differs chronologically.<sup>424</sup>

Acropolis 1271 (Cat. No. 5, pl. 2 c-d), was assigned by Haspels to near the Theseus Painter.<sup>425</sup> In a way it is a curious fragment its restored diameter is very small (only ca. 20 cm) and, as far as visible from what remains of the original vase, it must have been a very small skyphos. The style appears to be more refined than that of most of the Theseus Painter's work, with quite thin lines as facial incisions.<sup>426</sup> Yet there are many traits which point to the Theseus Painter (for example the characteristic forelocks and ears).

According to Malagardis,<sup>427</sup> New York 17.230.9, with 'Nereus' on a seahorse, is probably also early work (Cat. no. 3, pl. 2 b). The suggestion seems to me correct because of the relatively small size, very detailed incising and abundant added colour, including yellow.

<sup>417</sup> ABL 253,12.

<sup>418</sup> See, i.a., Naples 81154, Basle market, Lecce 560, Athens, Kanellopoulos, and once, German private coll. (Cat. nos. 24, 37-38, 78, 133, pls. 11 a-e, 15 c-d, 16 c-d, 33 a-b, 41 d-e).

<sup>419</sup> See, i.a., the wrestlers of New York 06.1021.49 (Cat. no. 42, pl. 18 b) or the Herakles of Taranto 4448 (Cat. no. 14, pl. 6 c). In contrast to the satyr of the Syracuse skyphos, the feature may explained in these two instances as the result of the figures' uncommon stances.

<sup>420</sup> Compare esp. the satyr playing aulos in Cab. des Médailles 343 (Para 93,1; Beazley Addenda<sup>2</sup> 55).

<sup>421</sup> Ure, Krokotos, 96, 103, which was later also confirmed by Malagardis, *Skyphoi*. See also Para, 257.

<sup>422</sup> Ure, *Krokotos*, 95. Only 15.3 cm high.

<sup>423</sup> Diameters: Acropolis 1281, 21.5 cm, Acropolis 1271, even only c. 20.0 cm (fig. 53), which are indeed very narrow for a Heron Class skyphos.

<sup>424</sup> This is confirmed by the skyphos Bologna 130 (Cat. no. N46), with the same subject, by an unidentified, apparently later painter of the White Heron Group.

<sup>425</sup> ABL 253,12. 16.2 cm high.

<sup>426</sup> This is not evident in pl. 2 c-d, which is a drawing taken from Graef and Langlotz, *Akropolis*.

<sup>427</sup> Malagardis, *Skyphoi*.

Boston 99.523 (Cat. no. 6, pl. 3 a-b) is a borderline case. It is smallish,<sup>428</sup> has much added colour, and shows a subject which is popular in the Krokotos Group: lions and bulls at a tree.<sup>429</sup> On the other hand, the incising resembles much more the typically flowing lines of the Theseus Painter's middle period. Malagardis proposes that an unpublished fragmentary skyphos, which was once in the New York Love collection and which Beazley gave to the Krokotos Group, is also early work of the Theseus Painter.<sup>430</sup> As I have not seen it, I cannot comment on either attribution.

Some other skyphoi by the Theseus Painter (Taranto 4447-8, Acropolis 1306, London 1902.12-18.3, Naples 81154 and 81159, New York 06.1021.49, Taranto 4449; Cat. nos. 13-15, 24, 33, 42, 44, pls. 6, 7 a-b, 8 d-e, 11 a-d, 14 a-b, 18 a-b, 19) are remarkable for their high quality and detail of decoration, in both the painting and the incising, as well as for much use of added colour. Therefore one could easily decide to place them in the early phase. However, because of the relative standard features of the incising, I assign them to the painter's middle phase.

Finally, it must be remarked that I cannot find any truly early vases by the Theseus Painter, that is, work which might reflect his apprenticeship, for instance, displaying signs of experimentation and clumsiness. All the skyphoi denoted by me as early are the products of a mature painter/draughtsman. Perhaps the absence of what might be considered the painter's truly earliest work provides grist to the mill of Eisman's arguments for placing the Theseus Painter's kyathoi at the very start of his career instead of at the end. Nevertheless, the style of the kyathoi simply fits better into the painter's later style as a result of preceding developments.

## 2. Middle phase

Cat. nos. 7-67, 150-52, 159, 163, 165-66, 171-72, 177, 206; pls. 3 c-e, 4-28, 47, 48 a-b, 50 a, 52 a, c-d, 55 a-c, 56 d-h, 65 d

The Theseus Painter's middle phase comprises the largest number of vases, consisting partly of skyphoi as well as of other shapes: large pelikai, kalpis (Cat. no. 159, pl. 50 a), oinochoai (Cat. nos. 165-66, pls. 52 c-d, 53 a-c), olpe (Cat. no. 163, pl. 52 a), cups, cup-skyphos (Cat. nos. 171-72, 177, pls. 55 a-b, 56 d-h) and plate (Cat. no. 206, pl. 65 d).<sup>431</sup> The skyphoi tend now to be somewhat larger, their rims show more variation, and the concave-shaped type 2 foot emerges.

Most of these vases, especially the skyphoi, exhibit all the basic stylistic traits described by Haspels and others (see above, general style). Some of them are painted relatively carefully and elaborately (see Taranto 4447-8, Mt. Holyoke, Taranto 4449, Cat. nos. 13-14, 19, 44, pls. 6, 9 a-b, 19), others are clumsier (see Taranto 4591, Amsterdam 2178, Cat. nos. 50, 58, pls. 21, 27 a-e). Nevertheless, they all have the same underlying common stylistic elements.

The Theseus Painter's characteristically flowing, wavy incising now becomes a main feature. Males are depicted as broad, muscular figures. Some scenes are composed more freely and there is sometimes good observation of details and difficult anatomy, for example the abdomen of Alkyoneus in Taranto 4448 (Cat. no. 14, pl. 6 c) or that of Skiron in Toledo 63.27 (Cat. no. 30, pl. 13 d-e). In general, however, the figures on the Theseus Painter's middle vases show, for the most part, fewer incised details. In the middle phase, the eyes are often depicted in the standard black-figure fashion (circle and dot for the iris and pupil, stroke on either side), but they can also be sloppier and more summary. Additional characteristic details are: conspicuously incised forelock consisting of two lines with a row of strokes at the end, typical shell-like ears, hair at the neck, and beard. Careful incisions for the nose, cheek and moustache remain standard, although not all of them are included on every male face; see the central figure of Amsterdam 2178, Cat. no. 58, pl. 27 a).

In addition, the figures' postures are frequently complicated, and animals and objects are rendered in

<sup>428</sup> 15.7 cm high. As in the case of Acropolis 1281 in comparison to London B 79 (Cat. no. 8, pl. 4 a-b), the subject of the Boston skyphos finds a later parallel in the Theseus Painter's skyphos in Guardia Perticara (Cat. no. 10, pl. 5 a). Clear differences mark both the style and the shape.

<sup>429</sup> See n. 34.

<sup>430</sup> Para 93.5; Malagardis, *Skyphoi*.

<sup>431</sup> See also ABL 145.

relative detail (compared to later phases). Parallel incised lines occur often. Many animals are skilfully portrayed (see the cattle on the reverse of Taranto 4448, *Cat. no. 14, pl. 6 d*). The pictures often appear relatively crowded. Added colour is common, with yellow remaining in use. In the middle phase, the Theseus Painter displays the most inventiveness in his subject matter: monsters, mythological and real animals, variation in scenic additions and accessories like natural features.

### 3. Transitional from middle to late phases

*Cat. nos. 68-81, 125-32, 173-75; pls. 29-34, 38-40, 41 a-c, 55 d-f, 56 a-b* (possibly also *Cat. nos. 178-81, pl. 57 a-b, e-g*, which might also be middle, and *Cat. no. 182, pl. 57 c-d*, which might also be late). The skyphoi made at this time stand apart from the preceding one, most of them are generally much larger (around 30.0 cm high) and tend to be more slender (*Cat. nos. 69-81, pls. 29-33, figs. 51-52*). But stylistically the painting is just as exact as in middle phase, although the amount of detail decreases. The incisions become simpler and nearly a kind of mannerism marks the drawing. In addition, the incising tends to be more careless; individual anatomical features are often rendered with fewer lines or they are linked together by one continuous line. Many ears, for instance, are drawn as part of the inner hair contour; beards, cheeks and moustaches generally become one single, flowing line; the difference can be seen, for example, in a comparison of the Hermes of Bologna 129 and Taranto 4448 (*Cat. nos. 9, 14, pls. 4 c, e, 6 d*) with that of Conservatori, and St. Petersburg 4498 (*Cat. nos. 70-71, pls. 29 c-d, 30 a*). Some typical features of the Theseus Painter's late phase are already met on these vases. More figures are slender and the characteristic forelock is sometimes absent. There also seems to be a tendency towards a little less use of added colour; and on the skyphos rims the ivy leaves of the preceding phases are largely replaced by dots.

These transitional vases consist, as seen, of skyphoi, while also the type C cups London B 446, Taranto 6515 and Salerno 158a (*Cat. nos. 173-175, pls. 55 d-f, 56 a-b*) and some of the earlier, more careful lekythoi (*Cat. nos. 125-132, pls. 38-41 a-c*) must be included.<sup>432</sup> Possibly also the skyphos Athens, NM 498 (*Cat. no. 80, pl. 34, fig. 51*) belongs here, although it stands rather apart from the others: the style is very clumsy and the particular shape finds no parallel among the Theseus Painter's other skyphoi, as it is very slender while not being particularly high.

### 4. Late phase

*Cat. nos. 133-44, 153-56, 161-62, 164, 167-69; Pls. 41 d-e, 42-45, 46 c-d, 48 c-d, 49, 51, 52 b, 53 d-e, 54* (possibly also *Cat. nos. 145, 160, pls. 46 c, 50 b*)

As late work of the Theseus Painter is not met on skyphoi, Haspels' suggestion that he left the Heron workshop around this time in his career seems plausible. The shapes include many lekythoi as well as small kalpides, small pelikai and oinochoai, Petit Palais 313, once Brussels, Theodor collection, and Adolphseck (*Cat. nos. 153-56, 161-62, 167-69, pls. 48 c-d, 49, 51, 53 d, 54*).<sup>433</sup>

The painter's late-phase style can be characterised as less accurate, with more careless, angular incisions and yet more slender figures which increasingly remind one of the Athena Painter.<sup>434</sup> The drawing is less fluent and scratchier; it starts to lose its former swing, culminating in Haspels' "exaggerated crinkliness." The typical forelock has sometimes been omitted and replaced either by a single contour for the inner hairline, including the hair overlapping the temple, rendered with longish parallel strokes, or by one wavy line as in the manner of the Athena Painter.<sup>435</sup> Also the anatomical incising is often very different: more angular and sketchy, less flowing and curving. Abdominal lines are

<sup>432</sup> See, i.a., Athens, Goulandris coll. 265; and once, Philadelphia market (*Cat. nos. 125-27, pls. 38-39 a-c*).

<sup>433</sup> Although some traits of the small pelikai even border on the very late phase.

<sup>434</sup> Probably in this phase the painters stylistically influenced one another.

<sup>435</sup> See, i.a., Athens, NM 515, the lyra-playing youth of Athens, NM 9686 and the youth of Athens 1957 Aa 193 (*Cat. nos. 136, 142, 182, pls. 43 a, 46 c, 57 d*).



often straight and very short.<sup>436</sup> The typical curving line of the thigh continuing into a curl for the knee frequently absent and is often reduced to semicircle (or two) as indication of the kneecap; a straight vertical line indicates the breastbone and nipples are not included. Generally, the figures become stiffer and more rigid, facial incisions more simplified.

During the late phase the Theseus Painter began to employ the white-ground technique, frequently for oinochoai and lekythoi. The use of added colour diminishes, creating a more sober look. Added yellow completely vanishes.

What Haspels described as the "exaggerated crinkliness"<sup>437</sup> of some incising can be seen in Berlin F 2005 and Madrid 10930 (Cat. nos. 145, 160, pls. 46 c, 50 b): the lines of especially garment folds are executed in wavy, almost shaky lines, often close, parallel pairs. She regarded such incising as characteristic of a very late phase of the Theseus Painter.<sup>438</sup> But as the trait is only found on the Madrid kalpis and the Berlin lekythos it would not seem to indicate a separate developmental phase. Moreover, all the other stylistic features of the Madrid kalpis and Berlin lekythos are comparable to those of other late work. Therefore I prefer to assign them to the Theseus Painter's late phase rather than to his subsequent very late one.

## 5. Very late phase

Cat. nos. 146-47, 192-97, 201-204; pls. 46 d-f, 58-64, 65 a-c

The Theseus Painter's latest phase comprises all his alabastra and kyathoi, and two, but possibly more, lekythoi, most of which have rays rather than palmettes on the shoulder. In shape, two of the lekythoi differ from the common cylindrical type and are chimney lekythoi: once Paris, Peyrefitte collection, and Boston 21.277 (Cat. nos. 146-47, pl. 46 d-f). All the very late work was attributed by Beazley or other scholars to the Theseus Painter; none is mentioned by Haspels. In the very late phase the style of painting and incising can only be described as deteriorated. The decoration is more simplified, with very limited, sparser and clumsier incisions. The style stands rather close to that of the (admittedly better) vases of the Haimon Painter and his workshop as well as to other later groups of black-figure pottery. Added colour is sparsely used: white for female skin (on red-ground vases) and red for headbands. Animals are rarely depicted and the iconography consists almost solely of stock subjects: komoi as on his earlier skyphoi, though much plainer, athletes, etc.

In his study of Attic black-figure kyathoi Eisman argues, on the basis of the shape, that the Theseus Painter's kyathoi are among his earliest pieces and therefore date from 515 B.C. onwards (see below, chronology). In contrast, as remarked, I regard their painting as stylistically parallel to the Theseus Painter's alabastra and lekythoi which I assign to the latest phase. These lekythoi, several of which have rays on the shoulder, are associated with the Beldam Painter, who, in turn, is related to the latest black-figure workshops.

The style of painting and drawing of the Beldam Painter's lekythoi is certainly later than that of the Krokotos Group skyphoi, to which the Theseus Painter's skyphoi, moreover, are stylistically closer. Therefore I conclude that the Theseus Painter's kyathoi were made towards the end of his career.

## Tables 5a-b

To support my analysis of the Theseus Painter's general development I illustrate and trace in Table 5a-b the chronological variation in some incised traits of male figures which show the most categorical changes and which I therefore regard as generally representative: eyes, legs (especially knees), ears, forelocks. For each of them I illustrate the differences over the periods (Table 5a). In Table 5a each illustrated male feature is divided into five to seven developmental types (A-G, five for eyes, seven for

<sup>436</sup> Although this occasionally also occurs on earlier vases, Taranto 4449 (Cat. no. 44, pl. 19 d). At this point, however, it becomes standard.

<sup>437</sup> ABL 146.

<sup>438</sup> ABL 146.

legs and ears, six for forelocks) ranging from early to late. In **Table 5b** the seven types are then translated into seven vertical columns. The individual vases themselves are listed in **Table 5b** according to the Theseus Painter's chronological phases discussed above: early, middle, transitional, late, very late (right-hand vertical column, 1-5). Insofar as possible, the vases are sequenced roughly chronologically within each phase. Further, each feature illustrated in **Table 5a** is assigned a shade from black to light grey which makes it more easily recognisable in **Table 5b**. In **Table 5b** the general shift in the concentration of the blocks from early to late, that is, from left to right, seems to confirm my assumption that the variation in the treatment of the incised male features reflects a chronological progression.

However, the shift in **Table 5a** can only be slight and general because of the nature of the Theseus Painter's stylistic development: the changes take place gradually and different stages or features are often represented on the same vase. Furthermore, we must regard this table with caution because in itself it proves nothing as it is necessarily based on two sets of previously accepted assumptions: my sequencing of the vases from early to late, and the notion that the changes in the incised traits are indeed indicative of chronological progression in the work of the Theseus Painter as a whole. Moreover, my choice of incised traits cannot always be completely certain as indicator of a developmental phase on a vase because the features do not always occur together on each vase. Notwithstanding these restrictions, **Table 5 b** demonstrates that this division is generally valid.

Some examples will be useful. In phases 1-2 the eyes (black blocks) are mainly types A-B (**Table 5a**) and, to a lesser degree, type C. In phases 3-4, type D eye occurs, which is the main type in phase 4. In phase 5, the main kind of eye is type E. In phases 1-2 the legs (dark grey blocks) are mainly types A-B, and in phase 3 types C-D. Whereas in phase 4 the legs are mainly type D and, less commonly, type E. Leg types E-G appear mainly in phase 5.

Equally interesting is the absence of some incised features. For instance, the typically curly ears (types A and B, **Table 5a**) are almost completely missing in the latest phases (4 and 5, **Table 5b**). Moreover, sometimes earlier elements strikingly recur on later vases like Malibu 86.AE.146 (*Cat. no. 192, pl. 58 a*) on which Perseus has an incised leg of type C, although it is a very late vase. This may be explained by the fact that the decoration of this kyathos is anyway executed more carefully than the other very late vases.

## Summary

The Theseus Painter's development can be divided into five phases which, in truth, are more fluid than the scheme might seem to imply. Each phase can be characterised by different stylistical or developmental elements.

1. Early Phase. Very reminiscent of the Krokotos Group; careful, detailed incising (standard black-figure eyes, typical Theseus Painter's ears); much added yellow; relatively small skyphoi only.
2. Middle Phase. More fluent style and incisions, robust figures; stylistically most characteristic of the Theseus Painter; still much added colour, including some yellow; bulk of the skyphoi as well as some other shapes (large pelikai, one large kalpis, an olpe, oinochoai, cups and a plate).
3. Transitional from middle to late. More anatomical elements joined by fewer incised lines; still rather much colour; largest skyphoi (as well as others like narrow-band skyphoi, Athens, Kanellopoulos, and Athens, NM 498) and a few other shapes (some lekythoi, cups and possibly loutrophoroi).
4. Late. Yet more deviations in incisions; white-ground, but less added colour; strongest resemblance to the Athena Painter; no skyphoi, most lekythoi and some other shapes (small pelikai and small kalpides, an olpe, oinochoai).
5. Very late. Limited and clumsy incising; less colour; only traces of the Theseus Painter's core style remaining; mainly alabastro and kyathoi, but also a few lekythoi.

## 2. Chronology

### Introduction

The main criteria for the dating of the Theseus Painter are stylistic comparisons with Attic painters, sometimes combined with grave contexts. An indication of an absolute date can rarely be derived from the archaeological record. The most important find-spot of the Theseus Painter's vases that might be connected to a historical event is the dump of the 'Rectangular Rock-cut Shaft' in the Athenian Agora; the upper part of the fill has been associated with the Persian sack of Athens. In addition, some fragments of his vases have been linked to the so-called 'Perserschutt' on the Athenian Acropolis. Importantly, no pottery from the Marathon Tumulus can be attributed to the Theseus Painter.

The Theseus Painter is generally dated to around 500 B.C.<sup>439</sup> However, the sizeable amount of attributable vases and their variation, in both shape and stylistic development, imply a considerably wider chronological range. The painter's association with the Krokotos Group (around 520 B.C.), the late Athena Painter (after 500 B.C.), the very late Beldam Painter (later in the first quarter of the fifth century B.C.) and other painters who definitely postdate the Krokotos Group suggests that his career spanned perhaps as many as 30 or 40 years, which is an unusually long time for an Attic vase painter, but well within the limits of a possible career.

On the basis of style, Haspels advanced the first chronological framework for the Theseus Painter. She made a clear chronological distinction between his skyphoi and lekythoi; while the former belong among his earlier vases, the latter can be placed at the end of his career, which, in her view, may have lasted until as late as about 480 or even the 470s B.C.<sup>440</sup> But Haspels furnishes few additional clues as to the possible dates of other shapes, while giving some indications regarding individual vases which might belong to the painter's early or late phase; for instance, she observed that the kalpis Madrid 10930 (Cat. no. 160, pl. 50 b) probably belongs to the same period as the late lekythoi.

Haspels also compared the Theseus Painter's output with roughly contemporary vases found in the Marathon Tumulus which was probably the funerary mound erected after the battle of 490 B.C. against the Persians. The varied content was generally stylistically similar to the Theseus Painter, although none of the vases can be placed in his direct vicinity, with the possible exception of a kalpis by the Nikoxenos Painter (see above).<sup>441</sup> The other black-figure pottery is by late lekythos painters.<sup>442</sup>

Eisman questioned the value of the Marathon Tumulus as more than a means of dating *ante quem*.<sup>443</sup> The problem is made partly clear by the inclusion of an amphora attributed to Sophilos which is obviously much earlier than any late black-figure lekythos from the tumulus and the battle of Marathon itself.<sup>444</sup> It has been suggested, however, that this vase by Sophilos and some other earlier pottery discovered at the tumulus have nothing to do with the burials after the battle of Marathon but may be the furnishings of earlier grave.<sup>445</sup> On the other hand, D. Williams doubts this explanation because of the 'reasonably complete condition' of the earlier vases and the lack of additional evidence for another burial. Doubting that such early pottery would still be for sale in Athens around 480 B.C., he alternatively advances that the early vase might have been taken from a nearby sanctuary.<sup>446</sup> With regard to the Theseus Painter, however, it can only be said that the Marathon Tumulus seems to demonstrate that painters who worked in a comparable style were active before 490 B.C.

Yet the dating of the Theseus Painter can be considered in the light of other basic points: the internal

<sup>439</sup> See, for example, Boardman, *ABFV*, 147, 234 (505-485 B.C.); *Agora XXIII*, nos. 1484-1496, 1657, 1825 (ca. 500 B.C.); *CVA Toledo I*, 23 (about 500 B.C.); *CVA Athens*, NM 4, 49-50 (about 500 B.C.).

<sup>440</sup> *ABL* 146. See also Eisman, *Kyathos*, 443, n. 4.

<sup>441</sup> Athens, NM 1037 (*ABL* 163; *ABV* 393, 18).

<sup>442</sup> Lekythoi by the Marathon Painter (Class of Athens 581, *ABL* nos. 221, 1, 9-10, 222, 11-12, 14), in the Class of Athens 581.ii (*ABV* 498, 2, 9, *Para* 233) and in the Haimon Group (*ABV* 542, 99-101, 544, 148, 547, 229). Furthermore there are some older vases associated with the tumulus; see, *AM* 1893, pls. 2-5.

<sup>443</sup> Eisman, *Chronology*.

<sup>444</sup> Athens 1036, *ABV* 38, 2.

<sup>445</sup> *ABL* 91-92; Shear, *Agora*, 407.

<sup>446</sup> Williams, *Refiguring*, 249.



stylistic analysis of his work by scholars like Haspels, stylistic comparisons with other Attic painters and indications from graves and other find-contexts.

### Eisman's chronology

Eisman is the only scholar to propose an extended chronological framework for the Theseus Painter. Unfortunately, I cannot agree with him, for as stated above he maintains that the kyathoi are the painter's earliest extant pieces. His opinion is based less on their decorative style than on their general ornamentation and, especially, shape. For the painter's other shapes, however, Eisman accepts the previously suggested chronologies.

Eisman's proposal is the following. The Theseus Painter starts his career as a painter of kyathoi in 515-505 B.C., employed in the Nikosthenic workshop.<sup>447</sup> He then switches to painting skyphoi around 505-495 B.C. and is connected to the Krokotos Group and White Heron Group. Finally, he would end his career as a painter of lekythoi in collaboration or affiliated with the Athena Painter and his workshop, around 500-490 B.C. and probably later.<sup>448</sup>

However, there is reason to suppose that Eisman's framework is not correct. In the first place, the strict chronological separation of three shapes - kyathos, skyphos, lekythos - and the linkage of each to a distinct chronological phase in the work of the Theseus Painter seems rather forced. Significantly, these general divisions prove to be not always convincing when one compares the general style of painting and drawing. Moreover, the Theseus Painter decorated a much larger variety of shapes than the three singled out by Eisman, some of which are preserved in equally large or larger numbers than his kyathoi.

This leads to another point: Eisman's assignment of the kyathoi, skyphoi and lekythoi to three more or less equal periods seems odd when one notes that their relative numbers are very unequal: there are more than fifteen times as many preserved skyphoi as kyathoi, and more skyphoi than lekythoi and, in turn, more lekythoi than kyathoi. Furthermore, other shapes by the Theseus Painter fall within the same style groups as the three mentioned by Eisman: besides the skyphoi, pelikai, a large kalpis and two oinochoai etc.; besides the lekythoi, the small kalpides, several oinochoai and so on; besides the kyathoi, alabastra and the like. Eisman takes none of them into consideration. Finally, a stylistic comparison of the Theseus Painter's skyphoi and kyathoi seems clearly to demonstrate, in my estimation, that the latter display a much later phase in his development.<sup>449</sup>

Furthermore, the Theseus Painter's links to the earlier Krokotos Group and the contemporary Subkrokotos Group are very strong. Not only because of the favoured shape, the skyphos, but also because of stylistic features, use of added yellow and iconography, it seems highly likely that he had an apprenticeship in that workshop, as he was obviously very acquainted with its decorative standard. In contrast, the Theseus Painter's kyathoi show no connections.

Finally, the shape of the Theseus Painter's kyathoi as a means of dating. As noted above, Eisman concludes that the potter of the Theseus Painter's kyathoi also shaped some kyathoi decorated by painters of the Group of Vatican G. 57.<sup>450</sup> Insofar as I can judge, his conclusion seems based only on the occurrence of a double-ridged foot-plate on kyathoi of that group and the Theseus Painter, which, in my opinion, is hardly enough to assign all these kyathoi to one potter.

### Stylistic and chronological connections

As seen above, the Theseus Painter is stylistically associated with several other painters and groups.

<sup>447</sup> See also Tosto's comment, in *Nikosthenes*, 100-102.

<sup>448</sup> Eisman, *Kyathos*, 443-51; Eisman, *Chronology*.

<sup>449</sup> Compare, i.a., the style of the kyathoi with that of the skyphoi Syracuse 26857 and Winchester, College Museum (Cat. nos. 1, 4, pl. 1), which are considered early.

<sup>450</sup> Compiègne 1074 (Eisman, *Kyathos*, no. 71; *ABV* 612,22); London B 463 (Eisman, *Kyathos*, no. 77; *ABV* 613,44); St. Petersburg 4472 (Eisman, *Kyathos*, no. 106; Gorbunova, *Ermitazhe*, 198-99, no. 174); Munich 1986 (Eisman, *Kyathos*, no. 113; *Para* 305,4<sup>bis</sup>).

Some are very close to him, others less so, yet all of them usefully supply some foothold for his chronology.

In style, the Theseus Painter has always been classified among the latest black-figure vase painters from around or after 500 B.C. Basically, the designation seems correct, although far too general, as we can doubtless assume that he started his career somewhat earlier because of his stylistic ties with the Krokotos Group which is usually put at around 525-515 B.C., although earlier dates are also given for this group.<sup>451</sup> Because of this connection, Malagardis dates the Theseus Painter's earliest skyphoi about 520 B.C.<sup>452</sup> The date seems a little too early, however, and I would prefer 515 B.C. as the earliest possible starting point. At any rate, it is clear that the painter's start can be regarded as falling within the production period of the Krokotos Group. The Sub-krokotos Group comprises the followers of the Krokotos Group and is generally dated around 515-500 B.C., that is, in any event, somewhat later than the Krokotos Painter.<sup>453</sup>

Closest in style to the Theseus Painter, however, is the Athena Painter, which led Haspels to treat both of them in one chapter of *ABL*. The resemblances are most significantly stylistic, while extending, insofar as the Theseus Painter's lekythoi are concerned, to the use of the same vase-type and secondary decoration. But Haspels stopped short of stating that "they influenced each other."<sup>454</sup> She further pointed out that the Theseus Painter would be the elder of the two.<sup>455</sup> Whereas he first decorated skyphoi and only later turned to lekythoi, the Athena Painter seems to have made lekythoi right from the very beginning of his career. The Athena Painter is generally dated after 500 until around 470 B.C.

The shape and secondary decoration of the lekythoi of both the Theseus Painter and the Athena Painter appear to derive from the Edinburgh Painter.<sup>456</sup> Nevertheless it is not yet entirely clear how they are related in stylistic and chronological terms. The Edinburgh Painter's style is not particularly close to theirs, although it certainly bears some similarities. On the other hand, the same can be said of other skilful painters of black-figure lekythoi in about 500 B.C. The Edinburgh Painter is connected to the Leagros Group<sup>457</sup> and generally dated around 510-490 B.C. It seems that only the earliest lekythoi (transitional phase) of the Theseus Painter are more or less strongly linked in shape and decoration to the Edinburgh Painter's lekythoi: for example, as observed above, the use of different shades of white on the same piece.<sup>458</sup>

In contrast, the other large group of painters of concave-rimmed skyphoi, the CHC Group, is not especially related to the Theseus Painter in either style or iconography. On the other hand, the shape and secondary decoration of their skyphoi are often very similar. Therefore it may well be that they are in some yet undiscovered way connected, which possibly implies that they overlap at least in part. The CHC Group is generally dated to the first quarter of the fifth century B.C., although some of the more carefully executed vases might be somewhat earlier.

In relation to the Theseus Painter's middle phase the Nikoxenos workshop might also provide a reference point. Both the Theseus Painter's kalpis London B 346 and his pelikai show links with that painter's workshop. The Nikoxenos Painter and the Eucharides Painter are generally dated from slightly before 500 B.C. onwards.<sup>459</sup>

<sup>451</sup> Ure, *Krokotos*, 102, the Krokotos workshop "must fall early in the last quarter of the fifth [sic.] century", for which surely read 'sixth'. Earlier dates are also mentioned: 530 or even close to 540 might be possible if the Krokotos cups are regarded as related to Exekias (see also Ure, *Krokotos*, 99, "brought up in the tradition of Exekias", 101-102). Malagardis, *Skyphoi*, assigns the Krokotos Group to 540-520, although near to 530 or later are probably more realistic dates. Several Krokotos skyphoi might be as late as 515-510 B.C. M. Pipili dates skyphoi by the Krokotos Group to ca. 520-510 B.C., *CVA Athens* 4, 41-44.

<sup>452</sup> Malagardis, *Skyphoi*.

<sup>453</sup> See Ure, *Krokotos*, 93; *CVA Athens* 4, 44-49, pls. 32-40, all dated ca. 510 B.C.

<sup>454</sup> *ABL* 141.

<sup>455</sup> *ABL* 142, "it is only later that the Athena Painter becomes prominent."

<sup>456</sup> *ABL* 148.

<sup>457</sup> *ABL* 87.

<sup>458</sup> Cambridge G 3.1955 (Cat. no. 131, pl. 40 d-e).

<sup>459</sup> For the Nikoxenos Painter see, i.a., Boardman, *ABFV*, 113, "from the last years of the sixth century"; *CVA Mainz* 1, 37, 500-490; *CVA Munich* 9, 17, ca. 500; J. Boardman, *Athenian Red Figure Vases, The Archaic Period* (London 1988) 111-113, ca. 500. For the Eucharides painter see, for example, J. Boardman, *ibid.*, 112, "until the 470s", *CVA Oxford* 3, with pl. 29.5-6, "early fifth century B.C."

The work of several other skilled black-figure lekythos painters supplies additional, slight parallels to the Theseus Painter's late production; for example the Sappho Painter and the Diophos Painter, largely dated to after 500 B.C.<sup>460</sup> Another important, comparable lekythos painter, the Gela Painter, started somewhat earlier, but also continued until long after 500.<sup>461</sup> As discussed, the Beldam Painter, who is generally dated after 490 B.C.,<sup>462</sup> provides another lead for the very late phase of the Theseus Painter, whose chimney lekythoi are comparable to those from the Beldam Painter's workshop.

In style, the Theseus Painter cannot easily be seen as linked to contemporary red-figure painting. Iconographical innovations, however, seem to be shared by both, as dealt with below in the chapters on iconography. One example will suffice at this point. Of the Deeds of Theseus, previous to ca. 510 B.C. only the subjects of Theseus and the Minotauros and Theseus and the Bull are represented in Attic vase-painting, but after ca. 510 B.C. several of the hero's deeds on the way from Troezen to Athens are frequently met in red-figure. The Theseus Painter is one of the few black-figure painters who adopted these innovations in the iconography of Theseus, which would seem to furnish another marker for his dating.

The following sections examine additional external reference points for the chronology of the Theseus Painter.

### 'Rectangular Rock-cut Shaft'

A deep shaft in the Athenian Agora, the so-called Rectangular Rock-cut Shaft, might be an important chronological indicator for the Theseus Painter, especially his middle period.<sup>463</sup> It is located on the north-eastern slope of the *Kolonos Agoraios*<sup>464</sup> and is indicated as 'shaft/well G 6:3'. It contained several skyphoi by the Theseus Painter, all of which are very close in style and subject (Agora P 1544-51, Cat. nos. 21, 25, 28, 45-48),<sup>465</sup> as well as the cup and cup-skyphos Agora P 1383 and P 1384 (Cat. nos. 172, 177).

The Rectangular Rock-cut Shaft measures about 20.0 m. deep and was filled with large quantities of pottery. As based on stylistic analyses and ostraka, according to E. Vanderpool, the fill can be variously dated. The fill of the lowest more or less 8.0 m was left in the third quarter of the sixth century B.C. and contained pottery which was manufactured earlier. In his estimate, the uppermost fill, from 12.0 m upwards, was not deposited all at once. Shards found at a depth between 12.0-9.0 m might have been dumped in around 490 B.C.; they range chronologically from much earlier until that time. The fill at a depth of 9.0-5.0 m is assigned to just before 480 B.C.; the upper 5.0 m contained rather few pots and are linked to the Persian war and the subsequent destruction in 480/479 B.C.<sup>466</sup> The fragments by the Theseus Painter were found in the 12.0-9.0 m range, thus indicating they would have been produced previous to 490 B.C. Table 16 presents a complete list of the pottery and the dates established by Moore, with a concordance between Moore and Vanderpool.

However, when one closely considers the dates of the pottery in the Rectangular Rock-cut Shaft, as

<sup>460</sup> Boardman, *ABFV*, 234, the Sappho Painter 500 B.C. and after, the Diophos Painter 495 B.C. and after, *ABL*, 108-110, both 500 B.C. and after.

<sup>461</sup> *ABL*, "from the time of Euthymides down to the time of Makron"; Boardman, *ABFV*, 234, 510-after 500 B.C.; *Agora XXIII*, 211-13, ca. 500.

<sup>462</sup> *ABL*, "last painter of large black-figured lekythoi"; Boardman, *ABFV*, 234, after 490-470s.

<sup>463</sup> E. Vanderpool, 'The Rectangular Rock-cut Shaft', *Hesperia* 7 (1938) 365-411; Vanderpool, *Shaft*; Shear, *Agora*, 383-482. Vanderpool warns that some caution is required concerning the stratigraphy (*Shaft*, 268).

<sup>464</sup> See Shear, *Agora*, map on p. 385, fig. 1 (F-G 6).

<sup>465</sup> Especially the skyphoi with komoi from the 'Rectangular Rock-cut Shaft' form a large group with almost an identical subject: Agora P 1544, 1547-9 (Cat. nos. 45-48, pls. 20, 21 a-b, 23 a). Other subjects are: ephedrismos (Agora P 1546, Cat. no. 56, pl. 26 a-b), Herakles regaled by Athena (?) (Agora P 1550-1, Cat. no. 21, pl. 9 d), Herakles reclining (Agora P 1545, 1543, Cat. nos. 25, 28, pl. 12 a-c). The fragments Agora P 9723, 13373, 23174 (Cat. nos. 60, 95-96, pls. 27 h, 36 j-k) were found in other wells of the Agora.

<sup>466</sup> Vanderpool, 'The Rectangular Rock-cut Shaft', 266-68. See also Shear, *Agora*, 383 ff. The fill of the upper 12.0 m. contained 452 pieces of pottery.



given by M. Moore,<sup>467</sup> in combination with the depth of the pottery, the chronological differences are not so very great between the 'low' and 'high' pottery in the 12.0-5.0 m range. Nevertheless, the pottery from the highest deposit seems generally to be the latest, and the latest pottery seems to be more or less pre-Persian in date, as follows:

6.0 m	=	Late sixth cent.- 490/480 B.C.
6.8 m	=	Early fifth cent.- 490/480 B.C.
7.4 m	=	Early fifth cent.- 490/480 B.C.
8.0 m	=	Late sixth cent.- 480 B.C.
8.45 m	=	Late sixth cent.- 480 B.C. (also including an olpe incorrectly dated 550 B.C.)
9.0 m	=	510-480 B.C.
9.6 m	=	510-490/480 B.C.
10.1 m	=	510-490/480 B.C.
10.35 m	=	510-490/480 B.C.
10.9 m	=	500-490/480 B.C.
11.45 m	=	510-480 B.C.
12.0 m	=	510-490 B.C.

Several ostraka with the names of Hipparchos, Megakles and Aristides, ostracised in 487, 486 and 482 B.C., respectively, were discovered in the 9.0-5.0 m range.<sup>468</sup> This gives a strong indication that the pottery from that section of the fill possibly dates around ca. 490-480 B.C. or earlier. But a dating based on the ostraka should be considered with caution because it is, of course, not necessarily the case that the ostraka found in the Rectangular Rock-cut Shaft come from pottery that was made very close to the time when Megakles, Aristides and Hipparchos were banished. On the other hand, T. L. Shear advances several good arguments why little time would have elapsed between production and banishment.<sup>469</sup> Shear explains that as no one would waste a vote on someone who had already been exiled, the date of someone's ostracism gives a kind of *terminus ante quem* for votes against him: "Hipparchos, son of Charmos, was first to be ostracised and is never heard of after the Persian Wars, thus his ostraka must date to the year 487 B.C. Even if Megakles son of Hippokrates was ostracised twice, votes can hardly have been cast against him between 486 and 480 when he was serving his period of exile. [...] Aristides, son of Lysimachos, is known to have been ostracised ca. 482; votes may well have been cast against him in any previous year, but his ostraka are much less likely to date to the 470s, the years of his high repute as one of Athens' leading statesmen during the formative stages of the Delian Confederacy."<sup>470</sup> If we accept that the ostraka are indeed linked to the actual ostracism of these specific three men, it may be (provided a dividing line really marks the shaft at a depth of 9.0 m) that the fill of the 9.0-5.0 m range does date around 490-480 B.C., and that the pottery of the 9.0-5.0 m fill might be previous to 480 B.C. In turn, the foregoing also implies that the fill at 12.0-9.0 m should date at least before about 490 B.C. or, more exactly, before 487 B.C. when the ostracism law came into effect. This would further mean that also the pottery in the fill at 12.0-9.0 m dates at least prior to 490 B.C, probably closer to 500 B.C. As the Theseus Painter's skyphoi and cup-skyphos lay in the 12.0-9.0 m range, they probably must have been decorated somewhere around that time. They are assigned above to his middle period, dated to 505-495 B.C., see below, which would fit within the boundaries of the given timeframe.<sup>471</sup>

<sup>467</sup> Agora XXIII and Agora XXX.

<sup>468</sup> Vanderpool, *Shaft*, 266-68, 387, 411-17.

<sup>469</sup> Shear, *Agora*, 412-13.

<sup>470</sup> Shear, *Agora*, 412-13.

<sup>471</sup> There are critics of the dating of the Agora wells, including the Rectangular Rock-cut Shaft: E.D. Francis and M. Vickers, 'The Agora Revisited: Athenian Chronology c. 500-450 B.C.', *BSA* 83 (1988) 143-67, countered by Cook in general (R.M. Cook, 'The Francis-Vickers Chronology', *JHS* 109, 1989, 164-170) and Shear, *Agora* (above, 412-13), concerning the Agora.

## Athenian Acropolis

The Athenian Acropolis has yielded several fragments and nearly complete vases (solely skyphoi) by the Theseus Painter. Some fragments are linked to finds and find-spots associated with the Persian sack of 480 B.C., the so-called 'Perserschutt'.

In his introduction to the publication of pottery from the Acropolis by Graef and Langlotz, P. Wolters gives some indications of the locations of and the reasons for identifying finds as part of the 'Perserschutt', while emphasising that the authors only reservedly designated pottery as such.<sup>472</sup> Nevertheless, three fragments by the Theseus Painter were mentioned as being among the finds that could be reckoned to the 'Perserschutt': Acropolis 1280, 1286, 1298 (Cat. nos. 76, 113, 88). Unfortunately, it is unclear exactly where on the Acropolis they were discovered or in what contexts with other pottery. The only possible clue is the date of their excavation which was October and December 1888, when the area around the south-western part of the Parthenon, near the Chalkotheke, was being explored.<sup>473</sup> However, no further lead exists for a chronological reference point. W.B. Dinsmoor,<sup>474</sup> who provides a good account of the pottery found in the excavations at that spot on the Acropolis and its stratigraphy, does not mention any pottery found around the dates when the Theseus Painter's fragments reportedly came to light, which, in turn, suggests there is no certainty about their belonging to the 'Perserschutt'.

Another skyphos fragment attributed to the Theseus Painter, Acropolis 1295 a (Cat. no. 94), has as a recorded find-date and find-spot: 5 June 1888, 'Schüttung des Parthenonfundaments'. On this date, excavations took place in the south-eastern part of the Parthenon (4-8 June 1888, section A, 37 fragments in total).<sup>475</sup> Dinsmoor assigned the strata of the area (IIa-b) to about 490-480 B.C., in accordance with his opinion about the beginning of the construction of the older Parthenon which he put after the battle of Marathon. In addition, Dinsmoor listed the pottery finds from this area.<sup>476</sup> He assigned the latest fragments to 510-490 B.C., concluding that they were made before the building of the Parthenon foundation began. However, the range of dates for all the fragments is much wider: several are Geometric and proto-Attic, and one is placed near Lydos.<sup>477</sup> On the other hand, the latest and most numerous of the fragments can indeed be dated around 490 B.C. or later.<sup>478</sup>

The Theseus Painter's skyphos Acropolis 1295 a is stylistically somewhat earlier than, for example, the many cups of the Leafless Group and would therefore be nearer to 510-490 B.C. Unfortunately, due to the poor state of preservation and the lack of dateable elements, it cannot be placed with any certainty in a particular phase of the Theseus Painter's development. On the other hand, being a skyphos, it doubtless belongs to his middle or transitional phase.

## Rhitsona

Although no pottery attributable to the Theseus Painter has turned up in the cemetery of Rhitsona in Boeotia, the skyphoi of the Krokotos Group and Sub-krokotos Group found there might provide some indication for the dating of the Theseus Painter. As said above, his early vases have much in common

<sup>472</sup> Graef and Langlotz, *Acropolis*, esp. XXVII-XXX.

<sup>473</sup> 9, 10-11, 16, 21 October and 13 December 1888.

<sup>474</sup> W. Dinsmoor, *Parthenon*, 417-441. See also Williams, *Refiguring*, 245-48.

<sup>475</sup> Wolters, in Graef and Langlotz, *Acropolis*, XVII-XVIII, fig. 1; Dinsmoor, *Parthenon*, 424-26, fig. 7.

<sup>476</sup> Dinsmoor, *Parthenon*, 437-38: Acropolis, nos. 276, 286, 357 b, 360 a-b, 597 ce & e, 615, 645 a, 716, 731, 789, 811, 856, 1045 a, 1156, 1164-65, 1295 (Theseus Painter), 1322, 1669 a, 2010, 2028 a, 2038, 2045-48, 2192, 2260, 2271 b-c, 2462, 2516, 2549, 2562, 2680.

<sup>477</sup> Acropolis 276, 286, 357 b, 360 a-b, Geometric/proto-Attic; Acropolis 597, 645 a, early sixth century B.C.; Acropolis 798, near Lydos (*ABV* 119,1); Acropolis 1156 a, loutrophoros, mid-sixth century B.C.; Acropolis 1164-65, Group of North Slope AP 942 (*ABV* 89,4-5, chapter VII, Nearchos and others); Acropolis 1669 a, band cup, third quarter sixth century B.C.

<sup>478</sup> All Acropolis numbers: 716 (silhouette animals on krater rim, late black-figure); 856 (late sixth century B.C.); 1322 (*ABV* 619,62, CHC Group); 2010 (late cup?); 2028a (*ABV* 643,158, Leafless Group, late cup); 2038 (Leafless Group, *ABV* 642,130); 2045 (*ABV* 642,147, Leafless Group, late cup); 2046 (*ABV* 635,43, Leafless Group, late cup); 2047 (*ABV* 635,45, Leafless Group, late cup); 2048 (*ABV* 635,44, Leafless Group, late cup); 2260 (late black-figure); 2271 b-c (late black-figure, lekythos?); 2549 and 2562, late black-figure plaques. Nos. 615, 811, 1045 a, 2192, 2462, 2516 and 2680 are not illustrated.

with the Krokotos Group, which means that he probably started adorning skyphoi when it was still operating, especially the Krokotos Painter with whom the Theseus Painter's early work has the most in common. It would therefore seem reasonable to place the painter's start not much after the general date given to that group. Several Krokotos Group skyphoi came to light in the grave 31 at Rhitsona, skyphoi of the Sub-krokotos Group in grave 18.<sup>479</sup>

According to Haspels, grave 31 itself can be dated around 500-490 B.C. (like graves 18, 26, 80), although according to her the contents of the grave date variously. In her opinion the skyphoi and some other finds could be from around 520 B.C., while the other contents would be later.<sup>480</sup>

On the other hand, Ure disagreed with Haspels and maintained that the entire contents of grave 31 must be assigned to around 520 B.C. In Ure's view, the Rhitsona graves show a chronological sequence, grave 31 being the earlier, grave 18 later.<sup>481</sup> The disagreement clearly indicates that many of the black-figure vases found in grave 31 are of such quality that they cannot easily be exactly dated, which especially applies to grave 31's black-figure lekythoi.<sup>482</sup> However, I am inclined to agree with Haspels that the contents of grave 31 was chronologically more mixed because, for example, vases of the CHC Group and the Class of Athens 581 are generally easier to date around 500 than 520 B.C.<sup>483</sup> But on one major point Haspels and Ure did agree: the Krokotos Group skyphoi are among the earliest pieces in grave 31 and were manufactured around 520 B.C.

Many other skyphoi of Heron Class type were excavated from later graves at Rhitsona. Especially grave 18, dated about 500 B.C. or later, contained skyphoi which can be associated with Ure's Sub-krokotos Group.<sup>484</sup> Such skyphoi were decorated by pupils of Krokotos Group painters, and the pupils can be considered contemporaries or even colleagues of the Theseus Painter. Grave 18 included, among other pottery, a skyphos by the Painter of Philadelphia 5481.

B.A. Sparkes dates the Rhitsona graves and lists their contents.<sup>485</sup> He assigns grave 31 to 515 B.C. and grave 18 to 500 B.C.<sup>486</sup> Although the Theseus Painter, as remarked, is not represented among the Rhitsona finds, his relation to both the Krokotos Group and the Sub-krokotos Group clearly demonstrates that the period in which he decorated skyphoi lasted rather long and that his early work must, at the latest, have appeared around 510 B.C.

## Other graves

The Theseus Painter's skyphoi discovered in graves at Taranto might be chronologically comparable to other vases found in the same graves. The skyphoi Taranto 4447-9 (Cat. nos. 13-14, 44) lay in a sarcophagus, probably of a female (grave no. 42), together with several other vases which can be dated around 500 B.C.<sup>487</sup> The skyphoi are very much alike, in shape (the same concave, curving type 2 foot) as

<sup>479</sup> Inv. nos. 31.172-73 (Ure, *Sixth*, 59; Ure, *Krokotos*, 90, nos. 6-7; *ABV* 209,1-2; *Para* 94. Compare also Thebes R 31.174, Burows and Ure, *Rhitsona*, 276, pl. 11.d).

<sup>480</sup> *ABL* 108-110; C.H.E. Haspels, 'Notes', *JHS* 58 (1938) 256-258.

<sup>481</sup> A.D. Ure, 'Review of C.H.E. Haspels, *Attic Black-figure Lekythoi*', *JHS* 57 (1937) 263-65; A.D. Ure, 'Notes', *JHS* 58 (1938) 258-59. See also Sparkes, *Taste*, 128-129, with a list of the graves and dates at Rhitsona.

<sup>482</sup> Burows and Ure, *Rhitsona*, 271-281, black-figure vases nos. 31.158-228. Of the lekythoi, three belong to the Cock Group: 31.160 (*ABV* 471,1); 31.166 (*ABV* 471,119); 31.166a (*ABV* 471,120). No. 31.165 (*ABV* 496,178) belongs to the Class of Athens 581. No. 31.166 b-c (*ABL* 201,7 and 204,7) are in the Phanyllis Group. None of the cups found in grave 31 is attributed by Beazley. Of the skyphoi, 31.172-73 are given to the Krokotos Group (*ABV* 209,1-2; *Para* 94, 99), possibly also 31.174. Nos. 31.76 and 31.182 are skyphoi of the earlier types A1-2 (*Para* 84,8, *ABV* 626,2, *Para* 91,4). No. 31.183 is attributed to the CHC Group (*ABV* 619,48), while 31.177 is compared to the Group of Thebes R 102 (*ABV* 625). See also Sparkes, *Taste*, 129, grave 31.

<sup>483</sup> See the preceding n.

<sup>484</sup> Ure, *Krokotos*, 92, no. 14, 93, n. 16.

<sup>485</sup> Sparkes, *Taste*, 128-29.

<sup>486</sup> Incidentally, Sparkes also gives a date of 520 B.C. for grave 102 (erroneously referred to as '120'), which contained skyphoi of the CHC Group (*ABV* 619,52 and 621,94), generally dated nearer to 500 than to 520 B.C. It also contained all the skyphoi of the Group of Thebes R 102 (*ABV* 624-25,1-9) and a lekythos of the Phanyllis Class (*ABL* 205,6).

<sup>487</sup> See d'Amicis, *Catalogo*, 224-30, grave no. 42: skyphoi of the CHC Group, inv. nos. 4451, 4454 (nos. 42.02-1); several black-glazed and floral vases.



well as in style. The skyphos 4591 (Cat. no. 50), with a similarly shaped foot, came from a chamber tomb (no. 81) which housed seven sarcophagi. This chamber tomb contained much other black- and red-figure pottery. All the vases in this tomb can be dated within a rather short time span: around 500-480 B.C.<sup>488</sup>

The skyphoi in Guardia Perticara (Cat. nos. 10, 36) were discovered in two graves,<sup>489</sup> each containing some other black-figure pottery as well as red-figure and black-glaze ware.<sup>490</sup> Most of them confirm a date very roughly around 500 B.C.<sup>491</sup>

The skyphos Bologna C 44 (Cat. no. 9) was found in a grave at Certosa,<sup>492</sup> with a large number of other vases of which the dates range from the late sixth to the early fifth centuries B.C. The earliest of them belong to the Leagros Group, the latest to the Leafless Group.<sup>493</sup>

## The dating of the Theseus Painter

On the basis of the evidence provided by the Marathon Tumulus, Rectangular Rock-cut Shaft in the Athenian Agora, graves at Rhitsona and Taranto, Athenian Acropolis and stylistic comparisons, the main body of the Theseus Painter's skyphoi can be placed between 510 (or slightly earlier) and 480 B.C. (or slightly later). The former is the latest possible date for a painter who began in the tradition of the Krokotos Group, sharing many of its traits, particularly as seen in the work of the Krokotos Painter. The later date is determined by his connections with very late black-figure painters like the Beldam Painter. The Theseus Painter's late and very late vases seem not to find external reference points on which to base their dating, but stylistic comparisons with, among others, the Athena Painter and the Haimon Group suggest that they were doubtless made after the skyphoi: about 490-480 B.C., possibly somewhat later. Therefore the Theseus Painter's career would have lasted quite long, 30 years at the least, 40 at the most. In my estimation, his career's duration cannot be shortened without undermining the above-mentioned 'upper and lower' external reference points. Moreover, the striking stylistic differences between the Theseus Painter's early and late vases seem not to contradict such a long career (compare Syracuse 26857 and a kyathos like Malibu 86.AE.147, Cat. nos. 1, 193, pls. 1 a-b, 59).

In conclusion, the bulk of the Theseus Painter's pottery would have been made between 510-490 B.C. His earliest work, as stated, coincides with the late production of the Krokotos Group, as indicated by the style of his skyphoi. The early skyphoi, like Winchester and Syracuse 26857 (Cat. nos. 1, 4, pl. 1), closely resemble work of the Krokotos Painter and might be as early as 510 B.C., possibly even nearer to 515 B.C.

Most skyphoi and some other vases like the kalpis London B 346 and the oinochoe Louvre F 342 (Cat. nos. 159, 165, pls. 50 a, 52 c-d) display the style of the Theseus Painter's middle phase and can be

<sup>488</sup> See Q. Quagliati, 'Una tomba monumentale del cinquecento A.C. in Taranto', *Dedalo, rassegna d'arte* 2 (1921-22) 617-27, and esp. d'Amicis, *Catalogo*, grave no. 81, pp. 288-304. Panathenaic amphora, Leagros Group, inv. no. 4595 (81.41) (*ABV* 369,113; *Beazley Addenda* 98); cup, Leagros Group, inv. no. 20330 (81.12) (*ABV* 695,297bis); kalpis, Leagros Group (?), inv. no. 20320 (81.44); volute-kraters, Golvol Group, inv. nos. 4596, 20334-6 (81.36-9) (*ABV* 195,2-4; *Beazley Addenda* 52); lekythos, Phanyllis Group (*ABL* 199,13); lekythos, Class of Athens 581, inv. no. 4592; olpai and oinochoai, Class of Athens 581 or near (?), inv. nos. 20351, 20351b, 20325 20318, 20321 (81.20-21, 81.45-7, 81.50); skyphoi, CHC Group, inv. nos. 4590 and 20323 (81.61, 81.83); oinochoe, Painter of Rhodes 13372, inv. no. 4598 (81.48); oinochoe, near the Athena Painter, inv. no. 20322 (81.49) (*ABV* 526,2); cup-skyphoi, Painter of Elaiou I, inv. nos. 20326-8, 20337 (81.11, 81.17-19) (*ABV* 575,8-9); cups, Leafless Group, inv. nos. 20317, 20329, 20331, 20348-9 (81.22-26); fragment, inv. no. 20333 (81.43) (*ARV* 34,12); column-krater, Goettingen Painter, inv. no. 20319 (81.40) (*ARV* 234,5); cup, Bonn Painter, inv. no. 4594 (81.60) (*ARV* 351,2).

<sup>489</sup> Cat. no. 10, pl. 5 a: grave no. 192, male burial; inv. no. 215223, Cat. no. 36, pl. 16 a: grave no. 218.

<sup>490</sup> With Cat. no. 10: Haimonian cup-skyphos; lekythos by or near the Athena Painter; and three red-figure vases: mannerist Nolan amphora, column-krater and another vase from the second quarter of the 5th century. With Cat. no. 36: lekythos by the Athena Painter; 'negro alabastron' (see the class in *ARV* 267-69), late-archaic red-figure krater, several red- and black-figure cups and black-figure lekythos. The grave is dated to the first decades of the 5th century B.C.

<sup>491</sup> Although the Nolan amphora and the red-figure column-krater must surely be later.

<sup>492</sup> Pellegrini, *Vasi greci*, 38-40.

<sup>493</sup> Bologna 51, 52 (*ABV* 376,231, 234, Leagros Group kraters); Bologna C 63 (*ABV* 604,81, oinochoe, Red-line Painter, Pellegrini, *Vasi greci*, 26, no. 70); C 66 (*ABV* 534,10, olpe, Painter of Sèvres 100, Pellegrini, *Vasi greci*, 24, no. 63); 190 (*ABV* 641,117, cup, Leafless Group, Pellegrini, *Vasi greci*, no. 110).

placed between 505-490 B.C. The latter dates are primarily based on comparisons with the Krokotos Group and the pottery from the Rectangular Rock-cut Shaft in the Athenian Agora. The Theseus Painter's late work, on the other hand, is much closer to the Athena Painter and even later painters and groups like the Haimon Painter, etc. His last vases, like the chimney lekythoi, alabastra and kyathoi, which are comparable to the latest black-figure, might go down to as late as the 470s B.C., as Haspels proposed.<sup>494</sup>

In sum, as set out in detail above, I divide the work of the Theseus Painter into the following five chronological phases:

- 1 Early c. 515/510-505 B.C.
- 2 Middle c. 505-495 B.C.
- 3 Transitional c. 495-490 B.C.
- 4 Late c. 490-485 B.C.
- 5 Very late c. 485-480/475 B.C.

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<sup>494</sup> ABL 146.

## VII. PROVENANCES

Some indications of provenance exist for slightly more than half of the pottery attributed to the Theseus Painter (see **Tables 6 a-b, 11 a-b**). Sometimes the information can be vague, denoting a very general provenance only, as 'Greece' or 'Italy'.<sup>495</sup> In other instances it is only slightly more detailed, for example 'southern Italy'.<sup>496</sup> The probable find-places of other vases of the Theseus Painter can sometimes be roughly deduced from their history since being discovered or their present whereabouts. The vases now in certain museums may, in some cases, have been found nearby. A case in point is the National Museum of Athens: if no provenance is known or even indirectly indicated, the pottery would almost doubtless come from a not too distant place or region, whether Attica or Boeotia or even a bit farther away still, somewhere in Greece. But since such assumed provenances remain uncertain and may well be often incorrect, this pottery is not included in my tables and map of the dispersion of the Theseus Painter's extant work, where it can be seen that most indications of find-place are quite specific, often referring to a single site (see **map, fig. 39, Tables 6 a-b, 11**). Such vases and fragments amount to upwards of 114 of the total of 211 attributed pieces.<sup>497</sup>

The dispersion of the Theseus Painter's pottery with known provenances is not very varied. It was mainly found in Greece and Italy. In Italy the vases range from the far north (Bologna, Adria) to Sicily. Most of them, however, turned up in places to the south of Rome (33 of a total of 37 vases and fragments in Italy, see **fig. 39, Table 6 a-b, 11**). Magna Graecia, with Apulia, specifically Taranto and surroundings, has the largest concentration (15, see **fig. 39**). The number of vases found in Sicily is comparatively smaller (8, see **fig. 39, Table 6 a-b, 11**).

The largest number of the Theseus Painter's vases have come to light in Greece itself, the majority on the mainland, including the northern Peloponnesos, Attica, Boeotia and Euboea. (63, see **fig. 39, Table 6 a-b, 11**). By far the majority was discovered in and around Athens (48).

Three islands have also yielded work of the Theseus Painter: Thasos, Delos, Rhodes (in total 12, see **fig. 39, Table 6 a-b**). The sole exception to this limited dispersion pattern is a skyphos fragment from the North African site of Cyrene.

Perhaps the popularity of the Theseus Painter's work in Athens and, to a lesser extent, more generally the Greek world, including Magna Graecia, has something to do with his favourite shape: the skyphos. In her study of the so-called Gorgoneion skyphoi, B. Freyer-Schauenburg notes that this particular kind of skyphos is especially common in mainland Greece or in sites associated with Greeks or Greek colonies<sup>498</sup> which, as seen, also applies to the Theseus Painter's skyphoi. Possibly there is a link between skyphoi in general and Greek-oriented distribution.

In a comparison of the provenances of pottery by the Theseus Painter and the Athena Painter, Ch. Scheffer similarly recognises geographical preferences: skyphoi (solely Theseus Painter) are more popular among mainland Greeks, lekythoi (mainly Athena Painter) among western Greeks, and oinochoai (mainly Athena Painter and his workshop) among Etruscans. Evidently a significant divergence marks the dispersion of vases by the Theseus Painter and the Athena Painter, from which Scheffer variously concludes: the Theseus Painter and the Athena Painter were not as close as is usually suggested, or the shapes of vessel played a much more important part in the export destinations of vases than the painters or workshops from which they issued.<sup>499</sup>

Three remarks can be appended to Scheffer's conclusions. First, as shown, the Theseus Painter's

<sup>495</sup> See, i.a., Dresden ZV 1680 and Berlin 3230 (**Cat. nos. 20 and 164**).

<sup>496</sup> See, i.a., Munich 1680 (**Cat. no. 154**).

<sup>497</sup> And four others with very roughly indicated provenances: Greece, Italy, southern Italy.

<sup>498</sup> Freyer-Schauenburg, *Skyphoi*, 1-27; *id.*, 'Attisch oder Böotisch, Nochmals zu den Gorgoneion-skyphoi', *AA* 1976, 203-213.

<sup>499</sup> Ch. Scheffer, 'Workshop and Trade-Patterns in Athenian Black Figure', *ProcCopenhagen*, 536-46, esp. 540-41, 543. See also F Giudice, *Vasi e frammenti "Beazley" da Locri Epizefiri* vol. 1 (Catania 1989) 47-61 and pls. XVI-XVII.1; pls. VIII-IX.1, pls. XVI-XVII.2; pls. XVI-XVII.3; distribution: Theseus Painter (mainly Athens), Gela Painter (esp. Sicily and to a lesser extent Athens and Etruria), Sappho Painter (esp. Athens and Sicily); Edinburgh Painter (esp. Sicily and to a lesser extent Athens, central Greece and Campania). The foregoing is for the most part based on Beazley's lists.



skyphoi are indeed not connected at all with the Athena Painter; only afterwards did he begin to paint lekythoi which in shape and style are related to the latter painter; therefore only in regard to lekythoi (and oinochoai) can they be considered close colleagues. Second, as skyphoi make up more than half of the Theseus Painter's preserved vases, it is only to be expected that, ultimately, the dispersion pattern of his skyphoi and that of his total extant output differ little because the skyphoi form, quantitatively speaking, the decisive factor in the overall data. Finally, although the Theseus Painter's vases turned up for the largest part in mainland Greece, a relatively substantial number of skyphoi come from Magna Graecia.

I. Scheibler also sees a correlation between skyphoi – particularly the large ones of the Heron Class – and concentration in Greece.<sup>500</sup> Of the 226 examples (including the CHC Group) with known find-places mentioned by her, no less than 88 are from Attica and 69 from elsewhere in Greece. Further paralleling my own numbers for the Theseus Painter, 41 of her skyphoi were discovered in Magna Graecia. This implies that the provenances of almost 88 per cent of her skyphoi are in Greece or Greek-related areas. The remaining 28 come from Etruria and neighbouring areas as well as from the regions to the east of Greece.

In this respect, L. Hannestad seems to arrive at similar conclusion.<sup>501</sup> In her count, skyphoi (of various types) are the second most common shape (of decorated ware) both on the Acropolis and in the Agora, after cups on the Acropolis and lekythoi on the Agora respectively. The skyphos is also quite popular in southern Italy, whereas in Etruria, for instance, it is almost non-existent.

The export picture as sketched above by various observers seems quite clear-cut and generally applies also to skyphoi of the Theseus Painter. However, if we compare the provenances of his skyphoi with those of his other shapes, there seems to be no significant divergence. The only visible difference lies in their quantities, which, as remarked, is simply due to the greater number of skyphoi. Like skyphoi, his other kinds of pottery seem to have ended up mostly in Athens or elsewhere in Attica or southern Italy, which would seem to argue in favour of the primacy of the painter as opposed to the shape in the export process (for the overall distribution and the differences between skyphoi and other shapes see Tables 7-8). On the other hand, we see that the distribution of the Theseus Painter's vases largely conforms to Scheibler's data for the Heron Class skyphoi (see Table 9). Furthermore, when the provenances and numbers of the Theseus Painter's vases are compared to those of the lekythos painter closest to him, the Athena Painter, a significant contrast emerges (see Table 10). By far the largest number of the Athena Painter's vases have been found in both Sicily and southern Italy. But whereas southern Italy is an equally important find-place of the Theseus Painter's work, Sicily has yielded substantially less. In contrast, the amount of the Athena Painter's work known to come from Athens or Attica is meagre in comparison to that of the Theseus Painter.<sup>502</sup>

It would therefore seem that Scheibler as well as Freyer-Schauenburg and Scheffer – as far as the Theseus Painter is concerned – are at least partly correct about a supposed correlation between the distribution pattern and the skyphos. But since the same pattern marks the Theseus Painter's other shapes, it might be equally correct to suppose that sometimes a correlation exists between particular export markets and all the work, whatever the shape, of painters who largely specialised in the skyphos.<sup>503</sup>

Because of the small numbers of the Theseus Painter's other shapes, a further correlation between one shape and its find-places is difficult to make. All his loutrophoroi were found in Athens, which is not surprising as they can be considered a type of local funerary vessel. It is more difficult to say anything about the pelikai and the kalpides because relatively few of their find-places have been recorded. Lastly, although none of the Theseus Painter's kyathoi has a known find-place, one might suppose that the majority of them came to light in Italy.

<sup>500</sup> Scheibler, *Skyphoi*, 18 and fig. 1.

<sup>501</sup> See L. Hannestad, 'The Athenian Potter and the Home Market', *ProcCopenhagen*, 222-29; *ead.*, 'Athenian Pottery in Italy c. 550-470, Beazley and quantitative Studies', *I Vasi attici e altre ceramiche coeve in Sicilia, Atti del Convegno Internazionale Catania, Camarina, Gela, Vittoria 28 marzo - 1 aprile 1990* (Catania 1996) vol. II, 211-16; *ead.*, 'Athenian Pottery in Etruria c. 550-470 B.C.', *ActaArch* 59 (1988) 113-20.

<sup>502</sup> Perhaps this is partly due to the small number of known provenances for the Theseus Painter's lekythoi, a shape which, moreover, is often found in Sicily. The four known provenances of four lekythoi are Thebes, Eretria, Gela and Agrigento (see Table 11, Cat. nos. 125, 132, 127-28).

<sup>503</sup> However, the statement is not meant to preclude exceptions to this general trend in a correlation between shapes and find-places.

## B. ICONOGRAPHY

### VIII. INTRODUCTION

The preceding chapters are devoted to aspects of the Theseus Painter's style, vase-shapes, workshop connections, etc. Above all the Theseus Painter is remarkable because of his subject matter, his choice and execution of them are often innovative.<sup>504</sup> This would contrast with what might be expected of a painter working in black-figure when the technique was more or less in decline. Moreover, the painter's unusual subjects form an uncommonly large percentage of his total extant output.

Unique, rare or yet unexplained subjects, of course, were depicted by many other late black-figure painters, but within the work of a single painter these are often one-off occurrences and might even be only one of his few thematic oddities. Many of the Theseus Painter's vases, on the other hand, show subjects that are not or only rarely met on the vases of other painters. Sometimes they recur on more than one of his vases as well as occasionally in the work of some closely related painters. All this makes it seem highly likely that the extraordinary nature of much of the Theseus Painter's iconography results not from the accident of preservation or discovery but reflects an integral part of his character as an artisan. Examples are Herakles dragging a female monster by a rope (two skyphoi, Cat. nos. 15-16, pl. 7 a, c, and one by the Athena Painter<sup>505</sup>), amazon/Arimasps and a griffin (two skyphoi, Cat. nos. 6, 10, pls. 3 a, 5 a), Dionysos in a ship-cart (two skyphoi and one near the Theseus Painter, Cat. nos. 2, 8, pls. 2 a, 4 a, and Cat. no. N46, as well as a fragment of uncertain shape in Tübingen,<sup>506</sup> of which so little remains that it is impossible to say for sure whether it is by or near the Theseus Painter, or neither). This apparent individuality in the Theseus Painter's iconography culminates in his particular type of representations of the so-called ephedrismoi, as seen on no less than 10 of his vases and fragments. The subject is otherwise very rare in Attic vase painting, and an ephedrismos picture of exactly the same type as the Theseus Painter's is not known to be repeated by another painter.<sup>507</sup>

A fundamental problem regarding such uncommon iconography is the definition of 'uniqueness'. The difficulty is how to demarcate the borderline between rare or otherwise special subjects, and how to distinguish whether a subject really was unusual, or whether it simply appears so because of the chance of discovery or preservation. With regard to the Theseus Painter the matter is made slightly easier by the fact that many (actually most) of his uncommon themes find counterparts by his own hand (but not by other painters, outside his direct environment), and thus that he specialized in them.

Certainly the Theseus Painter also portrayed more common subjects: some of the canonical Labours of Herakles,<sup>508</sup> blinding of Polyphemos and Odysseus escaping,<sup>509</sup> Apollo playing the lyre with muses,<sup>510</sup> Theseus and the Bull,<sup>511</sup> prothesis.<sup>512</sup> But even in quite a few of these pictures the Theseus Painter introduced peculiar variation or otherwise uncommon features. The consequence is that the interpretations of some

<sup>504</sup> See also Laxander, *Individuum*, 19, who also underscores the painter's iconographic innovativeness. She proposes that the unusual nature of subjects might be related to mercantile or economic considerations, for instance, an increasing mass-production of small vase shapes in late Attic black-figure which would induce capable painters (like the Theseus Painter) to depict something out of the ordinary in order to distinguish themselves and thus to be able to compete. See further, present author in *Proceedings AIAC*, 87-89.

<sup>505</sup> Boston 98.924, *ABL* 260, 129; *ABV* 524, 1; *Beazley Addenda* 131.

<sup>506</sup> Tübingen SJ/10 1497, *CVA* 3, pl. 6.4, apparently unglazed inside, see also n. 552.

<sup>507</sup> Cat. nos. 54-63, pls. 25-27.

<sup>508</sup> Herakles and the Lion: Havana, Lagunillas coll., and once Paris, Peyrefitte coll. (Cat. nos. 11, 146, pls. 5 b, 46 f); Herakles and Kerberos: Amsterdam 2604 (Cat. no. 12, pl. 5 c-e); Herakles and amazons: London 1926.11.15.1 (Cat. no. 17, pl. 8 a-c).

<sup>509</sup> Louvre 342 (Cat. no. 165, pl. 52 c-d), New York, White and Levi coll. (Cat. no. 32, pl. 15 a), Oxford 1934.372 (Cat. no. 141, pl. 45 a-c).

<sup>510</sup> London B 346 and Madrid 10930 (Cat. nos. 159-60, pl. 50), St. Petersburg 4498 (Cat. no. 71, pl. 30 b) and, possibly, Acropolis 843 (Cat. no. 209).

<sup>511</sup> Petit Palais 313 (Cat. no. 167, pl. 53 d).

<sup>512</sup> On some of the Theseus Painter's loutrophoroi, for example, Cat. no. 181, pl. 57 g.



subjects and iconographic details sometimes diverge widely and, it seems, be entirely incorrect.<sup>513</sup> Therefore a basic problem concerning much of the Theseus Painter's iconography is the difficulty of interpretation. An example of such uncertainty is illustrated by two skyphoi: Harvard 1960.321 and fragments in Thasos (Cat. nos. 64-65, pl. 28). It has been suggested that these skyphoi (first the Harvard skyphos and, by extension, the Thasos fragments which had not yet been excavated when the Harvard skyphos was first published) might represent the building of a granary, a wine jar or a kiln,<sup>514</sup> the process of purifying clay<sup>515</sup> or even a harvest feast or the preparations for one.<sup>516</sup> Most of these interpretations do not seem satisfactory and the difficulty is compounded by the absence of good comparisons in Attic vase painting.

In contrast, other subjects for which a close parallel is hardly found outside the Theseus Painter or his direct vicinity are relatively easy to identify, like the ship-cart featured on more than one of his skyphoi (Cat. nos. 2, 8, pls. 2 a, 4 a).

The general divergences in the Theseus Painter's iconography can be grouped. Many subjects are unusual, distorted versions of more commonly known representations. In several instances the comparisons are found only rarely in black-figure or exclusively in contemporaneous red-figure, or they occur in black- or red-figure which postdates the Theseus Painter's examples (which might indicate that they were adopted from him and, in turn, that he introduced them). The parallels to other subjects are confined to the Theseus Painter's direct vicinity, for example painters of the White Heron Group or the Athena Painter. In the most extreme cases the subject is not met in the work of another vase painter at all (see also Tables 12-13). Moreover, even the meanings of some of the Theseus Painter's scenes which would seem at first sight unambiguous might be open to debate; his numerous 'komoi' were (and are) generally regarded as nothing more than that, although some scholars suggest for various reasons that they instead illustrate some kind of ritual procession.<sup>517</sup> Remarkably enough, most of the Theseus Painter's exceptional subjects are confined to his skyphoi.

The Theseus Painter does not stand completely alone in the 'revival' of iconographic inventiveness in late black-figure, which can be observed in the work of other competent late black-figure artisans like the Athena Painter, Edinburgh Painter, Gela Painter, Sappho Painter and Diosphos Painter. However, the imagery of the bulk of late black-figure from the period of the Theseus Painter consists of virtually unchanging stock subjects repeated in large quantities of vases, for example a goddess mounting a chariot,<sup>518</sup> Dionysos reclining,<sup>519</sup> amazon with three-quarter chariot,<sup>520</sup> But even among the painters and groups that produced such vases unique or rare representations are not entirely unknown; see for instance the exceptional subjects of several skyphoi connected to the CHC Group: chorus of old men with torches and youths standing on their heads;<sup>521</sup> ostrich and dolphin riders;<sup>522</sup> procession of ostrich riders, wagon pulled by a crane, dwarfs with a donkey and camel laden with merchandise or offerings;<sup>523</sup> unexplained gathering of men in a building;<sup>524</sup> symposium of men wearing cocklike headdresses.<sup>525</sup> Nevertheless, such pictures appear in only a very small percentage of the huge number of skyphoi of this group.

The direct forerunners of the Theseus Painter, that is, the Krokotos Group, were generally not a source of remarkable imagery. The majority of their skyphoi and cups show Dionysos accompanied by gods or others figures, Dionysian masks, komasts and hetairai as well as satyrs and maenads, symposia and thiasoi.<sup>526</sup> The only notable exception is the Painter of Munich 2100, with his snake-women in an orchard and erotic couples, themes in which, it seems, the other painters of the Krokotos Group and the Theseus Painter had

<sup>513</sup> The goat in the tondo of Chicago 1967.115.256 (Cat. no. 206, pl. 65 d), for example, has (incorrectly) been identified by L. Hanerfeld as Acheloos, presumably because of the long beard (the rest of the figure's face is missing). Such a long beard, however, is a standard trait of the Theseus Painter's goats. Nor in other respects does the Chicago tondo figure appear to deviate from the Theseus Painter's goats; compare pls. 1 c-d, 3 d, 8 d-e, 20 c, 22 a, 24 c-d.

<sup>514</sup> D. M. Robinson, in *CVA* Baltimore 3, 11-12.

<sup>515</sup> Eisman and Turnbull, *Skyphos*, 397-99.

<sup>516</sup> Scheibler, *Bild und Gefäss*, 72.

<sup>517</sup> See Burkert, *Tragedy*, esp. 98-99, figs. 1-3 ('Dionysiac procession'); Van Straten, *Hiera Kala*, 52-53.

<sup>518</sup> Haimon Group, see, for example, *ABV* 539-542.

<sup>519</sup> Many Leafless Group cups among the vases in *ABV* 633-48.

<sup>520</sup> CHC Group, *ABV* 617-18.

<sup>521</sup> Thebes BE 64.342; Green, *Birds*, 102, no. 12, fig. 15 a-b.

<sup>522</sup> Boston 20.18; Green, *Birds*, 103, no. 17, fig. 20 a-b.

<sup>523</sup> Louvre F 410; V. Dasen, *Dwarfs in Ancient Egypt and Greece* (Oxford 1993) 307, 113, pl. 75.

<sup>524</sup> Louvre M 11, MNC 661; R. Olmos Romeira, 'Die Einnahme von Oichalia', *MM* 18 (1977) pl. 36.

<sup>525</sup> Agora P 32413; *Hesperia* 65 (1996), pl. 72, no. 22.

<sup>526</sup> See for examples Ure, *Krokotos*, 90-103; *AVB* 205-209; *Para* 93-99; Bell, *Krokotos Cups*, 1-15; *CVA* Athens 4, 41-43.



little or no interest. The iconography of the Sub-krokotos Group and the White Heron Group is, as a rule, equally unexceptional, although the depictions of some painters seem to have sometimes been inspired by the Theseus Painter.<sup>527</sup>

Furthermore, the Theseus Painter's iconography betrays little influence of other painters or workshops. Somewhat of an exception is the Athena Painter whose influence is apparently discernible in the subjects of the Theseus Painter's later work,<sup>528</sup> especially his lekythoi which, as explained above, are connected, among other things, by shape with the Athena Painter's workshop. On the other hand, it may also be that the Theseus Painter, in his turn, influenced the Athena Painter,<sup>529</sup> note for example the latter's portrayals of Herakles dragging a monster or of heroes at a mound, which he seems to have borrowed from the Theseus Painter.<sup>530</sup>

Thus the imagery of the Theseus Painter – and to some degree that of his late black-figure contemporaries – seems to mark a slight break in the black-figure iconographic tradition. It is hard to imagine what the causes might be. Linked with this, is the question of how a subject originates, what its sources or influences might be, and how it subsequently develops. With regard to the Theseus Painter, the matter is doubly important because of his frequent portrayal of uncommon subjects. It could be that around 500 B.C. the function of black-figure vases changed or that customer demand altered, both in and outside Greece. Additionally, sources like literature, drama or mythology may have influenced transformations, and rituals and religious festivities could have increased in importance as source. It could also be that the shapes on which these subjects occur were geared to specific functions which were decisive for the subjects' selection.<sup>531</sup> In any event, the Theseus Painter's iconography seems too special for us to leave personal inventiveness out of consideration. Nevertheless, the latter cannot be the sole explanation because, however exceptional he may be, the Theseus Painter is not a completely isolated case.

The Theseus Painter's treatment of subjects and scenes shows some typical elements. On many vases, especially skyphoi, a scene is doubled, painted on both sides. Often the two scenes differ slightly in details only.<sup>532</sup> In other instances different pictures are thematically linked; they may portray episodes in a single cycle, like the Deeds of Theseus, or related parts of one story, for example the skyphos Taranto 4448 (Cat. no. 14, pl. 6 c-d) with Herakles and Alkyoneus, on one side, and, on the other, Hermes leading the cattle away. Further, in a series of vases with comparable representations individual traits are sometimes interchanged; note the various placement of the boar and the bull on either side of the 'sacrifice' skyphoi Tampa 86.52 and Stuttgart KAS 74 (Cat. nos. 40-41, pl. 17).

Throughout his career, the Theseus Painter seems to have treated some of his themes consistently. The komoi of his skyphoi, for instance, do not significantly differ in detail from those of his kyathoi, which are stylistically much later. Both shapes also show the Theseus Painter's characteristic nude amphora-bearer. However, a general tendency towards less iconographic inventiveness marks his later vases as the subjects become increasingly restricted to komoi, thiasoi, athletes and the like. Therefore his most remarkable representations are narrowly connected to his skyphoi, which, as remarked, he stopped making after the transitional phase from middle to late. But it is unclear whether this results from dictates of the shape, in this

<sup>527</sup> Compare, for example, the ship-cart of Dionysos in Bologna 130, Herakles mousikos in Athens, NM 635, Herakles reclining with a warrior or Ares in Athens, NM 13907 (Cat. nos. N46, N30, N48).

<sup>528</sup> Several of these subjects are not found on the Theseus Painter's skyphoi, but suddenly appear on his lekythoi: Pelus and Thetis, Syracuse 33501 and London 1904.7-8.5 (Cat. nos. 137-38, pl. 43 c-e); Judgement of Paris, Berlin 2005 (Cat. no. 144, pl. 146 c); Polyxena and Achilles, Athens, NM 9684 (Cat. no. 139, pl. 44 a-b); siren-musicians with bystanders, San Antonio 86.134.54 (Cat. no. 128, pl. 39 d-f). The Athena Painter's depictions of these subjects are: Palermo, Mormino coll. (CVA 1, pl. 18.1-3); Basle, Cahn coll. HC 909 (Kreuzer, *Zeichner*, 115, no. 122); Basle, Antikenmuseum (ABL 254.2; Para 260); Leiden XX82 (ABL 254.3; ABV 522; CVA 2, pl. 93.1-4); Cambridge (ABL 259.11; CVA 2, pl. 2.3); Malibu 86.AE.140 (CVA 2, pl. 66.3); Louvre F 366 (ABL 256.40); Munich 1906 (ABL 257.78); Karlsruhe B27 (ABL 257.79; CVA 1, pl. 13.1-2); Basle, private coll. (Para 261); Amsterdam 3737 (Para 261; CVA forthcoming); Toledo 47.62 (ABV 523; CVA 1, pl. 28.2-5); Muzzano, private coll. (MuM 40, 1969, 46, no. 77; LIMC I, s.v. 'Achilleus', no. 233); Washington Univ WU 3278 (K. Herbert and S. Symeonoglou, *Ancient Collections in Washington University*, St. Louis, Missouri 1973, 13, figs. 15-17); London 1920.3-151 (ABL 255.27); London B 651 (ABL 256.48); Amsterdam 8977 (Para 261); Bari 2732 (ABL 257.68, pl. 48); once Roman market (ABV 523.4-5, twice).

<sup>529</sup> For cross-influences between the Theseus Painter and the Athena Painter see also ABL 141 ff.

<sup>530</sup> Theseus Painter: Herakles and the monster, Cat. nos. 15-16, pl. 7; heroes at a mound, Cat. nos. 33-34, pl. 14. Athena Painter: Boston 98.924 (ABL 260.129; ABV 524.1; *Beazley Addenda* 131) and Palermo, Mormino coll. (CVA 1, pl. 18.1-3), resp.

<sup>531</sup> Like the prothesis of loutrophoroi.

<sup>532</sup> See also Steiner, *Visual Redundancy*, 197-219.

instance the skyphos, perhaps because of a particular function, a possibility which has been mentioned above, or from the painter's development as an artisan. If the latter applies, it might be said that the Theseus Painter's earlier imaginativeness tended to wane parallel to his weakening painting style.

In comparison to earlier black-figure and contemporaneous red-figure, the Theseus Painter's pictures illustrate less action-packed mythology. Notwithstanding the fact that Herakles is by far his most popular subject, very few of the hero's canonical labours are known to have been painted by him. Instead, he preferred Heraklean scenes which are generally less commonly seen in Attic vase painting. Also nearly completely omitted are episodes of the Trojan cycle, centauromachies, amazonomachies, and gigantomachies. Evidently, the Theseus Painter's preferences centered mainly on quieter events, often including mythological personages in a restful mood, and scenes of daily life and religious activity. Some pictures might even be associated with stage performances; and a rather large group, as noted, might be regarded as depicting ritual, that is, processions or the like, although such identifications cannot always easily be made and maintained.

Below, chapters IX-XII deal mainly with the identification, iconographic comparison and origin of the Theseus painter's more special subjects. Sometimes a representation fits into more than one iconographic category; for instance Dionysos in his ship-cart could be placed under 'Dionysos' or 'ritual processions'. As a rule, I have decided to assign such themes to the chapters on their primary personages, while also noting them in the other appropriate chapters.

To avoid any misunderstanding concerning numbers of vases and numbers of subjects, identical or nearly identical scenes on both side of a vase are counted in the text as one. When I mention that the Theseus Painter is known from ten ephedrismoi (four more or less complete vases, and fragments or groups of fragments with six different inventory numbers), this actually means that he painted fourteen individual representations of ephedrismoi, because on his whole vases they are painted twice, one on each side of the vase. A supplementary count of the Theseus painter's individual representations can be found in Table 12.

Lastly, chapter XIII explores the more difficult questions of the possible meanings, purposes and backgrounds of the Theseus Painter's special subjects, and includes some suggestions about connections between function (particularly skyphoi) and iconography

## IX. DEITIES

### 1. Introduction

A relatively minor place is occupied by the Olympian gods in the Theseus Painter's imagery. His standard representations of them are rare; for example, he is known only once to have depicted Hera, Aphrodite and Athena in a Judgement of Paris (Berlin 2005, Cat. no. 144, pl. 46 c). His minor deities are even rarer.

Five vases and a fragment show Apollo, four times accompanied by muses who are identified by the sole attribute of the krotala.<sup>533</sup> The subject is very common in Attic black-figure where, however, Apollo plays the kithara, not the lyre as seen in two of Theseus Painter's pictures (London B 346, St. Petersburg 4498, Cat. nos. 71, 159, pls. 30 a-b, 50 a). A lekythos in a private collection shows Apollo pursuing Tytios (Cat. no. 125, pl. 38 a-b).<sup>534</sup> One example is unpublished (Cat. 116). According to Beazley, the unpublished fragment Athens, Acropolis 847 (Cat. no. 209), illustrates Apollo with a 'goddess', who could easily be a counterpart of the aforementioned muses. In addition, also the central left-hand figure of the heavily restored Madrid kalpis (Cat. no. 160, pl. 50 b) is probably Apollo, again furnished with a lyre and accompanied by muses.

Hephaistos is the central figure of the Theseus Painter's gigantomachy on the Goulandris lekythos (Cat. no. 126, pl. 38 c-e). It is one of the few examples of this event, in either black- or red-figure, in which Hephaistos plays a prominent role.<sup>535</sup> The figure riding a donkey on the pelike in Port Sunlight might also represent Hephaistos (Cat. no. 153, pl. 48 c-d), although Dionysos seems more probable (see below).

The Theseus Painter portrayed only three other Olympian deities in larger numbers and with greater iconographic versatility: Athena, Dionysos, Hermes.

### 2. Athena

The protectress of Athens actually plays a relatively minor part among the Theseus Painter's Olympian gods. Nevertheless, she appears several times, often supporting heroes like Herakles and Theseus. She is also included in cultic representations.

Several skyphos fragments from the Athenian Acropolis show Athena (Acropolis 1265, 1307, 1312, Cat. nos. 82-83, 85, pl. 35 a-b, e, h). Parts of her face and helmet are visible, as well as owls, cocks, snakes or altars. In one case, a column (of a temple?) is also seen (pl. 35 a). As standard accessories of the city-goddess, all these features recur over a wide range of Athenian vases; compare for example the owls accompanying her on numerous lekythoi and oinochoai by the Athena Painter,<sup>536</sup> and a lekythos by the same painter showing the goddess accompanied by cocks.<sup>537</sup>

The fragment Acropolis 1307 (Cat. no. 85, pl. 35 h) preserves the upper part of the head and fist of a man turned to the right. He carries an object on his shoulder that is hard to identify. It seems to be a low basket with zigzag rim in white, filled with something indicated by parallel incised lines. The object is certainly not a kanoun or similar ritual object, but looks rather like the baskets borne on a pole on side A of the skyphos Athens, NM 12531, depicting a procession.<sup>538</sup> It also slightly resembles offerings carried in the processions of Tampa 86.52 and Stuttgart KAS 74 (Cat. nos. 40-41, pl. 17 b, d). On the Acropolis fragment the man seems to move towards Athena who is indicated by a partial helmet and spear. Presumably the subject is therefore a

<sup>533</sup> See LIMC II, s.v. 'Apollon', nos. 689-715, and pp. 268-69, for the difficulty of distinguishing maenads from muses accompanying Apollo. See also A. Queyrel, 'Un lecythe à figures noires avec Hermes, Apollon et des Muses', *AntK* 28 (1985) 157-60.

<sup>534</sup> See LIMC II, s.v. 'Apollon', nos. 1066-76.

<sup>535</sup> F. Brommer, 'Vier mythologische Vasenbilder', *AAA* 5 (1972) 454-59. Also LIMC VI, s.v. 'Hephaistos', nos. 203-12.

<sup>536</sup> Athens, NM 1138 (ABL 257,73); Kansas City, Atkins Museum (ABL 257,74, Para 260; Neils, *Goddess and Polis*, 148, no. 7); Acropolis 2339 (ABL 256,38); Acropolis 2338 (ABL 256,39); Dresden ZV 1700 (ABL 257,75); Amsterdam 3754 (Para 262, Beazley *Addenda* 131); London market (Sotheby's London, Dec. 1988, lot. no. 14); Marburg (ABL 258,106; Para 260).

<sup>537</sup> Buffalo, Albright Art Gallery G479 (ABL 256,34; ABV 522; Neils, *Goddess and Polis*, 182-83 no. 55).

<sup>538</sup> CVA Athens 4, pl. 28.



procession of the type occasionally met in the work of other painters: a group of people moving towards Athena, who is possibly seen standing at an altar.<sup>539</sup> Curiously, however, the standing Athena of the Theseus Painter's fragment would be moving in the same direction as the procession, that is, to the right, as the tail of her crest is on the left-hand side of her helmet, whereas in the parallel pictures she instead faces the approaching procession. Neither is her pose that of Athena Polias or Athena Promachos as on procession vases by other painters, as she is on the one hand not seated, her helmeted head is at about the same height as that of the figure carrying offerings. On the other she hand has her spear leant against her shoulder, and not raised in an attacking gesture, which would be necessary to identify her as a promachos figure. On the lekythos New York 25.189.1 by the Brygos Painter she stands similarly with a spear over her shoulder.<sup>540</sup> The partial altars of two fragments - Acropolis 1311 and the Hague 2135 (Cat. nos. 84, 113, pl. 35 g) - have been interpreted as belonging to Athena because of their resemblance to the altars in the above-cited Athena processions.

On the Uppsala kalpis 352 (Cat. no. 161, pl. 51 a) a youth is seen leading a horned sheep (possibly a ram) to an altar on which a large owl stands and in front of which there is a white bird. A bovine with a red ribbon in its horns, either an ox or cow, as the gender is unclear, stands to the right of a column which presumably represents a temple. The significance of the scene is uncertain. In the eastern frieze of the Parthenon we see that the similar combination of oxen and rams as sacrificial animals (assuming these horned sheep are indeed rams) poses problems of interpretation because the ram is not considered a suitable sacrificial animal to Athena.<sup>541</sup> In turn, this might suggest that the different animals will be offered to different deities, perhaps simultaneously.

On the Uppsala kalpis at least one of the animals would be intended for Athena, who is doubtless evoked by the owl on the altar. But the simultaneous sacrifice of sheep/ram and cow/ox could lead to different interpretations of the other animal's intended deity. C. Melldahl and J. Flemberg mention several earlier suggested possibilities in connection with the Parthenon,<sup>542</sup> one of which is rather attractive in connection with the Uppsala kalpis and which might be applied to it: the simultaneous sacrifice of a bovine to Athena, represented by the owl on the altar, and of a sheep to Pandrosos, the daughter of Kekrops who apparently had a sanctuary on the Acropolis, perhaps symbolised by the single column, and for whom sacrificial law demanded that for every bovine sacrificed to Athena a sheep had to be offered to her.<sup>543</sup> However, Melldahl and Flemberg's suggestion seems not to be widely accepted.<sup>544</sup> An additional problem is the lack of a firm parallel to the Uppsala kalpis. The closest Melldahl and Flemberg come, is a hydria by the Nikoxenos Painter<sup>545</sup> portraying Athena seated with another female figure in front of her, and with an altar and a bull under a temple roof supported by a column. A further fundamental question is whether the Uppsala kalpis and the Parthenon frieze can rightly be compared to each other in the light of the wide artistic and chronological gap separating them. Nevertheless, the comparable basic components in both representations - sheep/ram, ox/cow and a sacrifice - may well be significant.

A ritualistic or cultic content may also be found in the Theseus Painter's scenes of Athena pouring from an oinochoe into a phiale held by a resting Herakles, an act which recalls the pouring of libations (London 1902.12-18.3; Dresden ZV 1680; Mt. Holyoke 1925 BS.II.3; Basle, Kambli; probably Agora P 1550-1 and Oria OR 502-645; possibly Gioia del Colle; Cat. nos. 18-21bis, 92, pls. 8 d-e, 9, 37 b; for other interpretations see the chapter on Herakles below). Many of the vases with this or similar scenes by other painters are contemporaneous with the Theseus Painter's, although there are also later examples. Most of them show Herakles and Athena standing instead of seated as portrayed by the Theseus Painter.

Cultic context must almost certainly be part of the scene of Delos 6.140 (Cat. no. 72, pl. 30 c-d): Athena

<sup>539</sup> See LIMC II, s.v. 'Athena', nos. 574, 577. Also Berlin St. 1686, ABV 296.4; Para 128; Beazley Addenda<sup>2</sup> 77, name-vase of the Painter of Berlin 1686. See esp. Van Straten, *Hiera Kala*, 14-18.

<sup>540</sup> ARV<sup>2</sup> 384.211; Para 366; Beazley Addenda<sup>2</sup> 228.

<sup>541</sup> Simon, *Festivals*, 61. According to Van Straten, *Hiera Kala*, 16-17, these scenes refer strictly to a sacrifice for Athena: "a traditional sacrifice in the Old Temple (i.e. at that time the 'Erechtheion') probably consisted of cows and an equal number of sheep."

<sup>542</sup> Like the Dipolieia and Erechtheus, Melldahl and Flemberg, 73-78.

<sup>543</sup> Melldahl and Flemberg, 78. See also LIMC I, s.v. 'Aglauros, Herse, Pandrosos', 284; Neils, *Pride*, 182. Also Deubner, *Attische Feste*, 25-28, 27; Simon, *Festivals*, 61.

<sup>544</sup> The Uppsala kalpis is not mentioned in this respect by P. Demargne, in LIMC II. However, it is noted twice in LIMC II, s.v. 'Athena', nos. 200, 581, but apparently not in connection with Pandrosos.

<sup>545</sup> Formerly market, ABV 393.20; Melldahl and Flemberg, fig. 18; Beazley Addenda<sup>2</sup>, 103.

'receives Herakles in her sanctuary', shaking his hand, and, on the reverse, Hermes and either Iris or Nike stand holding phiale and oinochoe. Possibly the same or a similar scene appears on Delos 6142 (Cat. no. 73, pl. 31 a-b): Athena between cocks on rectangular pillars. Both of these vases return below in the chapter on Herakles, which see.

Many of the above-mentioned scenes illustrate Athena's main role in the work of the Theseus Painter as the protectress of Herakles. The same is evident on a vase where she figures as a bystander while the hero performs one of his deeds: the fight against Alkyoneus (Taranto 4448, Cat. no. 14, pl. 6 c). She occupies a more central place in Boston 21.277 (Cat. no. 145, pl. 46 d-e) where she stands with Herakles and Hermes, without any narrative action, and in Acropolis 1280 where she shakes hands with Theseus before the labyrinth (Cat. no. 76, pl. 32 a). Berlin 2005 (Cat. no. 144, pl. 46 c) presents her as one of the participants in the Judgement of Paris. The latter is the only situation in which the Theseus Painter depicted Athena as related neither to Athenian cult nor to heroes she accompanies.

### 3. Dionysos

The Theseus Painter's second most frequently portrayed Olympian god is Dionysos. Of all the gods – with the possible exception of Hermes – he seems to be the painter's favourite. However, the Theseus Painter relatively seldom represented Dionysos in the scenes most often met in the work of other Attic black-figure painters: the thiasos with satyrs and maenads. The subject occurs three times only: London B 513 (Cat. nos. 166, pl. 53 a-c); once Basle market (Cat. no. 198, pl. 61 c-d); Collisani lekythos (Cat. no. 134, pl. 42 a-c).

Other more common Dionysian themes are seen on the pelike Port Sunlight 5019 (Dionysos and Ariadne seated, Dionysos or Hephaistos on a donkey, with a satyr, Cat. no. 153, pl. 48 c-d) and the cup London B 446 (Herakles and Dionysos reclining, see below, Cat. no. 173, pl. 55 d). The unpublished skyphos once in Basle (Cat. no. 108) shows Dionysos and Hermes walking with satyrs who play aulos and carry a wineskin and a pointed amphora, as found on many of the Theseus Painter's other vases.

On three of the Theseus Painter's skyphoi the figure held by a female sea monster can be identified as Dionysos (Bonn 1646; Basle, Cahn collection HC 918; Berlin 4528; Cat. nos. 68-69, 115, pl. 29 a-b). She has the same long fishtail of the more common male Tritons or the earlier depictions of Nereus, either alone or wrestling with Herakles.<sup>546</sup> The composition is very similar to that of Marseilles 7017, with Herakles fighting Triton (Cat. no. 23, pl. 10 c-d).<sup>547</sup> Insofar as known, the subject of Dionysos and a sea monster is further without parallel, although some later representations link Dionysos with Nereids.<sup>548</sup> Beazley stated that the "Tritoness may be Eurynome", a fishtailed daughter of Okeanos.<sup>549</sup> However, no relation is known to exist between Eurynome and Dionysos. In *LIMC*, moreover, the Theseus Painter's skyphoi are not mentioned in connection with Eurynome.<sup>550</sup>

The Theseus Painter's other Dionysian scenes seem solely to centre on ritual. Renowned because of the rarity of their subject outside the circle of the Theseus Painter are his two skyphoi portraying Dionysos in a ship-cart (Acropolis 1281, London B 79, Cat. nos. 2, 8, pls. 2 a, 4 a). It has been pointed out that the figure of Dionysos may actually represent a man or a statue clothed as the god. The wheeled cart in the form of a ship also carries two seated satyrs, or people dressed as satyrs, who make music. The opposite side of the London skyphos shows a procession of men leading an ox (pl. 4 b). Side B of the Acropolis skyphos has been lost.

Only few other representations of Dionysian ship-carts are known to exist. A similar skyphos with a ship-

<sup>546</sup> See Ahlberg-Cornell, *Herakles*.

<sup>547</sup> See below and Cat. no. 23, pl. 10 c-d.

<sup>548</sup> *LIMC* VIII, s.v. 'Tritones', see comment on nos. 101-103, p. 82. For the Dionysian connections of Nereids see also J.M. Barringer, *Divine Escorts, Nereids in Archaic and Classical Art* (Michigan 1995) 69-94, but not in relation to the Theseus Painter's scenes.

<sup>549</sup> *ABV* 518. Beazley also mentioned a cup with Dionysos riding a sea monster (*ABV* 564, 584, Louvre CA 3102, Haimon Group). However, it is unclear if this sea monster is a more usual male triton or a female sea monster as seen on the Theseus Painter's skyphoi. See also *ABV* 568, 14, New York 41.162.119, Emporion Painter.

<sup>550</sup> *LIMC* IV, s.v. 'Eurynome', comment on 107-108. They are mentioned under the heading 'Tritoness' in *LIMC* VIII, s.v. 'Tritoness', nos. 101 and 110.



cart almost identical to those by the Theseus Painter's is assigned to the White Heron Group, which, as remarked, is closely related to him (Bologna Pu 130, Cat. no. N46). On side B it illustrates a slightly more elaborate procession which includes a *kanephoros* and men seated on stools. Next, a fragment in Tübingen preserves the frontal part (boar's head<sup>551</sup> and part of the body of what might be a Dionysian ship-cart;<sup>552</sup> too little of the picture remains to establish an attribution or date. Finally, a large lead sheet, possibly discovered in Montagna di Marzo, also depicts a scene which is thematically almost identical to the Theseus Painter's: Dionysos with satyrs in a ship-cart and other satyrs who accompany them.<sup>553</sup> Any link between the skyphoi and the lead sheet remains unclear, however: Were the skyphos representations possibly influenced by such lead sheets or the other way around? Do they go back to a common model? Stylistic analysis, it seems, cannot offer any answers. Another puzzle regards the lead sheet's function. It has been variously identified as the decorative cover of a coffin or an altar.<sup>554</sup> It has also been proposed that, in fact, it might be a fake.<sup>555</sup> Outside the Greek world similar ship-carts occur in pictures of Egyptian processions which, it has been suggested, possibly had some influence on the Greek representations.<sup>556</sup>

The ship-cart pictures are clearly religious or cultic and may therefore have been associated with at least two festivals. First of all, there is the Anthesteria,<sup>557</sup> the three-day spring festival in the month of the same name.<sup>558</sup> At this festival the new wine was opened and a procession took place which commemorated the arrival of Dionysos from the East by ship, announcing the new spring. The ship-cart pictures possibly show such a procession with actors reenacting the arrival of Dionysos. Unfortunately, no Athenian references to this part of the festival have survived, and it is even uncertain if such a procession did take place during this festival, but Boardman and others propose that it would have approximated similar processions connected to the Anthesteria which are known to have taken place in several Ionian cities, including Smyrna.<sup>559</sup> Secondly, attempts have also been made to identify the Theseus Painter's ship-cart scenes as illustrations of festivities in the great Dionysia.<sup>560</sup> In neither instance, however, our knowledge of the festival corresponds entirely with the images of the vase-paintings.

Dionysos' association with ships is, of course, more widely attested in vase-painting. The pictures of Dionysos with satyrs in a ship with boar's-head prow on a neck-amphora in Tarquinia (678<sup>561</sup>) and a cup in Berlin (St. 2961<sup>562</sup>) possibly somehow parallel the subject of the ship-cart scenes while referring, moreover, at the same time to the story of Dionysos and the Tyrrhenian pirates as illustrated by Exekias inside his Munich cup.<sup>563</sup> According to G.M. Hedreen, the meaning of the ship-cart pictures might be comparable to that of the Exekias cup and the Tarquinia neck-amphora (678), namely a 'pirate-performance': "[...] mimetic

<sup>551</sup> According to Kerényi, *Dionysos*, 171, the animal head at the front of the ship-cart is rather a she-dog than a boar.

<sup>552</sup> Inv. no. S./10 1497, *CVA Tübingen* 3, pl. 6.4; Göttlicher, *Kultschiffe*, 105, fig. 60. It is unclear whether the fragment belongs to a skyphos or another shape. In the *CVA* it is said to be part of a closed shape, whereas other sources consider it a skyphos fragment. The latter might be based on the fact that all other known vases with this representation are skyphoi.

<sup>553</sup> De Miro, *Lastra*, 179-183.

<sup>554</sup> Suggested by De Miro, *Lastra*, 179, 183, without argumentation.

<sup>555</sup> See R.J.A. Wilson, 'Archaeology in Sicily 1982-7', *Archaeological Reports for 1987-88*, 135. See further, Göttlicher, *Kultschiffe*, 104-105, fig. 61.

<sup>556</sup> Kerényi, *Dionysos*, 166. Also the new peplos of Athena might have been transported by ship-cart, modelled like the Dionysian type: Kerényi, *Dionysos*, 167; N. Robertson, 'The origin of the Panathenaea', *RhM* 128 (1985) 288-295.

<sup>557</sup> First, M.P. Nilsson, i.a., in *Prozessionstypen*, 322-39. See further Deubner, *Attische Feste*, 102-117; Boardman, *Egypt*, 4-12; Pickard-Cambridge, *Dramatic Festivals*, 1-22; Lehnstaedt, *Prozessionsdarstellungen*, 92; Parke, *Festivals*, 107-124; Simon, *Festivals*, 92-99; Shapiro, *Art and Cult*, 99; J.H. Crouwel, *Chariots and other Wheeled Vehicles in Iron Age Greece*, *Allard Pierson Series* vol. 9 (Amsterdam 1992) 94-95; Van Straten, *Hiera Kala*, 18. See also M. Guarducci, 'Dioniso sposo della regina, Ancora nuove riflessioni sul vaso di Lydos nel Museo di Villa Giulia', *NumAntClass* 11 (1982) 33-46; Guarducci, *Dioniso* II, 107-119; Hedreen, *Silens*, 68-70, 82-3, 111. See also Göttlicher, *Kultschiffe*, 103.

<sup>558</sup> See Simon, *Festivals*, 92-100.

<sup>559</sup> Deubner, *Attische Feste*, 103; Boardman, *Egypt*, 4-12; Lehnstaedt, *Prozessionsdarstellungen*, 92, and n. 442, about the possible reference to a ship-cart procession found in Tyrins. In the opinion of Kerényi, the Smyrna festival must even descend from a much more important Athenian festival. Insofar as traceable, the Smyrna festival very much differed from the Theseus Painter's ship-cart representations; Kerényi, *Dionysos*, 168.

<sup>560</sup> The earliest is A. Frickenhaus, 'Der Schiffskarren des Dionysos in Athen', *Jdl* 27 (1912) 61-79. See also LIMC III, s.v. 'Dionysos', nos. 827-29, comment on 502; Kerényi, *Dionysos*, 175; N. Robertson, 'The origin of the Panathenaea', *RhM* 128 (1985) 288-95.

<sup>561</sup> *CVA* 1, pl. 5.1, 3; Hedreen, *Silens*, pl. 23.

<sup>562</sup> *ABV* 639,100; *Beazley Addenda* 145, Leafless Group, Whitworth Painter (?).

<sup>563</sup> Munich 2044: *ABV* 146,21; *Para* 60; *Beazley Addenda* 41; Hedreen, *Silens*, 68.



performance in which the story is reenacted with the aid of a mock ship". K. Kerényi goes even further by suggesting that the portrayals of Dionysos either on a ship or in a ship-cart must be considered a synthesis of all aspects of Dionysos which are related to ships in any way, including the pirate story as well as the god's arrival from overseas and whatever cultic elements may be involved. Importantly, in his opinion the scenes of ship-carts on skyphoi must not be considered references to a specific Dionysian festival or ritual; instead they would generally reflect Dionysian cult, possibly with elements of all the god's festivals combined. However that may be, it remains striking that such an apparently important subject as Dionysos in a ship-cart occurs on so few vases and within such a small circle of painters.

On two of the Theseus Painter's skyphoi, Mississippi 1977.3.69 and Acropolis 1286 (Cat. nos. 7, 114, pl. 3 c, e), Dionysos sits in a two-wheeled donkey-cart. Unfortunately, the Acropolis fragment is known only from a description by E. Langlotz;<sup>564</sup> the picture, however, must be very similar to that of the Mississippi skyphos. These scenes are also often thought to be related to a festival like one mentioned in connection with the ship-cart.<sup>565</sup> In Omaha 1936.484 (Cat. no. 197, pl. 62 a) Dionysos mounts a chariot in the presence of a winged goddess, possibly Nike.

The subject of the skyphos Athens, NM 498 (Cat. no. 80, pl. 34 e) is rather common in the latest Attic black-figure and in red-figure from the early 5th century B.C. onwards: a mask of Dionysos attached to a column, surrounded by a dancing satyr and maenad. The reverse (pl. 34 f), illustrates a procession or komos, with the Theseus Painter's characteristic amphora-bearer. Such a Dionysian mask is found on many late black-figure lekythoi and a few cups connected to the Haimon Group, some black-figure skyphoi and oinochoai as well as several red-figure cups, pelikai and kraters. It is especially prominent on many red-figure stamnoi from the later fifth century B.C. onwards (often with only women standing around the image of 'Dionysos'). The same subject recurs on a cup by Makron and Hieron showing a maenad who holds a skyphos which looks very similar to skyphoi of the Heron Class (fig. 82 a).<sup>566</sup> All this might indicate that the Heron Class skyphoi had a ritual function, as further explored in the last chapter.

The representation of the Dionysian mask is generally seen as linked to the Lenaia festival, although the Anthesteria has also been proposed.<sup>567</sup> The discussion was initiated by M. Nilsson and L. Deubner. More recently, however, scholars prefer to consider these images within a more general religious/Dionysian context, avoiding the identification of a specific festival at all,<sup>568</sup> as also proposed for the ship-cart

<sup>564</sup> See the description mentioned in n. 192 above. Graef and Langlotz, *Acropolis*, 144, also link it to a cultic context, whether similar to the one of the Dionysian ship-cart or not: "Auch hier wird man die Darstellung eines attischen Kultbrauches vermuten, doch lässt sich das Fest nicht bestimmen."

<sup>565</sup> See F. Brommer, 'Zu einem Dionysosfest', *AA* 1985, 25-27. See also J.H. Crouwel, *Chariots and other Wheeled Vehicles in Iron Age Greece, Allard Pierson Series* vol. 9 (Amsterdam 1992) 95; Lehnstaedt, *Prozessionsdarstellungen*, 102-103, suggests the *eisagoge* or Dionysos Eleutheros.

<sup>566</sup> Berlin 2290 (*ARV*<sup>2</sup> 462.46, 481, 1654; *Para* 337; *Beazley Addenda*<sup>2</sup> 244; N. Kunisch, *Makron*, Mainz 1997, 197-98, no. 345, pl. 116-117). For the skyphos, held by one of the maenads see also E. Simon and M. and A. Himer, *Die griechische Vasen* (Munich 1976) 121-123; W. Oenbrink, 'Ein "Bild im Bild" -phänomen: Zur Darstellung figürlich dekorierten Vasen auf bemalten attischen Tongefäßen', *Hephaistos* 14 (1996) 95 fig. 15, 99, 127, 130, no. B3. Both note the 'old-fashioned' shape returning in a subsequent representation. The shape of the Theseus Painter's skyphoi, however, are not so much older. Some of the skyphoi in the CHC Group (*ABV* 617-20, 711; *Para* 310-13; *Beazley Addenda*<sup>2</sup> 144) are also generally dated more or less contemporaneously with the Makron cup. The Berlin cup belongs to Makron's "Hauptwerk II" (N. Kunisch, *Makron*, Mainz 1997, 197-98, no. 345), whereas his early work is dated around 490 B.C. See Kunisch, *Ibid.*, 18-21.

<sup>567</sup> A. Frickenhaus, 'Lenäenvasen', *BerlinWinckProg* 72 (1912) 1-40; Nilsson, *Prozessionstypen*, 327-39; W. Wrede, 'Der Maskengott', *AM* 53 (1928) 66-95; Deubner, *Attische Feste*, 123-34; J.L. Durand and F. Frontisi-Ducroux, 'Idoles, figures, images: Autour de Dionysos', *RA* 1982, 81-108; *LIMC* III, s.v. 'Dionysos', 426-27, nos. 30-44, 298-300; S.M. Peirce, 'The "Lenaia" Vases and Women as Symposiasts in Attic Cults of Dionysos', *AJA* 90 (1986) 218; F. Frontisi-Ducroux, 'Face et profil, Les deux masques' in C. Bérard, C. Bron, A. Pomari (eds.), *Images et Société en Grèce ancienne, L'iconographie comme méthode d'analyse, Actes du colloque internationale, Lausanne*, 8-11 Febr. 1984 (Lausanne 1987) 89-102; Shapiro, *Art and Cult*, 99; M. Halm-Tisserant, 'Autour du mannequin Dionysiaque', *Hephaistos* 10 (1991) 63-88; R. Hamilton, *Choes and Anthesteria: Athenian Iconography and Ritual* (Ann Arbor 1992) 134-38. See also J. Frel, 'Dionysos Lenaïos', *AA* 1967, 28-34 (sculpture); J. de La Genière, 'Vases des Lénéennes', *MEFRA* 99 (1987) 43-61; Frontisi-Ducroux, *Le dieu-masqué*. See also E.C. Coche de la Ferté, 'Les ménades et le contenu réel des représentations des scènes Bachiques autour de l'idole de Dionysos', *RA* 38 (1951) 12-23; C. Bérard and C. Bron, 'Dionysos, le masque impossible', in F. Berti (ed.), *Dionysos, mito e mistero, Atti del convegno internazionale Comacchio 3-5 novembre 1989* (Ferrara 1991) 309-320; K.G. Kachler, *Zur Entstehung und Entwicklung der griechischen Theatermaske während des 6. und 5. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. im Begin des europäischen Theaters* (Basle 1991) esp. 27-28.

<sup>568</sup> Frontisi-Ducroux and Peirce; see the preceding note.

representations, as we have seen above. In addition, the provenances of the vases with both kinds of Dionysian subjects might lend further support to such a non-specific interpretation, as they were apparently not made exclusively for the Athenian market. Whereas many of the black-figure examples came to light in Athens or sites somewhere in Greece, most of those in red-figure turned up in Italy.<sup>569</sup>

In contrast to the other vases with Dionysian masks, the Athens skyphos (NM 498) has an uncommon figure: a fully clothed satyr turned to the right who might actually be a man dressed up as a satyr (pl. 34 e). Whereas the Theseus Painter's other satyrs are naked, this one wears a wreath and even boots, and carries a thyrsos. In addition, none of the other vases with Dionysian masks shows the kind of procession seen on side B of the Athens skyphos. The Athens skyphos has received two interpretations. Either the two sides are thematically one, that is, a komos and a Dionysian festival, or they form an integral scene of a procession approaching its goal: the statue of Dionysos. In the view of Kerényi, the Athens skyphos must be the first such depiction of this festival, which might account for its divergence from the other vases with a Dionysian mask.<sup>570</sup> Indeed, it seems to be earlier than all other examples in either black- or red-figure,<sup>571</sup> as I assign it to the Theseus Painter's transitional phase, around 495-490 B.C.

## 4. Hermes

The Theseus Painter often depicted Hermes in a role similar to Athena's, namely as companion or supporter of heroes or other personages (the latter will be discussed in more detail in the chapters concerning such figures). On two skyphoi showing Athena regaling Herakles, Hermes plays aulos (Dresden ZV 1680, Mt. Holyoke 1925.BS.II.3, Cat. nos. 19-20, pl. 9 a-c). He also plays aulos on side B of the skyphos Delos 6140 (Cat. no. 72, pl. 30 d), where he and Iris or Nike are present as 'Athena receives Herakles in her sanctuary'. Further, he stands beside Herakles and Athena on the lekythos Boston 21.277 (Cat. no. 145, pl. 46 d-e, Hermes not illustrated). On side B of Taranto 4448 (Cat. no. 14, pl. 6 d), where Herakles fights Antaios or, more probably, Alkyoneus, Hermes drives cattle. And on St. Petersburg 4498 (Cat. no. 71, pl. 30 a) he accompanies nymphs and a satyr.

Several other skyphoi and a cup of the Theseus Painter probably show Hermes reclining with Herakles on the ground. Whether they are reclining outdoors or inside is uncertain: on the one hand branches of a tree are visible which would suggest an outdoor environment, on the other a bow and quiver are hanging suspended in the air as if attached to a wall, which suggests that they are inside a room (Agora P 1545; once Helgoland, Kropatscheck collection; Bari, Cotecchia collection; Agora P 1543; side A of Delos 6138; once U.S. art market; London B 446, Cat. nos. 25-28, 74-75, 173, pls. 11 e-f, 12, 31 c, 33 c 55 f). On the London cup and the U.S. market skyphos the likely Hermes figure wears a (wingless) petasos. But as other attributes are not included on any of the vases in question Hermes cannot be definitely identified in a single instance. Moreover, other mythological figures are sometimes furnished with a petasos, including Perseus, Peleus<sup>572</sup> and, as seen on the Theseus Painter's oinochoe Louvre F 342, Odysseus and his companions (Cat. no. 165, pl. 52 c-d). However, none of these characters is a likely companion for Herakles. Therefore Hermes seems the only possible choice, especially considering the many other vase-paintings showing him in the presence of Herakles, in all of which his petasos, it seems, is not winged.<sup>573</sup>

Hermes is unambiguously represented on the Theseus Painter's lekythos which was once in the Philadelphia market (with winged hat, Cat. no. 127, pl. 39 b). He reclines in the cave of Pholos, posed as in the above-mentioned portrayals with Herakles.

In the above-mentioned skyphoi, where the reclining companion of Herakles is bareheaded (Cat. nos.

<sup>569</sup> See the provenances of vases in the catalogue of Frontisi-Ducroux, *Le dieu-masqué*, esp. her chapter concerning the red-figure stamnoi, 67-100.

<sup>570</sup> See Kerényi, *Dionysos*, 281-83.

<sup>571</sup> The Berlin Makron cup with a similar scene must be slightly later. See n. 566 above.

<sup>572</sup> For Perseus see, for example, the skyphoi by the Painter of Rodin 1000: Paris, Rodin 1000; once Hamburg, private coll.; Harvard 60.324 (Cat. nos. N39-41). For Peleus see, i.a., Berlin St. Mus. 1900 (*ABV* 385.27; *Beazley Addenda* 102; *LIMC* VII, s.v. Peleus, no. 196).

<sup>573</sup> See also Brommer, *Vasenlisten*<sup>3</sup>, 70, nos. A 3-5; Brommer, *Herakles* II, 144; *LIMC* IV, s.v. Herakles, nos. 1495-99; *LIMC* V, s.v. Hermes, nos. 548 a-d; Wolf, *Herakles*, 30-34.



25-28, 74, pls. 11 e-f, 12 a-b, d-e, 31 c) and has no attributes, he may nevertheless be identified as Hermes. The compositions of the U.S. market skyphos, the Philadelphia market lekythos and the London cup, in which Herakles' companion wears a petasos (Cat. nos. 75, 127, 173, pls. 33 c, 39 b, 55 f) and those of Herakles reclining with a bareheaded man are largely identical. An additional argument in favour of identifying the bareheaded men as Hermes is that a petasos hangs from a tree, together with a sword and/or a mantle. The hanging petasos occurs even if the figure next to Herakles is actually wearing one, as on the skyphos once in the U.S. market (Cat. no. 75, pl. 33 c).<sup>574</sup> Furthermore, we see a hanging petasos only on these vases with Herakles and specifically these reclining figures. In the work of the Theseus Painter, furthermore, we see a hanging petasos only on these vases with Herakles and specifically these reclining companions.

If all the subject identifications are correct, the Theseus Painter was responsible for eight of the ten entries in S.R. Wolf's list of pictures of Herakles and Hermes reclining (including the scene in the cave of Pholos).<sup>575</sup> The two other vases are a lekythos fragment by the Gela Painter and a cup by the red-figure Ambrosius Painter.<sup>576</sup> In Bologna C 44 (Cat. no. 9, pl. 4 c-e), moreover, the figure which reclines in similar fashion and is provided with a wingless petasos may also be Hermes, who is here accompanied by a satyr and goats.

The Theseus Painter also presented Hermes in a more distinctive role. In the Conservatori skyphos Hermes reclines on a goat or a ram (Cat. no. 70, pl. 29 c, d). There are few parallels in Attic vase-painting, the most important one being by the Berlin Painter.<sup>577</sup> They might have a religious association, as advanced by H. Hoffmann: "On other vases the ram as 'heroic sacrificial victim' – or ideal 'traveller' across the frontier from this world to the 'Other' – is seen as the vehicle of transport of various deities who by their very nature mediate, or commute between worlds."<sup>578</sup> The subject might be repeated on the fragments Delos 6667 (Cat. no. 86, pl. 35 i-k) showing Hermes' winged boots and parts of a goat.

## 5. Nereus/Poseidon

Among the Theseus Painter's sea deities, the identity of one is debated: a white-haired male figure with trident, mounted on a winged seahorse (New York 17.230.9, Cat. no. 3, pl. 2 b). Haspels identified him as Poseidon, as did G.M.A. Richter and F. Brommer.<sup>579</sup> M. Pipili, however, sees Nereus, distinguishing a small group of vases with this maritime god as based on white hair; black hair, in her view, is more suitable for the younger Poseidon.<sup>580</sup> Otherwise, iconographic elements that might help to differentiate the deities are nearly identical.

It must be noted, however, that the hair of the New York sea god seems to be yellow rather than white like his garment (pl. 2 b). The yellow colour might mean that the Theseus Painter intended to give the figure fair hair, which is not appropriate for Nereus. On the other hand, if we keep in mind the painter's apparent predilection for added yellow, the colour may be no more than a decorative substitute for white. In any event, it is probably safest to keep this figure among the representations of Nereus. Comparable figures are seen on

<sup>574</sup> See also Wolf, *Herakles*, 31-34.

<sup>575</sup> Wolf, *Herakles*, nos. sf. 34-40, 43-44, rf. 2. See also Bologna C 44 (Cat. no. 9, pl. 4 c-e), Hermes reclining with satyrs. See also Schauenburg, *Silene*.

<sup>576</sup> Agora P 2648 (ABV 473,167; Beazley *Addenda*<sup>2</sup> 119; Wolf, *Herakles*, no. sf. 34), Gela Painter, Florence 73127 (ARV<sup>2</sup> 173,4; Wolf, *Herakles* no. rf. 2), Ambrosius Painter, dated 510-500 B.C., thus not earlier than the vases by the Theseus Painter.

<sup>577</sup> Stamnos by the Berlin Painter, Louvre CA 944 (G 185) (ARV<sup>2</sup> 207,142, 1633; Beazley *Addenda*<sup>2</sup> 194). Also a black-figure neck-amphora (name-vase) by the Painter of London B 288 (ABV 593,1). See also LIMC V, s.v. 'Hermes', nos. 254-57. The Theseus Painter seems to be the only vase-painter who made a series of this subject.

<sup>578</sup> H. Hoffmann, 'ΥΒΡΙΝ ΟΡΘΙΑΝ ΚΝΩΔΑΛΛΩΝ', in D. Metzler et al. (eds.), *Antidoron, Festschrift für Jürgen Thimme* (Karlsruhe 1983) 65. See also the representations of Dionysos on a ram; LIMC III, s.v. 'Dionysos', no. 438.

<sup>579</sup> ABL 250,22; Richter, *Metropolitan Museum of Art, Handbook of the Greek Collection* (Cambridge 1953) 75, pl. 57b; Brommer, *Vasenlisten Göttersagen*, 41, no. 4.

<sup>580</sup> LIMC VI, s.v. 'Nereus', no. 15, see also comment on p. 836. This was previously implicitly hinted at by Beazley; see ABV, mythological index, 727, 'Nereus'.



some of the Athena Painter's vases. Because of their black hair, they are said to represent Poseidon.<sup>581</sup> Few other black-figure pictures are similar.<sup>582</sup>

<sup>581</sup> Compare the following lekythoi: Athens, NM 5893 (*ABL* 254,1); New Haven, Yale Univ. Art Gall. 1913.112 (*ABL* 255,26; S. Matheson Burke and J.J. Pollit, *Greek Vases at Yale*, Yale University Nov. 19 1975 – Jan. 18, 1976, 33–37, no. 36; *LIMC* VII, s.v. 'Poseidon', no. 157); Yale Univ. Art Gall. 1913.112 (Karouzou, *Satyroi*, 58–71 pl. 23,3–4); Munich 1558 (*ABL* 255,18); Oxford 247 (*ABL* 255,19, pl. 44,4; Boardman, *ABFV*, fig. 250), all depict Poseidon on a seahorse, very similar to the 'Nereus' of the Theseus Painter's skyphos, all by the hand of the Athena Painter.

<sup>582</sup> *LIMC* VI, s.v. 'Nereus', nos. 13–15. no. 13: Louvre F 145; no. 14: London 1836.2–24.66 (*ABV* 381,297; *Para* 164; *Beazley Addenda* 101; no. 15, Theseus Painter's New York skyphos). Also *LIMC* VII, s.v. 'Poseidon', nos. 155–157. No. 155 is Louvre F 145, also indicated as Nereus no. 14; nos. 156–57 are Oxford 247 and New Haven, Yale Univ. Art Gall. 1913.112 by the Athena painter (see the preceding n.). See also *ABV* 381 (*LIMC* VII, s.v. 'Nereus' no. 14), 488 (Athens 12953, recalls the Haimon Painter, Nereus), 500,50 (Nicosia C 732, Class of Athens 581, Poseidon), 558,468 (Copenhagen, Haimon Group), 560,511–12 (Baden, Ros and Harrow, both Poseidon), 586 (San Simeon 9492, unknown) and 703 (Theseus Painter's New York skyphos); *Para* 238 (Delphi, Class of Athens 581, unknown). The earliest representations of Poseidon on a seahorse are in Corinthian; see *LIMC* VII, s.v. 'Poseidon', nos. 153–54. In red-figure the scene is less common; see *LIMC* VII, s.v. 'Poseidon', 463 with no. 158. See also Brommer, *Göttersagen*, 41–42.

## X. OTHER MYTHOLOGICAL FIGURES AND SCENES AS WELL AS RELATED REPRESENTATIONS

### 1. Introduction

Few of the Theseus Painter's subjects are mythological. In fact, some of them that at first glance seem to be mythological might instead be associated with theatrical performances or be non-mythological. The uncertainty results from the above-mentioned circumstance that many of the painter's subjects are not easy to identify, if at all. Therefore, what we perceive as a possibly mythological representation may originally have been intended as something completely different, a theatrical scene for example. Some of these pictures will also be dealt with below.

Nevertheless, the Theseus Painter depicted some of the more common mythological themes. One example is the figure of Triptolemos in his wheeled chair (Cat. no. 147, pl. 46 g). Another one is Perseus. But whereas the story of Perseus and the Gorgons was evidently quite popular with one of his fellow-painters - Painter of Rodin 1000 (see above) - the Theseus Painter is only known to have chosen it once (Malibu 86.AE.146, Cat. no. 192, pl. 58). Its composition is uncomplicated, consisting of Perseus with petasos, winged boots and sword, and three running Gorgons.<sup>583</sup>

Three other vases decorated by the Theseus Painter, two lekythoi and a kyathos, show the wrestling match of Peleus and Thetis<sup>584</sup> (Syracuse 33501, London 1904.7-8.5, once Philadelphia market, Cat. nos. 137-38, 199, pls. 43 c-e, 61 e). The match is depicted in standard fashion, comparable to most of the many other black-figure renderings. Peleus grasps Thetis, with on his back some of her metamorphoses: lion-protome and fishtail (London and Syracuse lekythoi) or a complete lion only (Philadelphia kyathos). On both lekythoi Thetis holds a small dolphin or dolphin-like fish.<sup>585</sup> The picture in London has a tree, the one in Syracuse an altar. Each lekythos has a Nereid turned to the right.

Trojan or related themes seem not to have been favoured by the Theseus Painter. The lekythos Berlin 2005 (Cat. no. 144, pl. 46 c) illustrates the Judgement of Paris. A striking iconographic detail, probably without parallel, is Hermes' apparent attempt to prevent Paris from fleeing.<sup>586</sup> Another lekythos, Athens, NM 9684, features Polyxena at the fountain (Cat. no. 139, pl. 44 a-b),<sup>587</sup> which was one of the most common subjects of the Athena Painter.<sup>588</sup> In composition and details, moreover, the Theseus Painter's picture is very close the Athena Painter's: Polyxena and Achilles gesture similarly, the fountain is comparable, with a bird (raven) on top. Only a few, small stylistic features separate the versions by the two painters; note especially the incising of the lion-head spouts and the birds as well as the more curving branches of the Theseus Painter's tree, behind which Achilles crouches in ambush.

In addition, Odysseus appears three times in the work of the Theseus Painter. The blinding of Polyphemos occurs on the oinochoe Louvre F 342 (Cat. no. 165, pl. 52 c-d). The episode is in itself quite rare in Attic black-figure,<sup>589</sup> and the Theseus Painter's presentation is highly unusual. Two of Polyphemos' adversaries

<sup>583</sup> For the very similar schemes of Perseus approaching the Gorgons and of Perseus fleeing from them see LIMC VII, s.v. 'Perseus', nos. 100-106, nos. 137-147. Also K. Schauenburg, *Perseus in der Kunst des Altertums* (Bonn 1960) 19-55. Compare also the skyphoi by the Painter of Rodin 1000 (Cat. nos. N39-41); see esp. Mercklin, *Werkstatt*.

<sup>584</sup> LIMC VII, s.v. 'Peleus', nos. 78-168.

<sup>585</sup> Compare Basle, Cahn coll. HC 909, Athena Painter; Kreuzer, *Zeichner*, 115, no. 122, where a Nereid holds a similar, small dolphin.

<sup>586</sup> LIMC I, s.v. 'Alexandros', nos. 7-14; LIMC VII, s.v. 'Paridis Judicium', 5-21, esp. the description of Berlin 2005 (Cat. no. 144). See also C. Clairmont, *Das Parisurteil in der antiken Kunst* (Zürich 1951) 39-44; I. Raab, *Zu den Darstellungen des Parisurteils in der griechischen Kunst* (Frankfurt 1972).

<sup>587</sup> Brommer, *Vasenlisten*<sup>3</sup>, 357-61; LIMC I, s.v. 'Achilles', nos. 206-81; LIMC VII, s.v. 'Polyxene', nos. 8-20, among which, a lekythos near the Theseus Painter, London 1878-1.20 (B 542) (ABL 254.2). See also C. Zindel, *Drei vorhomerische Sagenversionen in der griechischen Kunst* (Diss. Basel 1974) 33-49, 113-14.

<sup>588</sup> See n. 530; Louvre F 366; Munich 1906; Karlsruhe B 27; Basle, Cahn coll.; Amsterdam 3737; once Roman market (twice); Toledo, Ohio 47.62; Muzzano, private coll.; Washington WU 3278. All by the Athena Painter.

<sup>589</sup> See F. Brommer, *Odysseus*, 61-64. Also Brommer, *Vasenlisten*<sup>3</sup>, 436-37; LIMC VI, s.v. 'Kyklops', nos. 17-23; LIMC VI, s.v.

burn out his eye instead of stabbing it as regularly seen in vase-painting.<sup>590</sup> This exceptional means of blinding the giant can firstly be deduced from the dilute clay-paint found above the area of the pole's impact in the eye, as dilute clay-paint is generally a sign of either water or fire. Secondly, the figure on the left places another pole into a fire, presumably to set it alight rather than, for instance, to harden it.<sup>591</sup> The Theseus Painter's other two pictures of Odysseus illustrate his escape from Polyphemos, hidden under sheep (New York, White and Levi collection; Oxford 1934.327; Cat. nos. 32, 141, pls. 15 a, 45 a-c).<sup>592</sup>

Two other scenes, while seemingly referring to a specific mythological context, miss narrative key elements by which they can actually be identified as such. Greifswald 197 (Cat. no. 35, pl. 15 b) has three sirens playing a lyre<sup>593</sup> and auloi; a single male bystander acts as audience. A comparable subject is found in San Antonio 86.134.54 (Cat. no. 128, pl. 39 d-f), although composed slightly differently: a siren with lyre stands on a rock, between two men wearing mantles and leaning on sticks, like the lone bystander of the Greifswald skyphos.<sup>594</sup> Although the sirens might suggest a context associated with Oidipous, E. Hofstetter rejects the possibility. She also doubts the correctness of E. Buschor's interpretation of them as "Plastische Denkmäler" of graves, with the mantle figures representing the dead.<sup>595</sup> In Hofstetter's opinion, the rocks on which the sirens stand should not be regarded as stelai but rather as bases or simply rocks. Indeed, the shapeless objects on which the Theseus Painter's sirens are placed hardly look like stelai. And the sirens of most of the Athena Painter's more numerous illustrations of the subject, which are nearly identical to the one by the Theseus Painter in San Antonio, perch on structures which resemble a base or column.<sup>596</sup> Hofstetter concludes that these scenes of sirens are more like those connected with Athena in which owls or cocks are put on pillars; moreover, the sirens may refer to an "allgemein kultisch-dämonisches Bereich".

## 2. Amazon or Arimasp

Two of the Theseus Painter's skyphoi are notable not only for their curious subject but also for the subject's even more remarkable execution: Boston 99.523, and Guardia Perticara (Cat. nos. 6, 10, pls. 3 a, 5 a, fig. 28 a-b). On each skyphos a female is mounted on a lion. She wears a 'Thracian' cap and tight suit (chequered in Boston) and holds a bow and quiver. Furthermore, she confronts a very strange-looking animal with a griffin-like head (wolf, donkey, bat or rabbit have also been suggested),<sup>597</sup> which breathes fire. The monster has a

'Odysseus', nos. 88-99. It is also seen on a Boeotian skyphos of Heron Class shape: Berlin 3283 (ABL 253.16, near the Theseus Painter); B. Andreae, *Herakles*, 191 fig. 42, 193-94; Sparkes, *Taste*, 123; K. Kilinski II, *Boeotian Black Figure Vase Painting of the Archaic Period* (Mainz 1990) 1-2, n. 8.

<sup>590</sup> As the three visible opponents of Polyphemos are not distinguished by dress or attribute, it is impossible to identify Odysseus among them.

<sup>591</sup> The possibility that the two actions (the hardening of the pole and the stabbing or burning of Polyphemos' eye) are two different episodes performed by the same people conflated into one panel is unlikely. Apart from two vases with the Deeds of Theseus (Cat. nos. 76, 136, pls. 32 b, 43 a-b), the Theseus Painter never employed this 'comic strip' technique; moreover, the Deeds of Theseus are distinctly separate occurrences, whereas the blinding of Polyphemos is only one. If these are indeed two separate scenes of one episode, furthermore, we would expect each scene to have the same number of participants: in this case two men who harden the pole or, alternatively, only one man who attacks Polyphemos. H. Fronig apparently sees the picture as episodic, in 'Anfänge der kontinuierlichen Bilderzählung in der griechischen Kunst', *JdI* 103 (1988) 189, fig. 215-216.

<sup>592</sup> See Brommer, *Odysseus*, 65-68. Also Brommer, *Vasenlisten*<sup>3</sup>, 437-39; LIMC VI, s.v. 'Odysseus', nos. 101-37.

<sup>593</sup> Maas and McIntosh-Snyder, *Stringed Instruments*, 35-39, 79-112, similar to a Chelys lyra.

<sup>594</sup> The San Antonio lekythos has a long history of simultaneous attributions to either the Theseus Painter or the Athena Painter. It can definitely be attributed to the Theseus Painter. See also n. 261.

<sup>595</sup> E. Hofstetter, *Sirenen im archaischen und klassischen Griechenland*, Beiträge zur Archäologie 19 (Würzburg 1990) 118-120; E. Buschor, *Die Musen des Jenseits* (Munich 1944) 39-40, 56-60. For musicians and singers with attendant sirens see H. Gropengiesser, 'Sänger und Sirenen, Versuch einer Deutung', *AA* (1977) 582-610. Further: LIMC VIII, s.v. 'Seirenes', nos. 66-68.

<sup>596</sup> London 1920.3-15.1 (ABL 255.27; Kurtz, *AWL*, pl. 60.1); once Basle market (*MuM* 1964, 24, no. 42; Para 261); Amsterdam 8977 (Para 261; *Gezicht van de oudheid, aanwinsten 1965-1981, Allard Pierson Museum* (Amsterdam 1982) 45-46, no. 50; *CVA*, forthcoming); London B 651, lower part missing (ABL 256.48, pl. 45.5); Bari 2732, with sirens balancing on a tree trunk, no human bystanders (ABL 257.68, pl. 48.2).

<sup>597</sup> See below and n. 602 (Von Bothmer), and the description of side A of the Boston skyphos on the Perseus Project website, <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/cgi-bin/ptext?doc=Perseus:text:1999.04.0043&query=Boston+99.523>.



round body decorated with a white-black chequered pattern and two hoof-like feet.<sup>598</sup> Between the two figures there is a tree; and, in Boston, there is a snake on the ground. The woman has often been identified as an amazon.<sup>599</sup> If the monster is indeed a griffin, a problem arises: in vase painting, without exception, amazons and griffins in combat are only known from the fourth century B.C.<sup>600</sup> Perhaps these skyphos pictures are additional instances of the Theseus Painter's depiction of rare or even otherwise unknown subjects, although in this particular case there may be another explanation. The woman possibly represents one of the Arimasps, a mythological people who lived north of the Black Sea and fought griffins to get their gold.<sup>601</sup> Von Bothmer doubts such an identification, however.<sup>602</sup>

Of the vases with Arimasps, apparently only two other examples are black-figure; their representations, however, are not comparable to those of the Theseus Painter. An Attic lip-cup shows a griffin and a running man with a Thracian cap and a tool or weapon resembling a pick-axe.<sup>603</sup> The second example is a Boeotian black-figure silhouette cup on which a griffin-like monster fights a male supplied with club and mantle.<sup>604</sup> All other portrayals of Arimasps in vase painting, like those of amazons and griffins, are much later, mainly fourth century B.C. onwards, and, furthermore, seem to have little in common with the Theseus Painter's depictions.<sup>605</sup> In addition, his round-bodied monster finds no parallel in Attic vase painting. On the other hand, the fowl-like birds of some other Heron Class skyphoi have a somewhat comparable form, sometimes with similarly chequered bodies. The resemblances, however, might be purely accidental.<sup>606</sup>

In the initial publication of the Guardia Perticara skyphos, the subject receives a very different interpretation: "It [the skyphos] presents a rare depiction of the monster Lamia (with the head of a wolf, a large oval body and horse hooves) confronted by a figure with an eastern style skullcap, armed with a bow and riding a lion. [...] This is probably a 'lord of the animals' scene, with possible chthonic and underworld qualities, fighting against evil forces."<sup>607</sup> Apart from the vagueness of the explanation, there seems more often to be a tendency to assign the name Lamia to any exceptional or weird monster, as in the case of the unknown female creature led by Herakles, discussed in the following chapter (Cat. nos. 15-16, pl. 7 a-c).<sup>608</sup>

Possibly the scenes of the Boston and Guardia Perticara skyphoi combine stories about amazons and Arimasps, supplemented with elements stemming from the Theseus Painter's imagination. It may also be, of course, that they have their origins in a source or story which has been lost. The subject on the reverse side of each skyphos (pl. 3 b, side B of Boston illustrated only) seems unrelated to the obverse: a lion behind a tree, ready to attack a herd of four alternately black and white oxen.<sup>609</sup> The subject, composition and style are very

<sup>598</sup> The exaggerated, almost caricatural features of the griffin may remind one of theatre. See also Herakles leading a monster in the section on Herakles.

<sup>599</sup> Caskey, *Geometry*, 150-51; ABL 250,26; V. Bothmer, *Amazons*, 110, no. 197; E.A.A. VII, 752-53.

<sup>600</sup> Not mentioned in Bothmer, *Amazons*. See LIMC I, s.v. 'Amazones', nos. 565-69.

<sup>601</sup> H. Palmer, 'The Lady and the Monster', *Archaeology* 6 (1953) 180.

<sup>602</sup> Bothmer, *Amazons*, 110, no. 197: "This is a very odd scene. A female archer dressed in a cross-hatched garment with sleeves and trousers and a rounded oriental cap is mounted on a roaring lion. She is shooting at a chequered monster with the body of an overgrown fowl and the head of a bat. This monster seems to breathe fire. [...] Miss Palmer [...] has thought of an early version of the Arimasps. I do not know what is meant, but should like to point out that the trousers are wide at the ankles instead of narrow: in contemporary r.f. this would preclude an amazon."

<sup>603</sup> Angers, Mus. Pincé M.T.C. 1006 (LIMC VIII, s.v. 'Arimaspoi', no. 2, pl. 340).

<sup>604</sup> London 1931.2-16.22 (LIMC VII, s.v. 'Arimaspoi', no. 3; LIMC V, s.v. 'Herakles', 2840; J. Boardman, 'A Monstrous Pet', in *Stips Votiva*, 7-10.

<sup>605</sup> LIMC VII, s.v. 'Arimaspoi', nos. 2-51. None has an Arimasps riding a lion or a creature that resembles the round bodied one of the Theseus Painter's skyphoi.

<sup>606</sup> Compare Tarquinia 614 (L. Campus, *Ceramica Attica a figure nere, piccoli vasi e vasi plastici, Materiali del Museo Archeologico Nazionale Tarquinia* II, Rome 1981, 95-99, no. 65, pl. 63); once Gallatin coll. (CVA Hoppin and Gallatin, pl. 8.6); Agora P 16766 (Vanderpool, *Shaft*, 293, no. 79, pl. 43; *Agora XXIII*, no. 1618).

<sup>607</sup> *Treasures from the South of Italy, Greeks and Indigenous People in Basilicata*, 18 June-15 Nov. 1998, Ancienne Douane Strassbourg, 241.

<sup>608</sup> It is remarkable, on the other hand, that the scene of the above-mentioned Boeotian silhouette cup has also been associated with Herakles and the monster. Possibly there is a connection between both subjects. As explained below, moreover, an Apulian vase shows a hero fighting a very similar monster, and the subject has been associated with a theatrical performance. Do the Theseus Painter's Boston, Guardia Perticara, Acropolis and Monopoli skyphoi also refer to theatre?

<sup>609</sup> A picture of this side, which has otherwise not been published, can be seen on the internet <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/cgi-bin/image?lookup=Perseus:image:1990.24.0330>. A link with that site is also established in the *Beazley Archive Pottery Database*,

close to two skyphos pictures attributed to the Krokotos Painter, confirming further the strong tie between him and the Theseus Painters.<sup>610</sup>

### 3. 'Heroes at a mound'

Two skyphoi and a kyathos (Naples 81159, once Basle market, New York 1982.27.6, Cat. nos. 33-34, 200, pl. 14) depict two warriors seated on stools placed on either side of a rounded, rocklike structure, resembling a mound, on which birds (often identified as eagles) perch. On one side of the Naples skyphos a single eagle devours a snake, on the opposite side a hare (Cat. no. 33, pl. 14 a-b). Eagles confront one another on the Basle market skyphos and the New York kyathos (Cat. nos. 34, 200, pl. 14 c-d). The mound of the former shows a deer or snakes in added white, that of the latter a white dog. The New York kyathos remains unpublished.<sup>611</sup> In the Basel sales catalogue the subject is regarded as heroes waiting for an oracle.<sup>612</sup> An earlier publication similarly argues in favour of an oracular reference, like pictures of the omphalos at Delphi.<sup>613</sup> In contrast, Eisman suggests that it might be better to regard the pictures as 'funerary', although he is not very sure.<sup>614</sup> Rather similarly, V. Brinkmann sees a scene laden with funerary symbolism. In her opinion, the mound is a tomb which is being guarded by the deceased's companions, the vanquished dead being symbolised by the deer, hare and snake, and the fight in which he was killed by the birds of prey in combination with the three species they hunt.<sup>615</sup> Although Brinkmann's search for symbolism may be a bit exaggerated (especially as a hare and snake are not seen in Cat. no. 34, pl. 14 c-d), the identification of the subject as a tomb guarded by companions (either mythological or human) seems quite sensible.

Besides nearly identical pictures by the Athena Painter and the Haimon Painter,<sup>616</sup> the picture of an askos in Boston (13.169) is comparable.<sup>617</sup> An additional feature on that vase is the warrior emerging from the top of the similarly shaped mound. J.R. Green identifies the figure as a dead hero's ghost rising from the grave, a motif which recalls Aeschylos' *Persae*.<sup>618</sup>

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under vase number 330676.

<sup>610</sup> St. Petersburg B 402 (Gorunova, *Ermitazhe*, 52-3, no. 33); London 1920.2-16.3 (Ure, *Krokotos*, 90, no. 4, pl. IV). Compare also the skyphos Athens, NM 12532, with a similar subject, related to the Krokotos Painter (Ure, *Krokotos*, 90, no. 5, V; *CVA* 4, pl. 31).

<sup>611</sup> Eisman, *Kyathos*, 473-76, no. 134, attributed to near the Theseus Painter.

<sup>612</sup> *MuM* 51, 14-5 May 1975, 53-54, no. 134: "Die Helden vor der Schlacht, die ein dramatisches Geschehen im Tierreich beobachten und seinen Ausgang als göttlichen Urteilspruch über ihr eigenes Schicksal deuten, erinnern an ein ähnliches Tierorakel aus dem 2. Gesang der Ilias (301 ff.): Als die Achaier ihre Schiffe bei Aulis gesammelt hatten und vor der Ausfahrt gegen Troja den Göttern opferten, sahen sie, wie eine riesige Schlange unter dem Altar hervorkroch, sich an einem Ahorn emporschlängelte und ein Spatzennest mit acht Jungen ausräuberte. Als neunte verschlang sie die Vogelmutter. Als dies geschehen war, wurde die Schlange vor den Augen der staunenden Achaier zu Stein. Kalchas der Seher deutete das Zeichen: Neun Jahre würden die Griechen und Troja Krieg führen, doch im zehnten die prächtige Stadt erobern."

<sup>613</sup> J.E. Harrison, 'Delphika', *JHS* 19 (1899) 205-51, esp. 227-30.

<sup>614</sup> Eisman, *Kyathos*, 476. See also A.J.N.W. Prag, *The Oresteia, Iconographic and Narrative Tradition* (Warminster and Chicago 1985) 80.

<sup>615</sup> Brinkmann, *Siphnierschatzhaus*, 83-84. See also M. Schmidt, 'Adler und Schlange', *Boreas* 6 (1983) 61-67, esp. 62, n. 2; E. Grabow, *Schlangensbilder in der griechischen schwarzfigurigen Vasenkunst* (Münster 1998) 70, supporting Harrison's early 'oracle' interpretation.

<sup>616</sup> Athena Painter: Gela, Nocera coll. (*ABL* 256.41, unpublished); Palermo, Mormino coll. (*CVA* 1, pl. 18.1-3, arrangement is rather close to the Theseus Painter's Basle skyphos). Haimon Painter: London B 641 (*ABL* 242.37, unpublished).

<sup>617</sup> *ARV* 188.59; not in either *ARV*<sup>2</sup> or *Para*.

<sup>618</sup> Green, *Theatre*, 35.

## 4. Satyrs<sup>619</sup> and maenads

The Theseus Painter's only relatively conventional pictures of a thiasos with Dionysos and satyrs appear on either side of London B 513 (Cat. no. 166, pl. 53 a-c).<sup>620</sup> A more common theme of the painter consists of satyrs making music, for which see Syracuse 26857, once Basle Market,<sup>621</sup> Eleusis 314, Louvre Cp 108.56 and Malibu 71.AE.29 (Cat. nos. 1, 37, 110, 118, 150, pls. 1 a-b, 15 c-d, 47 a-b). On the skyphoi, the satyrs are generally arranged in groups of two or three, playing lyres, trumpets and auloi.<sup>622</sup> The Malibu pelike has only two auloi-playing satyrs.

More than once it has been proposed that such scenes of satyrs may very possibly represent satyr-plays. But as J.R. Green rightly points out it is usually difficult to distinguish in vase painting between actors dressed up as satyrs and mythological satyrs/silenoi.<sup>623</sup> In some instances the figures are obviously humans wearing satyr costumes, in others the nature of the figures is much less certain. Ultimately, the main criterion for identifying a satyr-play seems to be the representation's context.<sup>624</sup> E. Simon agrees and sees a satyr-play in scenes where the satyrs' behaviour is out of the ordinary because they are furnished with kitharai, trumpets (Syracuse 26857, Cat. no. 1, pl. 1 a-b, fig. 1 a-b), peltai<sup>625</sup> or sports equipment instead of being more conventionally occupied with preparing or drinking wine.<sup>626</sup>

The skyphos once in the Basle market (Cat. no. 37, pl. 15 c-d) has an additional trait that might argue in favour of a satyr-play: the white beard of the central lyre-playing satyr. The white beard has been seen as indicative of the Papposilenos – the leader of the satyr-chorus.<sup>627</sup> But it might just as well be a trick on the part of the Theseus Painter to introduce some variation into an otherwise repetitive composition. Nevertheless, the identification of the central satyr as Papposilenos must be correct,<sup>628</sup> as the white beard is not repeated on another satyr by the Theseus Painter, and it can hardly be coincidental that it seems so neatly suited to the expected iconography of the Papposilenos.

One of the Theseus Painter's lekythoi, once in a German private collection (Cat. no. 133, pl. 41 d-e), shows another curious scene of satyrs. A satyr seated on a rock writes with a stylus (?) on a tablet (?), flanked by satyrs leading goats. Beazley described it as "numbering the flock".<sup>629</sup> Blümel had earlier compared it to the picture of one of the Eucharides Painter's pelike (Oxford 563).<sup>630</sup> One side shows a satyr seated on a rock, a goat, a standing satyr and, in front, a figure said to be Hermes. The seated satyr holds an object which has been variously identified<sup>631</sup> and, he resembles the satyr with stylus and tablet on the lekythos in Germany.

<sup>619</sup> For the discussion whether these creatures are satyrs or silenoi see Hedreen, *Silens*; *id.*, 'Silens, Nymphs and Maenads', *JHS* 114 (1994) 47-69. For the sake of convenience – and because many of the scenes mentioned below may actually represent the satyr-play – the name 'satyr' (though possibly erroneous) is maintained by me. For older opinions see, for example, F. Brommer, *Satyroi* (Würzburg 1937).

<sup>620</sup> Maybe also the Collisani lekythos (Cat. no. 134, pl. 42 a-c).

<sup>621</sup> Compare also the Budapest skyphos, near the Theseus Painter (Cat. no. N50), with a similar scene.

<sup>622</sup> This seems often to be the standard number; see *LIMC* VIII, s.v. 'Silenoi', nos. 92-107.

<sup>623</sup> Green, *Theatre*, 44-45. See also F. Brommer, *Satyrs*, esp. 18-19, 38; J.D. Beazley, 'Hydria Fragments in Corinth', *Hesperia* 24 (1955) 311-12; Szilágyi, *Satyrs*, 359-370; Hedreen, *Silens*, 105-178, esp. 105-124; Malagardis, *Skyphoi*.

<sup>624</sup> As Green remarks, the same applies to the "detection and interpretation [of] pictures deriving from tragedy."

<sup>625</sup> See, for example, the following Pyrrhic satyrs: Athens, NM 18567 (*ABL* 255.20; *ABV* 520; Beazley *Addenda* 130); London 1864.10-7.248 (*ABL* 260.136; *BCH* 92, 1968, 584, fig. 35). See also Karouzou, *Satyroi*, 58-71.

<sup>626</sup> E. Simon, 'Satyr-plays on Vases in the Time of Aeschylus', in D.C. Kurtz and B.A. Sparkes, *The Eye of Greece, Studies in the Art of Athens* (Cambridge 1982) 123-24. She also points out the apparent correlation between the first appearance of the satyr-play and of vases with possible representations of the satyr-play. According to Brommer, depictions of the Papposilenos generally appear only later on in the 5th century; Brommer, *Satyrs*, 38. Several of the Theseus Painter's other vases are included in Brommer's list: Brommer, *Satyrs*, nos. 61a and 81 (both referring to Naples 81154, Cat. no. 24, pl. 11 a-d, Herakles and satyrs), 158a (German private coll., lekythos, Cat. no. 133, pl. 41 d-e), 159 (Bologna C 44, Cat. no. 9, pl. 4, Hermes and satyrs). Supplementary list, in Brommer, *Huckepack*, no. 211a (Malibu 71.AE.297, Cat. no. 150, pl. 47 a-c). See further, C. Blümel, *Antike Kunstwerke* (Berlin 1953), 16-17, fig. 9; Bieber, *Theater*, 16, fig. 50; Buschor, *Satyrtänze*, esp. 40.

<sup>627</sup> E. Simon, *ibid.* preceding n., 142.

<sup>628</sup> See also the above-mentioned rather theatrical hairy satyr of London 1902.12-18.3 (Cat. no. 18, pl. 8 d-e).

<sup>629</sup> *ABV* 518.3.

<sup>630</sup> *ABV* 396.21, "subject unexplained", 696; *Para* 173; Brommer, *Satyrs*, no. 158.

<sup>631</sup> Musical instrument (T.H. Price), box and 'abacus' (Beazley); *JHS* 28 (1908) 314-15; *CVA* Oxford 2, pl. 8.7-8; *AJA* 75 (1971) 432.



The subject of each of these pictures is probably similar, if not the same. Brommer proposed that the Theseus Painter's lekythos illustrates a satyr-play,<sup>632</sup> which may well be the case. Once again, however, like so many of the Theseus Painter's portrayals, it is without parallel and cannot therefore be easily defined with certainty. Perhaps the Theseus Painter (as well as the Eucharides Painter) simply gave his imagination free rein.

Elsewhere, the Theseus Painter connected satyrs with deer. In the tondo of London B 446 (Cat. no. 173, pl. 55 e) a satyr sexually engages a deer.<sup>633</sup> On the skyphos Lecce 560 (Cat. no. 38, pl. 16 c-d) two frontal-faced satyrs stand behind deer and gesture as if dancing;<sup>634</sup> compare also a skyphos fragment in Basle (Cahn collection, HC 1405, Cat. no. 39, pl. 16 b), preserving the frontal-heads of two satyrs. On the Kanellopoulos skyphos satyrs appear together with deer as well as with hares (Cat. no. 78, pl. 33 a-b, side A with hare only).

The skyphos fragments Acropolis 1290 (Cat. no. 77, pl. 32 c-f) illustrate satyrs treading grapes, probably while a goddess and possibly Dionysos look on.<sup>635</sup> The subject is, of course, well known in Attic vase-painting.<sup>636</sup> Sometimes Dionysos or others are included; as a rule, however, the satyrs are alone. Generally comparable are satyrs who gather grapes. Much rarer are the pictures of humans making wine.<sup>637</sup>

Parts of satyrs can further be seen on several fragments: Delos, Cambridge AG 320, Athens Na 1959 NAK 740 and Na 1960 NAK 211 (Cat. nos. 93, 111, 118, pl. 36 l). Because of the poor state of preservation, the activities of the satyrs cannot be determined.

Curiously, the Theseus Painter rarely depicted maenads. The Winchester skyphos (Cat. no. 4, pl. 1 c-d) has confronting maenads mounted on goats, separated by a central tree in front of which there is yellow heron.<sup>638</sup>

<sup>632</sup> Brommer, *Satyrspiele*, no 158a.

<sup>633</sup> Compare Athens, NM 22833, type A1 skyphos; *CVA* 4, pl. 23.3-4; *LIMC* VIII, s.v. 'Silenoi', no. 52, same subject. See also F. Lissarrague, 'Les satyres et le monde animal', *ProcCopenhagen*, 335-348, esp. 345-346.

<sup>634</sup> Compare two (later) red-figure pictures of satyrs standing behind donkeys; *LIMC* VIII, s.v. 'Silenoi', nos. 58-58a.

<sup>635</sup> Attributed by Haspels to the Theseus Painter's workshop *ABL* 253,13, although she added that in the list "several may be pieces by his own hand." Compare the incising of the legs of the satyr of St. Petersburg 4498 (Cat. no. 71, pl. 30 a-c).

<sup>636</sup> For extensive lists of vintage satyrs see most recently Hedreen, *Silens*, 185-86; earlier D.A. Amyx, 'The Attic Stelai, Part III', *Hesperia* 27 (1958) 244-45; J.M. Hemelrijk, 'The Gela Painter in the Allard Pierson Museum', *BABesch* 49 (1974) 153-55; B.A. Sparkes, 'Treading the Grapes', *BABesch* 51 (1976) 47-56. See also the forthcoming Amsterdam *CVA* which will give additions. See further G. Hagenow, *Aus dem Weingarten der Antike* (Mainz 1982) 208-23; W.G. Moon (ed.), *Ancient Greek Art and Iconography* (Wisconsin 1983) 110-13; T.H. Carpenter, *Dionysian Imagery in Archaic Greek Art, Its Development in Black-figure Vase Painting* (Oxford 1986) 92-94; A. Schöne, *Der Thiasos, Eine ikonographische Untersuchung über das Gefolge des Dionysos in der attischen Vasenmalerei des 6. und 5. Jhs. v. Chr.* (Göteborg 1987) 121-28; *Kunst der Schale*, 325-35; Bothmer, *Amasis*, 113-18; *Amasis Papers*, 106-110; *Cité des Images*, 130-31; F. Lissarrague, *Un flot d'Images: un esthétisme du banquet grec* (Paris 1987) 18-22; H. Metzger (ed.), *Fouilles de Xanthos* vol. IV, *Les céramiques archaïques et classiques de l'acropole lycienne* (Paris 1972) 121-22; *LIMC* III, s.v. 'Dionysos', nos. 404-409.

<sup>637</sup> See Bochum S 1075, Vintage Painter, with the earliest known vintage scene in Attic vase painting (Brijder, *Siana Cups* I, 188, 260, no. 255, pl. 48; A.N. Malagardis, *ArchEph* 1988, 127, fig. 11c; N. Kunisch (ed.), *Symposion, Vasen aus dem Antikenmuseum der Ruhr-Universität Bochum*, Cologne 1989, 48-49 no. 19). See also Louvre AM 1008 (*CVA* 4, pl. 29.3-4; Bothmer, *Amasis*, 117, fig. 72); Acropolis 2560 (*ABV* 337,32; *Beazley Addenda* 92; E. Holmberg, *On the Rycroft Painter and other Athenian Black-Figure Vase-Painters with a Feeling for Nature*, *Jonsered* 1992, 40, fig. 28, Rycroft Painter), which is also compared to Berlin, 'Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte' (J.D. Beazley, *AJA* 39, 1935, 476-77, fig. 2), Cab. des Médailles. 324 (*CVA* 2, pl. 82.4 ('Silènes Vendageurs'), Hedreen, *Silens*, no. 26, 'silens or youths making wine'); a human vintage is perhaps also seen in Acropolis 1262 a-c (Graef and Langlotz, *Akropolis*, drawing on 140). See also A.N. Malagardis, *Monde Rural*, 125-29.

<sup>638</sup> *LIMC* VIII, s.v. 'Mainades', nos. 83-99. See also S. Moraw, *Die Mänade in der attischen Vasenmalerei des 6. und 5. Jahrhunderts v. Chr., Rezeptionsästhetische Analyse eines antiken Weiblichkeitsentwurfs* (Mainz 1998) 169, who remarks that maenads on goats are derived from the motif of maenads on bulls; maenads and goats are linked only when Dionysos is also present. She does not mention the Winchester skyphos.

# XI. HERAKLES AND THESEUS

## 1. Introduction

The majority of the Theseus Painter's mythological pictures show the two main heroes found in Athenian vase painting: Herakles and Theseus. By far the most numerous and most varied of them, however, are Heraklean. Herakles appears in 34 of the Theseus Painter's 211 pieces, as identified in Table 12. Many of these scenes are somewhat exceptional: the subject is found seldom or not at all outside the Theseus Painter or his direct vicinity (White Heron Group, Athena Painter, etc.), or the depiction is among the earliest instances of that particular Heraklean theme.

Most of the Theseus Painter's representations of Herakles betray a tendency towards a 'renewal' of the hero's iconography, as also seems to happen in the work of several other painters from around 500 B.C. Although it is of course impossible to establish whether the Theseus Painter actually introduced one or more of these subjects, he consistently seems to belong chronologically to the group of painters who evidently depicted them for the first time. On the other hand, he also portrayed Herakles in more usual episodes, although he did so comparatively much less often.

The Theseus Painter evidently preferred to give Herakles a non-active role, often reclining or otherwise resting, rarely performing a heroic act. Therefore, not surprisingly, the painter's depictions of the twelve labours are few. Herakles and the lion are seen twice only: Lagunillas skyphos (Cat. no. 11, pl. 5 b), with Herakles fighting the lion in the kneeling scheme, and formerly the Peyrefitte collection (Cat. no. 146, pl. 46 f), where both combatants stand (Herakles looking round) and an onlooker in a long mantle grasps a flower. Thasos 1117 (Cat. no. 89, pl. 35 n) preserves part of a leg and Herakles' lion skin as well as a pair of hind legs, which would belong to a deer. Perhaps the subject was Herakles and the hind. A very small fragment from the Athenian Acropolis shows partial white birds (Cat. no. 88, pl. 35 m). Graef and Langlotz as well as Haspels proposed that the subject was Herakles and the birds. Although the fragment's very small size and the lack of further identifying clues might make the interpretation seem far-fetched, it gains some plausibility when the fragment is compared to a partial cup from ancient Smyrna, decorated in Six's technique, which shows comparable birds and part of what might be Herakles.<sup>639</sup>

On the other hand, definitely identifiable as one of Herakles' twelve labours is the subject of Amsterdam 2604 (Cat. no. 12, pl. 5 c-e). Each side of this fragmentary skyphos has Herakles leading Kerberos with a rope to the right. Hades stands on the left side behind Kerberos, the foot of Hermes might be visible in front of one of Herakles' feet.<sup>640</sup> In the view of Von Bothmer, London 1926.11-15.1 (Cat. no. 17, pl. 8 a-c) represents Herakles fighting Andromache and another amazon.<sup>641</sup>

The Theseus Painter's evident lack of interest in Herakles' labours is hardly exceptional, however. Other late black-figure painters were apparently equally uninterested in these stories, as they seem rarely to have chosen them. Moreover, their representations often include uncommon details. Four vases attributed to the Athena Painter, for example, feature Herakles and the lion,<sup>642</sup> but in three instances the lion crouches in the

<sup>639</sup> Y. Tuna-Nörling, *Die Ausgrabungen von Alt-Smyrna und Pitane, Die attisch-schwarzfigurige Keramik und der attische Keramikexport nach Kleinasien* (Tübingen 1995) 34-35, no. 145, pl. 9. See also LIMC V, s.v. 'Herakles', nos. 2241-45, with similar compositions, but no completely white birds. No known vase of the Theseus Painter is in Six's technique. However, at least one skyphos of Heron Class type is in this technique, with an acrobatic drinker, Malibu 76.AE.127 (Cat. no. N65). See further J. Burnet-Grossman, 'Six's Technique at the Getty', *GVGettyMus* 5 (1991) 17-19, fig. 2 a-c, also n. 19, 24 nos. 94-97.

<sup>640</sup> For black-figure vases with this composition, see LIMC IV, s.v. 'Hades', nos. 139-45; LIMC V, s.v. 'Herakles', nos. 2592-98. Compare also a skyphos close to the Theseus Painter, in the Sub-krokotos Group, possibly even by the Painter of Philadelphia 5481 with a scene of Herakles in the underworld (Cat. no. N36).

<sup>641</sup> Bothmer, *Amazons*, 49, no. 127, pl. 40. Haspels (*ABL* 253,3) assigns the vase to near the Theseus Painter; in my opinion it is by his hand.

<sup>642</sup> Taranto 1414, *ABL* 254,4 (E. de Juliis and D. Loiacono, *Taranto, Il Museo Archeologico*, Taranto 1985, 240, no. 273); Washington Univ. WU 3279 (*ABV* 522,5; K. Herbert and S. Symeonoglou, *Ancient Collections in Washington University, St. Louis Miss.*, 1973, 14, fig. 18-19); Okayama (E. Simon, *The Kurashiki Ninagawa Museum, Greek, Etruscan, and Roman Antiquities*, Mainz 1982, 73-74, no. 32); London 1928.1-117 (*ABL* 259,113).

entrance of a cave, a scheme which is otherwise met only in much later red-figure.<sup>643</sup> The Athena Painter's other pictures of the labours include Herakles and the bull (three times),<sup>644</sup> Herakles and the birds (once)<sup>645</sup> and one amazonomachy.<sup>646</sup> Likewise, neither the Krokotos Group nor other painters near the Theseus Painter frequently depicted Herakles' deeds: once Herakles and the deer,<sup>647</sup> once Herakles and Kerberos<sup>648</sup> and twice Herakles and the Hydra, a subject which the Theseus Painter seems not to have illustrated.<sup>649</sup>

The Theseus Painter also depicted a few other Heraklean subjects which are not among the twelve labours but which are nevertheless fairly common in Attic vase painting. Once we see Herakles fighting a sea monster (human body and fishtail, Marseilles 7017, Cat. no. 23, pl. 10 c-d).<sup>650</sup> On a rim fragment of a skyphos (Navplion Museum, Cat. no. 91, pl. 36 b) the hero is preceded by an auloi-playing satyr. Although no direct, recognisable parallel can be cited, Herakles is occasionally seen playing music in a Dionysian context.<sup>651</sup>

In contrast, notwithstanding the name Haspels gave to the Theseus Painter, he rarely portrayed his namesake, as remarked above. In fact, Theseus is found on only six vases decorated by the painter.<sup>652</sup> Moreover, the deeds of Theseus that the painter chose are generally not especially common in Attic black-figure. An exception – the oinochoe Petit Palais 313 (Cat. no. 167, pl. 53 d-e) – shows one of the most usual stories of Theseus in Attic black-figure, which is met more than 40 times: Theseus and the bull. Only Theseus fighting the minotaur occurs more often.<sup>653</sup>

The next two sections deal with the Theseus Painter's rare or otherwise unusual scenes in which Herakles and Theseus are the main protagonists.

## 2. Herakles

Both sides of Taranto 4447 (Cat. no. 13, pl. 6a-b) feature Herakles and Helios. The god is portrayed as a youth on one side, and as bearded on the other; he has a yellow sun disk above his head and a frontal *biga* with winged horses. The two figures of Herakles differ substantially: on one side, he is seated on the shore, with raised right hand, and seems to greet Helios; on the other, he climbs up the same shore looking round at Helios. Although Herakles is not aiming his bow (on side B he even has no bow at all), two arrows stick out of Helios' body. In black-figure, fewer than 20 vases portray Helios similarly, placed frontally in a *biga*.

<sup>643</sup> See LIMC V, s.v. 'Herakles', nos. 1889-92, the red-figure vases are generally later than 450 B.C.

<sup>644</sup> Bonn 538 (ABV 523); Athens, NM 1132 (ABL 256,50; ABV 522; Para 260; Berlin ST. 4982,9 (Para 261).

<sup>645</sup> Vienna 1841 (ABL 256,53; ABV 522).

<sup>646</sup> Palermo 142, (ABL 256,51)

<sup>647</sup> Vatican 454 (Ure, *Krokotos*, 97, no. 6; Para 95<sup>5</sup>).

<sup>648</sup> In any event, Herakles in the underworld, see Cat. no. N36.

<sup>649</sup> Athens, NM 416 (CVA Athens 4, pl. 32, Krokotos/sub-Krokotos Group); Agrigento (ABL 254,2 "in the manner of the Theseus Painter"; ABV 521; Para 259).

<sup>650</sup> See S. B. Luce, 'Herakles and the Old Man of the Sea', *AJA* 26 (1922) 174-192; R. Glynn, 'Herakles, Nereus and Triton: A Study of Iconography in Sixth Century Athens', *AJA* 85 (1981) 121-132; F. Brommer, 'Herakles und Nereus', in, F. Lissarrague and F. Thélamon (eds.), *Image et céramique grecque, Actes du colloque de Rouen, 25-26 Nov. 1982* (Rouen 1983) 103-109; Ahlberg-Cornell, *Herakles*; J. Boardman, 'Herakles at Sea', in H.U. Cain et al. (eds.), *Festschrift für Nikolaus Himmelmann* (Mainz 1989) 191-95.

<sup>651</sup> See LIMC IV, s.v. 'Herakles', nos. 1472-77. A similar head of Herakles is seen on a small rim fragment of a skyphos from Satyrion (Cat. no. 90, pl. 36 a).

<sup>652</sup> In fact, one of them, the fragment Corinth C-70-33 (Cat. no. 31, pl. 13 f), does not necessarily depict Theseus. It shows the partial head of a bearded man which is grasped by the outstretched hand of a missing opposite figure, towards which, in turn, the first man extends a partial arm, very much like the Prokrustes of Laon 37996 and Toledo 63.27 (Cat. nos. 29-30, pls. 13 a, d). On the other hand, the man may be bending up his arm towards his own head, like the fleeing female of the Toledo and Laon skyphoi. However, no male figure of the Theseus Painter known to me gestures similarly, not even on his loutrophoroi. See also Neils, *Theseus*, 74-77, on the relative rarity of Theseus on the vases of the Theseus Painter compared to his Herakles representations.

<sup>653</sup> For Theseus and the bull in black-figure see Brommer, *Vasenlisten*<sup>3</sup>, 252-54; LIMC VII, s.v. 'Theseus', nos. 178-81, 199. For Theseus and the Minotaur see Brommer, *Vasenlisten*<sup>3</sup>, 227-38; LIMC VII, s.v. 'Theseus', nos. 230-35.



Sometimes Herakles is included, but more often the sun god is alone.<sup>654</sup> The representations of Helios alone are: twice the Gela Painter,<sup>655</sup> three times the Diosphos Painter,<sup>656</sup> five times the Haimon Painter or his Group,<sup>657</sup> once the Beldam Painter,<sup>658</sup> and once unattributed.<sup>659</sup>

The subject's occurrence is limited to a very short period: earliest, about 510 B.C.; latest, in red-figure, about 460 B.C. Regarded as the oldest known Attic illustration of Herakles and Helios is a lekythos picture assigned by Haspels to her Daybreak Painter, who is linked to the Leagros Group. Stylistically, however, the Daybreak Painter seems not to be significantly earlier than the Theseus Painter.<sup>660</sup> Apart from these two black-figure painters, only a few others depicted both Herakles and Helios together: once the Sappho Painter<sup>661</sup> and, once each, two unnamed painters.<sup>662</sup> All the black-figure portrayals, apart from the two by the Theseus Painter, are found on lekythoi. A number of red-figure pictures represent Helios in similar fashion, mounted on a biga, but without Herakles; none is found on a lekythos, all are dated between 480 and 460 B.C.<sup>663</sup>

The next few vases depict an episode that is loosely related to the preceding one. Apparently they show Herakles fighting the giant cowherd Alkyoneus, who stole the cattle of Helios<sup>664</sup> (Taranto 4448, once Athens market, Brussels A 1953, Cat. nos. 14, 109, 135, pls. 6 c, 42 d-e). Regarding the Brussels lekythos, the subject has always been considered fairly certain.<sup>665</sup> Alkyoneus lies asleep as Herakles overpowers him, which is the usual Attic presentation.<sup>666</sup> The Hypnos hovering above the giant clinches the subject's identification.

In contrast, the Taranto and Athens skyphoi are more problematical. It is generally regarded as most acceptable to see the opponents on these skyphoi as actively fighting (wrestling) one another rather than as one (Herakles) tricking the other in his sleep (Alkyoneus). The first view would seem all the more likely because, in contrast to the Herakles of the Taranto and Athens skyphoi, the hero is not portrayed as naked in the certain scenes of his confrontation with the giant. Therefore the subject of these skyphoi has long been instead considered Herakles fighting Antaios. If so, the theme of side B of Taranto 4448 (pl. 6 d), where Hermes is leading cattle, would then be only remotely connected to that of side A: Hermes with the cattle of Geryon.<sup>667</sup> Nonetheless, B. Andreae maintains that the Taranto and Athens skyphoi indeed show Alkyoneus<sup>668</sup> because the attitude of Herakles' opponent seems, in fact, too passive for an active wrestling

<sup>654</sup> See ABL 120-24, nos. 1-15; LIMC V, s.v. 'Helios', nos. 1-11, nos. 95-98; LIMC V, s.v. 'Herakles', 2545-49. Also G.F. Pinney and B.S. Ridgeway, 'Herakles at the ends of the Earth', JHS 101 (1981) 141-44.

<sup>655</sup> Boston 92.99 and Vienna 815 (ABL 120.4-5; LIMC V, s.v. 'Helios', no. 2), also dated 510-500 B.C.

<sup>656</sup> Cabinet des Médailles 220, New York GR 540, Würzburg 384 (ABL 120, 6, 9-10; LIMC V, s.v. 'Helios', nos. 3, 7), all dated about 490 B.C.

<sup>657</sup> Berlin 1983, Karlsruhe 173, Athens, NM 2211, twice Athens market (ABL 120.11-15; LIMC V, s.v. 'Helios', nos. 4-6, 8; ABV 438.54), all dated about 490 B.C.

<sup>658</sup> Hanover 1968.3 (LIMC V, s.v. 'Helios', no. 10).

<sup>659</sup> Kerameikos HS 231, (LIMC V, s.v. 'Helios', no. 9). Also Helios in side view in Nicosia 1935/C727 (LIMC V, s.v. 'Helios', no. 13).

<sup>660</sup> Athens, NM 513 (ABL 120.1 196.1; later added to Beazley's Leagros Group, ABV 380.290; Para 163; Brommer, *Vasenlisten*<sup>3</sup>, 68, no. A1; LIMC V, s.v. 'Herakles', no. 2545). A date of 510-500 B.C. has been given to this lekythos, which would not be far from the date of the Theseus Painter's skyphos.

<sup>661</sup> New York 41.162.29 (ABL 120.3; ABV 507; Brommer, *Vasenlisten*<sup>3</sup>, 68, no. A3; LIMC V, s.v. 'Herakles', no. 2547), dated around 500-475 B.C.

<sup>662</sup> ABL 120.7-8; LIMC V, s.v. 'Herakles', nos. 2548-49, where dated about 500-475 B.C.

<sup>663</sup> Two polychrome bobbins, dated 470 B.C. in LIMC V, s.v. 'Helios', nos. 11-12. One of them, Agora P 5113, is said to be by a painter possibly near the Brygos Painter (?) (Agora XXX, 351, no. 1640, pl. 153, ca. 480 B.C., no mention of the Brygos Painter); the other is Athens, NM 2350 (ARV<sup>2</sup> 775.3). The remaining three are two kraters and a skyphos (LIMC V, s.v. 'Helios', nos. 14-16).

<sup>664</sup> LIMC I, s.v. 'Alkyoneus'; Andreae, *Herakles*, 130-210.

<sup>665</sup> This identification of Alkyoneus goes back to Haspels (ABL 251.57).

<sup>666</sup> See Brommer, *Vasenlisten*<sup>3</sup>; Andreae, *Herakles*, and esp. LIMC I, s.v. 'Alkyoneus', nos. 1-30. Most of these vases are black-figure.

<sup>667</sup> Mingazzini, *Castellani*, 316; CVA Taranto 2, pl. 11; ABL 250.17-18. See also R. Blatter, 'Hermes der Rinderdieb', *AntK* 14 (1971) 128-29.

<sup>668</sup> Andreae, *Herakles*, 186-91, as also maintained in Brommer, *Vasenlisten*<sup>3</sup>, 6, no. 15, and by R. Olmos and L.J. Balmaseda, in LIMC I, s.v. 'Alkyoneus', no. 17. In my view, however, the identification remains uncertain because the Theseus Painter's figure rather differs from representations of Alkyoneus by other painters.

match which, in turn, suggests that the man might just be Alkyoneus asleep after all. If so, moreover, side B of the Taranto and Athens skyphoi would then complement side A: Hermes leading away the cattle of Helios, which Alkyoneus had stolen. This interpretation of the subject, in turn, is more in line with the Theseus Painter's evidently frequent preference for thematic unity between the sides of the same vase. On the other hand, it seems that this combination of subjects is not seen on vases by other painters that show Herakles and Alkyoneus.

Lastly, K. Danali-Giole notes that Alkyoneus is depicted as asleep only in Athenian art possibly in reference to theatre performances, whereas outside Athens he is pictured awake. Therefore, even if Herakles' opponent on the Taranto and Athens skyphoi is indeed meant to be awake, he could still be Alkyoneus, but in a non-Attic scheme.<sup>669</sup>

A highly exceptional representation is seen on two other skyphoi of the Theseus Painter (Acropolis 1306 and Monopoli, private collection, Cat. nos. 15-16, pl. 7 a, c). Herakles leads a female monster by a rope, comparable to the way he handles Kerberos in Amsterdam 2604 (Cat. no. 12, pl. 5 c-d). Few parallels can be cited, all of which are very close to the Theseus Painter: one by or near the Athena Painter, and one by a painter in the vicinity of the White Heron Group.<sup>670</sup>

But despite the lack of parallels various identifications of the monster have been advanced. For example, a deity or demon of death, comparable to Kerberos, such as Thanatos,<sup>671</sup> Lamia, Empousa, Ker and Mormo<sup>672</sup> or Orco.<sup>673</sup> Haspels accepted Lamia.<sup>674</sup> However, as remarked above, such an identification must be considered with caution because Lamia has been linked, on unclear grounds, to other indeterminate monsters, as we have seen with regard to the Boston and Guardia Perticara skyphoi showing amazon/Arimasp and griffin (Cat. nos. 6, 10, pls. 3 a, 5 a; see also chapter X.2 above).<sup>675</sup>

On the other hand, it may be that the scenes of the Athens and Monopoli skyphoi generally refer, in symbolic terms, to victory over death, similar to Herakles' victory over Kerberos. J. Boardman further suggests that the monster might be an unknown female counterpart of Kerberos.<sup>676</sup> The suggestion is not completely impossible, as the content and composition of both types of scenes (Herakles leading Kerberos, and leading a female monster) indeed seem to correspond rather well (see also Amsterdam 2604, Cat. no. 12, pl. 5 c-d), although the apparent similarities might be accidental. K. Schefold and F. Jung associate the female monster with sphinxes led by a rope, representations which go back as far as Egyptian art.<sup>677</sup>

In the last analysis, however, none of the above-mentioned proposals is especially convincing, due partly to the lack of parallels and possible narrative sources, and the rarity of the representations. Attempts have also been made to place the female monster in a broader, more general context. She may reflect, for example, exotic influences from Egypt and the Near East, like wingless sphinxes and griffins or even monkeys.<sup>678</sup> But none of the Theseus Painter's monsters particularly resembles a monkey or a wingless sphinx, creatures which, moreover, he is not known to have portrayed and which, if he wished to do so, he would presumably have made to conform to Attic norms, as nothing in his work suggests such remote pictorial sources. Therefore this proposal seems even less satisfactory. In sum, as suggested with respect to the painter's amazon/Arimasp and griffin, as discussed above (Cat. nos. 6, 10, pls. 3a, 5a), it is probably wisest to see the

<sup>669</sup> K. Danali-Giole, in, *AAA* 20 (1987) 159-166; *LIMC* I, s.v. 'Alkyoneus', nos. 31-32; K. Schefold and F. Jung, *Die Urkönige, Perseus, Bellerophon, Herakles und Theseus in der Klassischen und Hellenistischen Kunst* (Munich 1988) 190-93.

<sup>670</sup> Boston 98.924 (*ABV* 524,1; *Beazley Addenda*<sup>2</sup> 131, by or near the Athena Painter) and Copenhagen NM 834 (Cat. no. N53). Also the oinochoe Berlin St. Mus. 1934, with a similar scene showing a female monster as on the above-mentioned vases confronting an erect, monstrous female (*ABL* 260,1; *ABV* 528,44; *Beazley Addenda*<sup>2</sup> 131). The Berlin oinochoe, in turn, can be compared to a Kabirion skyphos with a similar scene, see P. Levi, 'A Kabirion Vase', *JHS* 84 (1964) 155-56.

<sup>671</sup> S. Reinach, *Répertoire des vases peints grecs et étrusques, Avec des notices explicatives et bibliographiques* I (Paris 1899-1900) 489-90.

<sup>672</sup> M. Mayer, 'Lamia', *ArchZ* 1885, 119-30.

<sup>673</sup> P. Ducati, 'Le Pietre funerarie Felsinee', *MonAnt* 20 (1910) 654.

<sup>674</sup> *ABL* 144. Lamia was a Lybian woman loved by Zeus. Every child she gave birth to was killed by Hera until Lamia went mad and started killing and eating other women's children, after which she became a monster.

<sup>675</sup> See n. 607 above.

<sup>676</sup> *LIMC* V, s.v. 'Herakles', 120, nos. 2834-35.

<sup>677</sup> K. Schefold and F. Jung, *Die Urkönige, Perseus, Bellerophon, Herakles und Theseus in der Klassischen und Hellenistischen Kunst* (Munich 1988) 198-99.

<sup>678</sup> Vermeule, *Herakles*, 53-60.



female monster with Herakles as originating in the imaginations of the Theseus Painter and his companions and, possibly, going back to a lost mythological story.

Regarding the Theseus Painter's female monster, apart from the close comparisons mentioned in n. 670, few other comparisons, with varying degrees of relevance, can be cited. On a somewhat later Boeotian drinking-cup a male figure leads a similar-looking monster,<sup>679</sup> and the scene of a very much later Apulian red-figure vase<sup>680</sup> has a female monster of strikingly comparable appearance, interpreted as a 'stage monster', which is confronted by a youth with a spear (apparently not Herakles!).<sup>681</sup> Clearly, the place and time of the Apulian vase's manufacture - southern Italy some 150 years after the Theseus Painter - disqualify it as a particularly pertinent parallel. In the broadest terms, however, the Apulian picture raises the possibility that the Theseus Painter's female monster might indeed be derived from theatre productions.

Nor are the reverse sides of the Athens and Monopoli skyphoi very helpful in explaining the obverse. (Cat. nos. 15-16, pl. 7 b, d). The scene on side B of the Monopoli skyphos appears to be a mix of a hunt and a ritual sacrifice: a strange animal stands in the middle, resembling a cross between a boar and a bull, with a giant curving tusk in added white which extends upwards and even overlaps the off-set rim of the skyphos. Bearing in mind that the Theseus Painter generally depicted both boars and bulls very accurately, we might conclude that he had neither species in mind.<sup>682</sup> Or did he intend to show one of them and simply made some mistakes? In addition, it is curious that the animal's head appears to be stuck between the two trunks of the tree which looks very similar to the type below the handles of the Theseus Painter's ephedrimos skyphoi (Cat. nos. 54-63, as illustrated in fig. 34 b, pls. 25 b, 26 b, part, 27 a). M. Reha-Bumbalova, on the other hand, suggests that a large ribbon may go round the animal's neck, although, in my opinion, a double tree trunk seems more obvious.<sup>683</sup> Opposite the animal, on the right-hand side, two men are posed with legs apart; they hold raised spears pointed towards the animal as if in a hunt. On the left-hand side, behind the animal, a third standing man holds up a double-axe which suggests a sacrifice. In any event, no thematic unity is immediately apparent between the two sides of the Monopoli skyphos, even though the Theseus Painter, as stated, most often maintained such unity. Although the preserved part of side B of the Acropolis skyphos is only one small fragment, what remains strongly indicates that the subject must have been the same as that of the Monopoli skyphos.<sup>684</sup> This repetition therefore makes it seem logical to suppose that, after all, the pictures on opposite sides of these two skyphoi are related. If so, their content - possibly mythological, theatrical or ritualistic - remains enigmatic.

The theme of Herakles and Hermes reclining in the cave of Pholos, while Pholos provides light with torches, as depicted on the Theseus Painter's lekythos which was once in the Philadelphia market (Cat. no. 127, pl. 39 a-c), poses no particular difficulties. However, its treatment is notable because Herakles' fight with the other centaurs or the scene of Pholos and Herakles standing at the pithos is much more common in Attic vase painting.<sup>685</sup> Among the almost 90 vases with Pholos listed by Brommer, the scheme is seldom comparable to that of the Theseus Painter's lekythos.<sup>686</sup>

The largest number of the Theseus Painter's Heraklean pictures shows the hero reclining on the ground, accompanied by one or more other figures, but there is no clear mythological context as on the Philadelphia lekythos. Herakles *symposiastes* is in itself well-known in Attic vase painting. S.R. Wolf notes 62 vases in black-figure portraying Herakles reclining, and 34 in red-figure.<sup>687</sup> Without exception, Herakles is not alone. The Dionysos and Herakles who recline together on one side of the cup London B 446 is unproblematic,

<sup>679</sup> J. Boardman, 'A Monstrous Pet', in *Stips Votiva*, 7-10.

<sup>680</sup> Naples, Ragusa coll. 8.

<sup>681</sup> A.D. Trendall and T.B.L. Webster, *Illustrations of Greek Drama* (London 1971) 144, no. IV. 37. See also F.G. Lo Porto, 'Sceni teatrali e soggetti caricaturali su vasi Apuli', *BdA* 51 (1961) 8-9, figs. 23-26, identifying the subject as Perseus and Ketos.

<sup>682</sup> Compare the bulls of Taranto 4448 with the bulls and boars of Tampa and Stuttgart (Cat. nos. 14, 40-41, pls. 6 d, 17).

<sup>683</sup> Reha-Bumbalova, *Vaso inedito*, 56-57.

<sup>684</sup> The chest and upper leg of an animal turned to the right and the lower bodies of two men turned to the left. The men are positioned closer to the animal than on the Monopoli skyphos, with the animal partly overlapping them.

<sup>685</sup> Brommer, *Vasenlisten*, 178-82; *LIMC* VIII, s.v. 'Kentauroi et Kentauridae', nos. 237-41, 351-54.

<sup>686</sup> See also *LIMC* VIII, s.v. 'Kentauroi et Kentauridae', nos. 360-63, most often, however, the arrangement differs from that of the Theseus Painter.

<sup>687</sup> Wolf, *Herakles*, 195-217. See also *LIMC* IV, s.v. 'Herakles', nos. 1483-1522; R. Blatter, *Herakles beim Gelage*, *AA* 1976, 49-52.



despite the relative rarity of the subject (Cat. no. 173, pl. 55 d),<sup>688</sup> for which Wolf mentions only two black- and nine red-figure vases (including the London cup).<sup>689</sup> The oldest (red-figure) vase, a cup by Skythes, is dated about 510 B.C.; its pictorial composition is nearly identical to that of the Theseus Painter's London cup. The only other black-figure depiction of Herakles and Dionysos reclining is seen on a cup once in the Hearst collection (Cat. no. N22).<sup>690</sup> All the other examples are red-figure and later, from about 480 onwards. Herakles' companion on side B of the London cup is obviously Hermes, who is provided with the petasos. The same applies to the figure reclining with Herakles on the skyphos which was once in the U.S. market (Cat. no. 75, pl. 33 c).

In other instances, however, Herakles' companion cannot so easily be named. In quite a few pictures by the Theseus Painter Herakles reclines beside a male who has not any identifying marks (Agora P 1545; once Helgoland, Kropatscheck; Bari, Cotecchia collection; Delos B. 6138, side A; and probably Agora P 1543; Cat. nos. 25-28, 74, pls. 11 e-f, 12, 31 c). As explained in chapter 9, however, this figure is probably Hermes. On side B of the skyphos Delos B 6138 (Cat. no. 74, pl. 31 d-e) Herakles' companion is helmeted. He has often been regarded as Ares,<sup>691</sup> which is problematical because in mythology Herakles and Ares are not the best of friends and in vase painting Ares is always represented as a common warrior who can generally be recognised not by any attributes but by the situation in which he is seen (meetings of the Olympian gods, etc.). Other identifications, like Iolaos or an anonymous warrior, are equally uncertain. A nearly identical scene appears on a skyphos decorated by a painter of the White Heron Group: Herakles reclining beside a seated warrior.<sup>692</sup>

At least twice, the Theseus Painter depicted Herakles as reclining with satyrs (Cat. nos. 24, 193, pls. 11 a-d, 59), as also seen on several black- and red-figure vases. The earliest examples date around 520-510 B.C.; one is near the Madrid Painter,<sup>693</sup> the other by a painter near the Group of Walters 48.42.<sup>694</sup> Wolf notes two distinct thematic categories: the satyrs steal Herakles' weapons, or the satyrs act as his servants.<sup>695</sup> The Naples skyphos (Cat. no. 24), with Herakles raising his club threateningly at a satyr, might belong to the first category, whereas the Malibu kyathos probably fits into the second one (Cat. no. 193).

Another of the Theseus Painter's frequent subjects is Herakles being served by Athena (London 1902.12-18.3; Dresden ZV 1680; Mt. Holyoke 1925 BS II.3; Basle, Kambli collection; Agora P 1550-1; maybe also Oria OR 502-645; Cat. nos. 18-21bis, 117, pls. 8 c-d, 9). Among them, the composition hardly varies.<sup>696</sup> Herakles is seated on a small (almost altar like) stool or a throne, wearing a short chitoniskos or a long mantle. In his right hand he has a phiale, into which Athena, who stands in front of him, pours the contents of an oinochoe. Twice, Herakles' left hand is raised, as in a greeting gesture. In Dresden and Mt. Holyoke, Hermes, standing to the left of Herakles, plays aulos. In London, Hermes is replaced by a dancing satyr.

Relatively few other vases feature this subject, all of which date to the late sixth or the early fifth century B.C., the most important one being by the Berlin Painter.<sup>697</sup> Only the Theseus Painter is known to have chosen the subject so often. Even smaller is the number on which Herakles is seated, as on the skyphoi by the Theseus Painter.<sup>698</sup> Representations of Herakles served by Athena have been associated with Herakles' meal

<sup>688</sup> Wolf, *Herakles*, 22-29, 108-137. See also above; and LIMC IV, s.v. 'Herakles', nos. 1500-1508; LIMC III, s.v. 'Dionysos', nos. 579-82.

<sup>689</sup> Wolf, *Herakles*, nos. sf. 27, 43, rf. 20-26, 32. Possibly also sf. 49.

<sup>690</sup> Wolf, *Herakles*, no. sf. 27. See also Frankfurt St. V. 4 (ABV, 430.23; Wolf, *Herakles*, no. sf. 49, possibly with the same subject).

<sup>691</sup> Wolf, *Herakles*, 46-47, 157-58.

<sup>692</sup> Athens, NM 13907 (Cat. no. N48). Also a red-figure cup, private coll., Wolf, *Herakles*, no. rf. 12.

<sup>693</sup> Princeton 170 (Para 145; Beazley *Addenda*<sup>2</sup> 89; Wolf, *Herakles*, 198, no. sf. 12).

<sup>694</sup> Dallas 1972.5, (Wolf, *Herakles*, 199, no. sf. 14).

<sup>695</sup> Wolf, *Herakles*, 36. See also Schauenburg, *Silene*; LIMC IV, s.v. 'Herakles', nos. 1511-1516.

<sup>696</sup> The skyphos in the Kambli coll., Basle, is unpublished. The two fragments Agora P 1550-1 preserve only Athena's head and legs. The fragmentary skyphos Gioia del Colle MG 308-315 (Cat. no. 92, pl. 37 b) might have a similar subject (Herakles standing with a phiale, Athena?).

<sup>697</sup> Beazley, *Berlin Painter*, 49-67, esp. 55-58; LIMC V, s.v. 'Herakles', 3156-77.

<sup>698</sup> Beazley, *Berlin Painter*, nos. 1-6 (three of which are skyphoi by the Theseus Painter) and LIMC V, s.v. 'Herakles', nos. 3162-64, including a vase by the Athena Painter, formerly Granet coll. (Beazley, *ibid.*, 56, no. 3; LIMC V, s.v. 'Herakles', no. 3162). Once again, only the Theseus Painter has a series with this subject. In date, all the earlier examples are generally close, including the Theseus Painter's skyphoi. Later vases with the subject are a cup by Douris, dated about 470 B.C., and a fourth-century B.C. bell-krater (Beazley, *Berlin Painter*, nos. 5-6).

after his apotheosis.<sup>699</sup> Alternatively, it also has been suggested that they might portray the hero while resting between or after his labours, with Athena in attendance.<sup>700</sup> A 'cultic' context has also been proposed<sup>701</sup> because of the ritual associations of phialai and the act of pouring and making libations.

The latter suggestion seems to be confirmed by several thematically related pictures which also include an altar<sup>702</sup> and, possibly, by the subject of at least one other skyphos of the Theseus Painter, Delos 6140 (Cat. no. 72, pl. 30 c-d). On side B of the Delos skyphos Hermes and a winged goddess hold a phiale and an oinochoe, respectively. They are placed between columns topped by owls. The goddess has been identified as either Nike (Haspels and Beazley) or Iris (Boardman),<sup>703</sup> each of whom is seen in vase painting performing acts that resemble the pouring of libations.<sup>704</sup> Moreover, Iris, as messenger of the gods, is sometimes depicted in the company of her counterpart Hermes; therefore Iris is more likely than Nike to be the winged goddess of the Delos skyphos.<sup>705</sup> On the opposite side Herakles and Athena shake hands.<sup>706</sup> Cocks stand on the flanking columns. Perhaps the fragmentary skyphos Delos 6142 (Cat. no. 73, pl. 31 a-b) originally featured a comparable scene. The preserved parts show Athena between cocks on pillars. Hermes and Athena again accompany Herakles on the Theseus Painter's lekythos Boston 21.277 (Cat. no. 145, pl. 46 d-e).

In one instance Herakles is a musician (Syracuse 53263, Cat. no. 22, pl. 10 a-b). The Theseus Painter shows him playing a lyre while standing on a bema, flanked by bystanders holding flowers and wreaths.<sup>707</sup> Many vases illustrate Herakles playing a stringed instrument,<sup>708</sup> but in only two examples is the instrument a lyre rather than a kithara: the Syracuse skyphos and another skyphos by or near the Painter of Philadelphia 5481 (Athens, NM 635, Cat. no. N31). The latter scene is almost identical to the one by the Theseus Painter, although the anonymous bystanders are replaced by Athena and Hermes. On a skyphos near the Theseus Painter, Herakles, in more usual fashion, has a kithara; he is seated on a rock surrounded by cattle (Cat. no. N86). In my opinion, the earlier attribution of this skyphos to the Theseus Painter himself is erroneous.

The tondo of the cup Taranto 6515 (Cat. no. 174, pl. 56 a) contains another curious depiction of Herakles. He is naked and has no beard (otherwise without parallel in the work of the Theseus Painter), and lacks the lion's skin. Nevertheless the hero can easily be recognised by his attributes: club, held high above his head, and bow and quiver. A remarkable detail is the low, rectangular base on which Herakles stands. It has been suggested that the base and figure possibly refer to a renowned statue which once existed, because other vase paintings lead to the same conclusion.<sup>709</sup>

<sup>699</sup> G. Beckel, *Götterbeistand in der Bildüberlieferung griechischer Heldensagen* (Waldsassen 1961) 61. This seems questionable, however, when we consider that other (more earthbound) figures are included in these scenes, for example, the satyr of the Theseus Painter's London skyphos and a lekythos near the Athena Painter (once Agrigento, LIMC V, s.v. 'Herakles', no. 3162), where even Iolaos is depicted.

<sup>700</sup> E. Simon, *Opfernde Götter* (Berlin 1953) 41. See also LIMC V, s.v. 'Herakles', comment on 152-53, where a cultic association is proposed, especially for the pictures in which Herakles holds a phiale. Compare also Hobart University 45, Group of Berkeley 8.3376, LIMC V, s.v. 'Herakles', no. 3173, which shows a similar situation, but also including an altar.

<sup>701</sup> LIMC V, s.v. Herakles, 152-53.

<sup>702</sup> Hobart University 45 (Para 172; LIMC V, s.v. 'Herakles', no. 3157); Leiden PC 5 (ABV 370, 128; LIMC V, s.v. 'Herakles', no. 3156). And two red-figure vases (LIMC V, s.v. 'Herakles', nos. 3158-59, both dated 450 B.C.).

<sup>703</sup> ABL 249, 7; Beazley, *Berlin Painter*, 56, with no. 3; J. Boardman, LIMC V, s.v. 'Herakles', no. 3183.

<sup>704</sup> LIMC V s.v. 'Iris I', nos. 20, 22, 25, 31; LIMC VI, s.v. 'Nike', 104, 107-108.

<sup>705</sup> LIMC V s.v. 'Iris I', nos. 83-89. See also Killet, *Ikongraphie*, 150-51, remarking that winged goddesses in a sacrificial context (altar) are generally found only in red-figure (lekythoi).

<sup>706</sup> LIMC V, s.v. 'Herakles', nos. 3179-200 (3179-88 are vases).

<sup>707</sup> Maas and McIntosh-Snyder, *Stringed Instruments*, 79-91, 'Chelys-lyra'.

<sup>708</sup> See also Brommer, *Vasenlisten*<sup>3</sup>, 100-101; K. Schauenburg, 'Herakles Mousikos', *JdI* 94 (1979) 49-76; LIMC IV, s.v. 'Herakles', nos. 1438-74. On another vase he is depicted as playing a barbiton (LIMC IV, s.v. 'Herakles', no. 1452).

<sup>709</sup> S. Woodford, 'Herakles Alexikakos Revisited', *AJA* 80 (1976) 291-94. See also M. Schmidt, 'Zu Amazonomachiedarstellungen des Berliner Malers und Euphronios', in H.A. Cahn and E. Simon (eds.), *Tainia. Festschrift für Roland Hampe* (Mainz 1980) 153-69; Shapiro, *Art and Cult*, 159, "Of thousands of depictions of Herakles on Archaic vases, none can properly be called a 'cult-scene' with the possible exception of the black-figure cup showing a statue of Herakles in the tondo." See also W. Oenbrink, *Das Bild im Bilde. Zur Darstellung von Götterstatuen und Kultbildern auf griechischen Vasen* (Frankfurt 1997) 147-48, 389, no. G1. Herakles also stands in the tondo of the Winchester cup (Cat. no. 176), but with a more regular appearance.



### 3. Theseus

The prelude to the fight between Theseus and the minotaur might be the subject of side A of Acropolis 1280 (Cat. no. 76, pl. 32 a): a youth, identified by Graef and Langlotz as Theseus,<sup>710</sup> shakes hands with Athena in front of a rectangular construction decorated with white ornaments, which has been identified as the (entrance to the) Labyrinth. The latter seems to be confirmed by the rectangular structures with similar decoration in scenes of Theseus fighting the Minotaur.<sup>711</sup> Furthermore, that the figure shaking hands with Athena is indeed Theseus, is made clear by the subject on the reverse side where Theseus grapples with Skiron, who is placed on a rock marked with a turtle in added white as emblem (pl. 32 b).<sup>712</sup>

Apparently, the same story can be seen on one side (B) of two other skyphoi of the Theseus Painter: Laon 37996 and Toledo 63.27 (Cat. nos. 29-30, pl. 13 c, e). In each, Theseus holds his bearded opponent similarly to his hold on the Acropolis fragments. Neither skyphos shows a turtle, however. Instead, the rock of the Toledo skyphos has a white snake, whereas in Laon the emblem has faded away. On the far right side of each scene a woman clasps her head in a gesture of fright. Such a woman is evidently not part of the Acropolis picture. However, the compositions of the three representations are so similar that the same tale must be shown.

Sides A of the Laon and Toledo skyphoi (Cat. nos. 29-30, pl. 13 a, d) depict Theseus killing Prokrustes with the villain's own hammer or, as rendered by the Theseus Painter, with a double-axe or double-headed hammer.<sup>713</sup> Theseus wields a similarly shaped weapon in the Theseus Painter's picture of the same story on the lekythos Athens, NM 515 (Cat. no. 136, pl. 43 a). The painter's male figure on a small skyphos fragment in Corinth (C-70-33, Cat. no. 31, pl. 13 f) has also been identified as Prokrustes because his head appears to be held similarly to Prokrustes on Toledo and Laon, although too little remains to be certain. The two struggling men on the reverse of the Athens lekythos (Cat. no. 136, pl. 43 b) are thought to be Theseus and Sinis<sup>714</sup> because of the prominent (pine?) tree which the losing party holds on to and causes to bend.<sup>715</sup>

Side B of the Acropolis fragments preserves a third nude male figure extended on the ground, to the right of Theseus and Skiron (pl. 32 b). He holds a stone or something similar in his lowered left hand. No such figure is seen in the Toledo and Laon skyphoi. There may be some doubt as to whether the mended sections of the Acropolis skyphos actually are parts of side B of the same vase, as they are non-joining. However, their large size and scale of the preserved figures suggest that the sections most likely belong together.

The section with the third male figure would belong on the far right of side B of the skyphos, as seen in the illustration, because it includes part of a handle-attachment on the right side. The result is the appearance of two episodes in the tale of Theseus' journey to Athens on the same side of the vase, which is not the Theseus Painter's usual practice, as such an arrangement is not repeated, for example, on any of his other skyphoi. In contrast, it is a characteristic of a number of red-figure cups representing the deeds of Theseus on his way to Athens, the so-called cycle-cups (see below), which suggest that the Theseus Painter could also have employed the device of multiple episodes on the Acropolis skyphos. Furthermore, the original dimensions of the skyphos seem to lend support to the possibility: in its complete state it was one of the

<sup>710</sup> *Acropolis*, 142-43, confirmed by Haspels (*ABL* 249,1).

<sup>711</sup> Athens, NM 1061 and Utrecht Univ., *ABL* 268, 53-54; *ABV* 586 (Beldam Painter). See also P. Wolters, 'Archäologische Bemerkungen I: Labyrinthdarstellungen', *Sitzungsberichte königliche Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaft, Philosophisch-philologische und historische Klasse* 1913.2, 1-21.

<sup>712</sup> Brommer, *Theseus*, 14-18 (with lit.); *LIMC* VII, s.v. 'Theseus', nos. 97-122. In black-figure, only skyphoi by the Theseus Painter show this subject. They are preceded only slightly, if at all, by the earliest red-figure examples, all of which are cycle cups.

<sup>713</sup> This particular shape of the hammer is a pictorial convention met in the work other painters. Brommer, *Vasenlisten*<sup>3</sup>, 245-47; Brommer, *Theseus*, 22-26; *LIMC* VII, s.v. 'Theseus', nos. 126-46.

<sup>714</sup> Brommer, *Theseus*, 6, Sinis forced "[...] Die vorbeikommenden [...] Fichten herunterzubeugen, bis ihre Kräfte nachließen und sie von den Bäumen in die Luft geschleudert wurden und dabei umkamen." Theseus killed him in the same fashion; Brommer, *Vasenlisten*<sup>3</sup>, 249-50; Brommer, *Theseus*, 6-8; *LIMC* VII, s.v. 'Theseus', nos. 62-48. Only the securely identified lekythos Athens 515 and Acropolis 1280 (Cat. nos. 136, 76, resp.), of which the identification is not that certain, are black-figure examples of this episode.

<sup>715</sup> Buxton, *Imaginary Greece*, 202, cites plants as a means of making "symbolic statements about the social world." In his view, pines are linked to wildness and aggressive violence, exemplified by "the downfall of Pentheus [...] the ferocity of centaurs" and, not in the least, "Theseus' combat with Sinis the Pine-bender". Strictly speaking, the tree of the Athens lekythos hardly looks like a pine, but as it is thinner and straighter than the Theseus Painter's usual kind of tree, it may be intended as one after all.



Theseus Painter's largest skyphoi (see fig. 52), providing enough space for two episodes of Theseus' deeds.

According to F. Brommer, the right-hand figure represents Sinis.<sup>716</sup> However, it is more probably Prokrustes, as the posture is more similar to that of Prokrustes in Laon 37996 and Toledo 63.27 (Cat. nos. 29-30, pl. 13 a, c, especially Laon). On the Acropolis fragments, moreover, the lower right-hand corner of the section with Theseus and Skiron shows a foot pointed towards the right. This foot could belong either to Theseus who is attacking Prokrustes (?) or to the latter figure itself, as the Prokrustes in Laon and Toledo has a foot turned to right while the rest of the figure faces left.

Apart from side A of Acropolis 1280 (Theseus and the Labyrinth), all the foregoing vases by the Theseus Painter show deeds of Theseus while travelling to Athens which, in black-figure, appear in only comparatively late work and remain rare in that technique. Most illustrations of them are in red-figure (some of which are the earliest known examples). They often occur on so-called red-figure cycle-vases, mostly cups, as mentioned above, which present several episodes of the hero's journey on each side.<sup>717</sup> In a way, the pictures of the Laon, Toledo and Athens lekythoi might also be considered cyclic, albeit with only a single episode on each side. As suggested, the Acropolis fragments 1280 (Cat. no. 76, pl. 32 a-b) possibly belong to a more truly black-figure cycle-vase, with the difference that the episodes are confined to one side (Skiron, Prokrustes), while the obverse has a Labyrinth scene.

The earliest red-figure vase with Theseus' deeds on the road to Athens is apparently a cycle-cup by Kachrylion,<sup>718</sup> dated 510-500 B.C. Another early example showing episodes of the same adventurous journey is by the Euergides Painter, which is not a cycle-vase, however.<sup>719</sup> Apparently neither of them significantly precedes (if at all) the earliest examples by the Theseus Painter and other black-figure painters who illustrated these themes. The Toledo and Laon skyphoi are assigned to Theseus Painter's middle phase (505-495 B.C.), whereas the Acropolis fragments are transitional between the middle and late phases (495-490 B.C.). In date, all other red-figure pictures of Theseus' encounters on the road to Athens range from after 500 until deep in the fifth century B.C. All this seems to demonstrate not only that more than half of the extant black-figure representations of these stories are by or near the Theseus Painter, but also that he and his close colleagues were among the first to depict them. In black-figure, moreover, only the Theseus Painter decorated a series of vases with these Thesean deeds.

Of the 44 vases portraying Theseus and Prokrustes, no more than 11 are black-figure.<sup>720</sup> Five of them, as noted, are by the Theseus Painter (including the Corinth and Acropolis fragments). The other black-figure examples are by the Troilos Painter,<sup>721</sup> Diosphos Painter and near him<sup>722</sup> and in the Haimon Group,<sup>723</sup> as well as an unattributed pelike discovered in the Athenian Agora.<sup>724</sup> In addition, the Theseus and Prokrustes of a White Heron type skyphos are very similar to those of the Theseus Painter (Cat. no. N49).<sup>725</sup>

Further, only 4 of the 35 vases with Skiron are black-figure.<sup>726</sup> Again, the Theseus Painter is the sole vase painter who seems to have illustrated the subject on a series of vases, as three of the four are by him. The remaining example is a skyphos with a similar scene by the Painter of Rodin 1000 (Cat. no. N44), although the identification is not definite because Theseus holds a sword instead of 'Skiron's' feet. The allegedly earliest red-figure picture of Skiron is found on the above-mentioned cup by Kachrylion. Another early rendering is by Skythes, dated around 510 B.C.<sup>727</sup> The other red-figure vases are all late archaic or classical. Turning to Sinis, we see that he and Theseus are portrayed on 37 red-figure vases, all showing a tree.<sup>728</sup> In

<sup>716</sup> Brommer, *Vasenlisten*<sup>3</sup>, 249, no. 2; *LIMC* VII, s.v. 'Theseus', no. 62. See also Neils, *Theseus*, 75.

<sup>717</sup> Of the 23 cycle-vases, Brommer, *Vasenlisten*<sup>3</sup>, 311-12, mentions 18, and *LIMC* VII, s.v. 'Theseus', nos. 32-53, adds 5.

<sup>718</sup> *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 108.27; *LIMC* VII, s.v. 'Theseus', no. 33.

<sup>719</sup> *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 89.21; *LIMC* VII, s.v. 'Theseus', no. 132. Dated about 510 B.C.

<sup>720</sup> Brommer, *Vasenlisten*<sup>3</sup>, 245-47; Brommer, *Theseus*, 22-26; *LIMC* VII, s.v. 'Theseus', nos. 32-60, 126-46.

<sup>721</sup> *ABV* 400.

<sup>722</sup> *ABV* 509.5, and 511.3.

<sup>723</sup> *ABV* 560.17.

<sup>724</sup> Agora P 12561 (Agora XXIII, no. 391, pl. 38, ca. 510-500 B.C.).

<sup>725</sup> St. Petersburg 1428L, Gorbunova, *Ermitazhe*, 47, 52, no. 32, attributed to the Krokotos Group, although, in my opinion, it is later; *LIMC* VII, s.v. 'Theseus', no. 130.

<sup>726</sup> Brommer, *Vasenlisten*<sup>3</sup>, 250-52; Brommer, *Theseus*, 14-18; *LIMC* VII, s.v. 'Theseus', nos. 97-118.

<sup>727</sup> *MuM* 51 (1975) no. 149, pl. 34; *LIMC* VII, s.v. 'Theseus', no. 101.

<sup>728</sup> Brommer, *Vasenlisten*<sup>3</sup>, 249-50; Brommer, *Theseus*, 6-8; *LIMC* VII, s.v. 'Theseus', nos. 62-81.

contrast, the only certain black-figure treatment of the theme is the Theseus Painter's Athens lekythos.<sup>729</sup> In red-figure the earliest representation is again seen on the Kachrylion cup.

All in all, it is hard to establish that the Theseus Painter indeed introduced the new Theseus themes. In any event, he doubtless worked among the earliest painters who did. Such innovativeness can rightly be considered remarkable for a late black-figure painter. Although Haspels was not very adequate in naming him after the number of his Theseus representations, considering their importance, she undeniably had a point.

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<sup>729</sup> As said above the right hand figure on Acropolis 1280 (Cat. no. 76) is accepted as a representation of Sinis in Brommer, *Vasenlisten*<sup>3</sup>, 249, no. 2, and *LIMC* VII, s.v. 'Theseus', no. 62. Probably, as said above, he is Procrustes.

## XII. RITUAL, THEATRE AND EVERYDAY LIFE

### 1. Introduction

Many of the Theseus Painter's pictures apparently depict contemporary subjects of various categories: rituals, cultic practice and feasts, games and play, possibly even, in a few instances, theatrical performances and, finally, more basic daily activities like work. In part, the first category consists of the rather obvious scenes of fragmentary loutrophoroi showing male and female mourners as well as sometimes the dead lying on a kline (Cat. nos. 178-81, 183-85, pls. 57 a-b, e-g). The same subject recurs on the alabastron in the Lagunillas collection, Havana, (Cat. no. 201, pl. 63).<sup>730</sup> However, to judge from Beazley's descriptions, several fragments of loutrophoroi portray what might more correctly be regarded as processions rather than gatherings of mourners: Athens NA 1957 Aa 229, 2237, 2241, 2251, 2258, and Athens (Cat. nos. 186-91). Unfortunately, nearly all these fragments are known to me only from Beazley's short descriptions, as they remain unpublished after all these years.<sup>731</sup> The single exception is Athens 1957 Aa 193 (Cat. no. 182, pl. 57 c-d). Its particular combination of figures and attributes (women, auloi- and lyre-players, wreaths, youths) recurs on many (often later) red-figure vases (among which, several loutrophoroi) which illustrate wedding processions. Black-figure examples of that theme are rare, however.<sup>732</sup> Pictures which are even more ambiguous might also belong to the category of ritual practice. For instance, the above-mentioned representations of Dionysos in a ship-cart could be images of either the god himself or of the actual god or a man disguised as the god who participate in a real-life procession.

To some extent, a similar uncertainty marks the Theseus Painter's fights. He was generally not especially fond of portraying warriors or fights or any other subject involving much action. But whether his few pictures that indeed show warriors or the like actually relate to real life or to mythology is difficult to say. In contrast, the Athena Painter showed a strong preference for fights and warriors.<sup>733</sup> The Theseus Painter's surviving work comprises only three vases with related subjects: a lekythos once in the Lucerne market has warriors leading horses and archers; the lekythos in the Embiricos collection, London, a fight; and an oinochoe once in the New York market, a Thracian horseman (Cat. nos. 130, 148, 170, pl. 40 c). Maybe the Cambridge lekythos featuring the harnessing of a quadriga (Cat. no. 131, pl. 40 d-e) also fits into this category, although a warrior is not among the figures.

The Theseus Painter's scenes of more general daily life are not numerous. In Berlin 3230 (Cat. No. 164, pl. 52 b) a man hits a small boy with a sandal, as also seen on a pelike of Euphronios<sup>734</sup> and an earlier

<sup>730</sup> For vase-shapes with mourners, other than loutrophoroi and plaques, see Killet, *Ikonographie*, catalogue 1, nos. 5, 10-11, 13-14, 40-1, 67-8, 81-3 (kyathos, amphorai, cup, lebetes, phormiskoi, lekythoi, pyxides, "Sprenggefäß"). Apparently, no other alabastron shows mourners.

<sup>731</sup> Para 257, Athens NA 1957 Aa 229, "youth to right, woman to right looking round, woman to right with loutrophoros, fluteplayer"; NA 1957 Aa 2237, "woman with loutrophoros, fluteplayer"; NA 1957 Aa 2241, "lyreplayer with wreath, fluteplayer"; NA 1957 Aa 2251, "one with loutrophoros to right and fluteplayer to right"; NA 1957 Aa 2258, "woman to right, woman with wreath to right, looking round, woman with loutrophoros, fluteplayer."

<sup>732</sup> See J.H. Oakley and R.H. Sinos, *The Wedding in Ancient Athens* (Madison 1993). According to Killet, *Ikonographie*, 204-208, these scenes are "Frauengemachbilder."

<sup>733</sup> Many of the Athena Painter's vases depict fights and it is often unclear whether the setting is mythological or real: Louvre F 367 (ABL 257,55); Brussels A 2295 (ABL 257,84); Havana (ABV 523,10; K. Schefold, *AK, Beiheft* 1967, 155-158; R. Olmos, *Vasos Griegos de la Colección Condes de Lagunillas*, Kirchberg/Zürich 1990, 96-97, no. 26); once Basle market (Para 262); Neuchâtel (Para 262); Cab. des Médailles. (ABL 260,140); once Bareiss coll. (Para 261); Vienna 195 (ABL 257,67); Agora P 19319 (ABV 523,2; Agora XXIII, no. 1181, pl. 87); London B 617 (ABL 260,131); once Castle Ashby (CVA 1, pl. 23.5-7; *Christie's, The Castle Ashby Vases*, 2 July 1980, 116-17, no. 74); Baltimore 48.226 (ABV 523,9); London, Reitlinger coll. (ABL 255,12); Taranto (ABL 255,25); Naples F 121 (ABL 255,21); once Agrigento, Giudice coll. (ABL 258,95); once Athens market (ABL 255,24); New York 06.1021.71 (ABL 257,83); London, Winslow coll. (ABV 523,8); Louvre MNC 786 (ABL 258,93); once Athens market (ABL 258,94); Cab. des Médailles 299 (ABL 258,106; Para 260); Palermo, Mormino coll. (CVA 1, pl. 18.4-6; *La collezione archeologica, Banco di Sicilia*, Palermo 1992, 118, D 132; possibly also Collisani coll. (H.P. Isler and M. Sguaitamatti, *La collezione Collisani/Die Sammlung Collisani*, Archäologisches Institut der Universität Zürich, Zürich 1990, no. 179, pl. 28).

<sup>734</sup> Villa Giulia (ARV<sup>2</sup> 15,11; *Beazley Addenda*<sup>2</sup> 153). See also S. Karouzou, 'Die "Schutzflehende" Barberini, *AntK* 13 (1970)



lekythos of the Sandal Painter.<sup>735</sup> The kalpis Utrecht 29 (Cat. no. 162, pl. 51 b) depicts a small boy in front of a campstool, flanked by a man leaning on a stick and a woman with a mirror; the boy holds a scarf or ribbon and a lidless exaleiptron. Similar subjects, while quite often adorning later red-figure vases, are rare in contemporaneous black-figure.<sup>736</sup> In addition, Haspels mentions an unpublished lekythos with a "concert", attributable to the Theseus Painter (Cat. no. 149). On his pelike in the Cabinet des Médailles (250) (Cat. no. 156, pl. 49) two men ride donkeys. And the neck-pelike in the Winslow collection, London (Cat. no. 158), illustrates a "man courting boy". The painter symposia, other than those with Herakles, are found on two cups only (Cat. nos. 174, 176, pl. 56 c).

## 2. Ritual and sacrifice

Several of the Theseus Painter's vases discussed above in other contexts can again be mentioned at this point because they illustrate aspects of cult or ritual, including sheep and oxen at the altar of Athena (Uppsala kalpis, Cat. no. 61, pl. 51 a), Dionysos in a ship-cart, the 'Lenaia' skyphos, and perhaps Athena receiving Herakles in her sanctuary, as she pours from an oinochoe into the hero's phiale. Animal sacrifices can also be noted. The almost identical skyphoi Tampa 86.52 and Stuttgart KAS 74 (Cat. nos. 40-41, pl. 17) show a boy and a man carrying an amphora by means of a pole resting on their shoulders (pl. 17 a, c). Behind them, on the Tampa skyphos, a man leads a bull, whereas on the Stuttgart skyphos a man drags a boar by one of its hind legs. The other side of the Stuttgart skyphos (pl. 17 d) has a man carrying a tray full of offerings,<sup>737</sup> followed by a bull being urged on and an auloi-player. On the reverse of the Tampa skyphos (pl. 17 b), once again, a boar is pulled forward by a hind leg, placed between a figure carrying offerings and a man with "a basket of cakes".<sup>738</sup>

Scheibler observed that the wine-amphora was essential equipment for festive occasions and was therefore depicted as such by the Theseus Painter on the Tampa and Stuttgart skyphoi: "Das verdeutlichen einige attische skyphoi des spätschwarzfigurigen Stils, die wohl selbst rituellen Zwecken dienten und deshalb vom Theseusmaler mit Szenen geschmückt wurden, die Opferzüge und Opfervorbereitung schildern".<sup>739</sup> In several scenes by other painters an amphora is being transported in a similar manner as seen on the Theseus Painter's skyphoi in Tampa and Stuttgart.<sup>740</sup> One of them is a fragmentary skyphos near the Theseus Painter.<sup>741</sup>

H. Laxander points out that the nudity of the men on the Stuttgart and Tampa skyphoi would be very unusual for a cultic subject. She also sees a thematic connection between these skyphoi and the Theseus Painter's komos-skyphoi, which indeed look somewhat similar (the latter often also show amphora-carriers, although each one alone carries an amphora, see for example pls. 20 a, 21 d).<sup>742</sup> Laxander considers all these scenes to depict a blend of elements of cultic seriousness and orgiastic revelry. She also remarks that in the Theseus Painter's other ritual scenes, for example with a ship-cart, the participants are fully dressed and generally act more seriously (see pl. 4 d), which makes the Tampa and Stuttgart skyphoi even more remarkable.

Like the Tampa and Stuttgart skyphoi, the lekythos Louvre CA 1837 (Cat. no. 140, pl. 44 c-d) shows an animal being led away, probably to sacrifice: two boys and a man with spears lead a bull towards a man who is seated in a building resembling a shrine or a sanctuary. In the view of F.T. van Straten, this lekythos as

40; J. Boardman, 'A curious Eye-cup', *AA* 1976, 286-87, n. 13.

<sup>735</sup> Bologna PU 204 (*ABV* 70.7; *Para* 28; *Beazley Addenda*<sup>2</sup> 181). See also Beck, *Album*, 44-45.

<sup>736</sup> Killet, *Ikongraphie*, 203-19, catalogue no. 10.

<sup>737</sup> Neils, *Goddess and Polis*, 181, "the first carries a block-like object [...], the third carries a basket (*skapos*) of cakes."

<sup>738</sup> Neils, *Goddess and Polis*, 181. See also Neils, *Pride*, 184-85. Compare the offerings displayed on the fragment Acropolis 1307 (Cat. no. 85, pl. 35 h).

<sup>739</sup> Scheibler, *Bild und Gefäß*, 71.

<sup>740</sup> See Neils' examples, mentioned in *Goddess and Polis*, 181, and the skyphos Athens, NM 12531 (*CVA* 4, pl. 28). For amphorai in processions see also Laxander, *Individuum*, 17, n. 81.

<sup>741</sup> Aegina 111, W. Felten, *Alt-Agina II*, 1 (Mainz 1982) 32, 47, no. 259, pl. 19, near the Theseus Painter, also with an auloi-player as in Stuttgart. The subject might be similar.

<sup>742</sup> Laxander, *Individuum*, 17-18. For a possible connection between the Theseus Painter's komoi on skyphoi and ritual processions see also below.

well as the two skyphoi depict the moments directly before an animal sacrifice.<sup>743</sup> However, the occasion of the sacrifice is not at all clear.

Although the skyphos Acropolis 1295, now reduced to fragments (Cat. no. 94, pl. 37 a), has not previously been attributed to the Theseus Painter, there are strong indications that it is indeed by his hand. On each side (?) it illustrates a procession of worshippers, who carry various items of sacrificial ritual like a small boar and an oinochoe, people at an altar, and a female or goddess seated inside a structure reminiscent of a temple, comparable to that of the Louvre lekythos (Cat. no. 140, pl. 44 c-d).<sup>744</sup> The exact nature of the festivities remains an open question, however.

On the skyphos fragment Agora P 9273 (Cat. no. 95, pl. 36 j) a man plays auloi in front of an altar with a fire in which something seems to be burning, as represented by a curled line. The burning object is regularly seen in representations of sacrifice and often identified as an oxtail.<sup>745</sup> Despite other suggestions regarding its nature - goat's horn or animal tongues<sup>746</sup> - Van Straten concludes that it must indeed be an *osphûs*.<sup>747</sup>

To close, if we consider the overall prominence of Athena or Dionysos in the work of the Theseus Painter, it would not seem unlikely that they were often intended as the beneficiaries of his otherwise unidentifiable processions and offerings.

### 3. Theatrical performance, Pyrrhic dance, game and sport

#### References to theatrical performances

As discussed above, some of the Theseus Painter's themes are possibly theatrical: the supposed satyr-play mentioned in the section on satyrs, possibly amazon/Armasp and griffin, Herakles leading a female monster as well as heroes at a mound and satyrs making music. Additional examples can be added. Most of the vases showing warriors mounted on dolphins, often accompanied by an auloi-player, are in varying degrees associated with the Theseus Painter. This chorus of dolphin riders is regarded as a reference to 'old comedy'.<sup>748</sup> Kerameikos 5671 (Cat. no. 129, pl. 40 a-b), showing an auloi-player between two warriors riding dolphins, is attributed to the Theseus Painter himself. Of the other specimens, the cup Louvre CA 1924<sup>749</sup> is near the Theseus Painter; the lekythos Palermo CAT 2816 is by the Athena Painter,<sup>750</sup> and Boston 20.18<sup>751</sup> is a skyphos of Heron Class type, which might belong to the CHC Group. Also a psykter by Olto and an unattributed cup fragment can be cited.<sup>752</sup> The reverse of the preceding Heron Class skyphos, Boston 20.182, shows the same subject as the Theseus Painter's skyphos of that type in Guardia Perticara (215223) (Cat. no. 36, pl. 16 a): female ostrich-riders, with auloi-player and bystanders.<sup>753</sup>

<sup>743</sup> Van Straten, *Hiera Kala*, nos. V43-44, 50.

<sup>744</sup> The man seated in an architectural setting on the Louvre lekythos is possibly also meant as a deity; perhaps the seated figures of Louvre CA 1837 and Acropolis 1295 are meant as statues (?).

<sup>745</sup> Agora XXIII, 281, no. 1495.

<sup>746</sup> Van Straten, *Hiera Kala*, 118-44.

<sup>747</sup> Van Straten, *Hiera Kala*, 118-44. The *osphûs* is the sacrum and sometimes other anatomically connected elements like the tail.

<sup>748</sup> F. Brommer, 'Delphinreiter', *AA* 1942, 65-75; Green, *Birds*, 102-108, nos. 6, 13-7, figs. 9, 16-20a; Green, *Theatre*, 21-22. Green emphasises that, in vase painting, there is generally no clear distinction between depictions of comedy prior or subsequent to its inclusion in the Dionysia (486 B.C.). See also R. Förtsch, 'Die Nichtdarstellung des Spektakulären: Griechische Bildkunst und griechisches Drama', *Hephaistos* 15 (1997) 62.

<sup>749</sup> Green, *Birds*, no. 16.

<sup>750</sup> Palermo, *Arch. Reports* 1966-7, 40, fig. 19; Green, *Birds*, no. 13.

<sup>751</sup> Green, *Birds*, no. 17.

<sup>752</sup> Green, *Birds*, nos. 6, 15.

<sup>753</sup> See also Green, *Birds*, 95-118; Green, *Theatre*, 15-50.

## Pyrrhic dance

The Pyrrhic dance, that is, the weapon-dance performed by youths in a contest at the Panathenaic games, was more than once portrayed by the Theseus Painter, whose youths may be either performing the actual dance or practising it (Bonn 307; once Brussels, Theodor collection; San Antonio 86.134.157, *Cat. nos.* 143, 152, 168, pls. 46 a-b, 48 a-b, 54 a).<sup>754</sup> The figures of the Bonn lekythos and the Brussels oinochoe are most similar: two dancing youths armed with high-crested helmets, round shields and spears. The auloi-player of the Bonn lekythos stands between two campstools; the dancers, placed on the far left and far right, are naked. On the Brussels oinochoe the youths wear loincloths and flank a campstool with folded garments; the auloi-player is replaced by a thin tree. The San Antonio pelike features a single, standing youth who is fully dressed and has a low-crested helmet; he is accompanied by a flute-player and there is a campstool between them. A goat stands behind the auloi-player on side A (pl. 48 a). Pyrrhic dances are also common in the work of the Athena Painter.<sup>755</sup>

A related subject, however strange it may be, is perhaps found on another oinochoe of the Theseus Painter: once Adolphseck 13 (*Cat. no.* 169, pl. 54 b-c). The movements of the two youths resemble the choreography of the Pyrrhic dancers. Each youth wears a chitoniskos and holds a sword and sheath. Curiously, their helmet crests are in the form of female busts. According to Brommer, the youths may be participating in some kind of festival.<sup>756</sup> Beazley proposes a "masquerade".<sup>757</sup>

## Sports

The Theseus Painter sometimes located his sports scenes in the palaestra. The very fragmentary skyphos Amsterdam 2159 (*Cat. no.* 43, pl. 18 c-g) preserves several youths with spears and the lower parts of the garments of two auloi-players (one on each side).<sup>758</sup> To judge from the published description of a fragmentary skyphos found on the Athenian Acropolis, which has not been illustrated by Graef and Langlotz (no. 1275, *Cat. no.* N9), its picture may be generally comparable to the one in Amsterdam (see also above, chapter II.3, last section).<sup>759</sup> Several of the Theseus Painter's alabastra have a palaestra-like setting.<sup>760</sup> On an

<sup>754</sup> See J.C. Poursat, 'Représentations de danse armée dans la céramique attique', *BCH* 92 (1968) 550-615, 566 ff.; P. Scarpi, 'Le Pyrrhiche o le armi della persuasione', *DdA* 1 (1979) 78-97; F. Brommer, 'Antike Tänze', *AA* 1989, 492-94; Neils, *Goddess and Polis*, 56-57, 94-95; S.H. Lonsdale, *Dance and Ritual Play in Greek Religion* (Baltimore 1993) 137-68; P. Ceccarelli, *La pirrica nell'antichità greco-romana, Studi sulla danza armata* (Pisa 1998) esp. 27-89; M. Leski, *Untersuchungen zur Ikonographie und Bedeutung antiker Waffentänze in Griechenland und Etrurien* (Munich 2000) esp. 16-145.

<sup>755</sup> It occurs on the following vases by this artisan: London 64.10-7.237 (*ABL* 259,120; *ABV* 531,5; *Beazley Addenda*<sup>2</sup> 132); Cab. des Médailles 272 (*ABL* 260,141; *ABV* 531,6; *Beazley Addenda*<sup>2</sup> 132); New York 06.1021.75 (*ABL* 258,90); Taranto (*ABL* 257,56); Riehen, private coll. (*Para* 261; *Beazley Addenda*<sup>2</sup> 131); Basle, private coll. (*Para* 261; *Beazley Addenda*<sup>2</sup> 131).

<sup>756</sup> F. Brommer, 'Kopf über Kopf', *AuA* 4 (1954) 42-4; *CVA* Adolphseck 1, 13. Brommer mentioned some parallels: cup, mastoid skyphos and some bronzes.

<sup>757</sup> *Para* 256.

<sup>758</sup> The work of some painters in the vicinity of the Theseus Painter shows similarities to the subject (palaestra with trainer, auloi-player, youths) and composition of the Amsterdam fragments. Gela Painter: Syracuse 21858 (*ABL* 210,99); Amsterdam 3741 (*ABL* 209,77; *Para* 216); Palermo, Mormino coll. (*CVA* 1, III Y, pl. 3.1-3); Villa Giulia (*ABL* 215,198; *MonAnt* 42 (1955) 305-307, no. 35, fig. 55); Agora P 24538 (*Para* 216; *Beazley Addenda*<sup>2</sup> 119). Sappho Painter: once London market (*Sotheby's* 8 Dec. 1980, lot no. 254). Edinburgh Painter: formerly Witte coll. (*ABL* 217,35, unpublished); New York 56.49.1 (*ABL* 219,67; *Para* 217; *Beazley Addenda*<sup>2</sup> 120). Almost identical in composition is Syracuse 23610 by the Edinburgh Painter (*ABL* 218,53, unpublished). Compare also Würzburg 221, (E. Langlotz, *Martin von Wagner Museum der Universität Würzburg, Griechische Vasen*, Munich 1932, no. 221, pl. 59; Vanhove, *Sport*, 348, no. 215). For the rectangular shape on two fragments of Amsterdam 2159 (pl. 18 d-e) compare the garments (often incised in similar fashion) of the auloi-players on the above-mentioned vases.

<sup>759</sup> Graef and Langlotz, *Acropolis*, 141, "Jüngerer Stil, sorgfältig. Palästra: a [...] Unterteil eines Flötenspielers im langem weißem Gewande, mitten darauf ein schwarzer Streif und in diesem eine gelbe Schlangenlinie, rechts davon der Rest einer bewegten nackten Figur, links nackte männliche Figur n. r. auf das r. Knie niedergelassen (der Kopf fehlt), Oberkörper von vorn; sie hält in der rechten zwei Speere. Links davon ein rechter vorgesetzter Fuß. Links muss mit einem Abstand anschließen Fragment d, [...] mit der Fortsetzung der Speere, dem zurückgesetzten linken Unterschenkel und links davon dem Unterkörper des stehenden Aufsehers im Mantel mit roten und weißen Punkten. Links davon Rest eines weißen Vogels, der sich unter dem Henkel befand. b [...] vermutlich auf der anderen Seite. Rest einer Gruppe wie auf a: Unterteil des Flötenspielers und Beine des links davon Hockenden. e [...], Rest eines Aufsehers wie auf d und links davon kleine Spur des weißen Vogels unter dem Henkel. c [...], Unterbeine eines Springers der



alabastron once in the Basle market (Cat. no. 203, pl. 64 c-e) a woman holding an alabastron stands between two youths, one of whom is furnished with spears. There is a campstool behind her, and, in front of her, a lekythos. On the other side an Ionic column separates the youths who stand back to back. An identical picture, apart from the omission of the campstool, occurs on another alabastron which was once in the Basle market (Cat. no. 202, pl. 64 a-b). And the alabastron once in the Philadelphia market (Cat. no. 205) shows a similar scene (without column, but with a cock); the figures are painted in silhouette technique.<sup>761</sup> Further, the alabastron Palermo 660 (Cat. no. 204, 65 a-c) has a discus-thrower, dog, aulos-player and youth holding a jumping weight and spear. Between the youth with the spear and the aulos-player there seems to be the lower part of what may be a column, as seen in Cat. nos. 202-203.

Different sporting events are portrayed on either side of the skyphos New York 06.1021.49 (Cat. no. 42, 18 a-b): wrestlers (youths) with their trainer and a bystander; and on the other side, pancratiasts (men) with a trainer and bystander.<sup>762</sup> Perhaps the unpublished pelike Louvre F 391 (Cat. no. 157) also presents some kind of sporting subject; Beazley describes the subject as "boys running".<sup>763</sup>

## Ephedrimos

A rather large series of the Theseus Painter's skyphoi have pictures of an ephedrimos-like game (Copenhagen 6571, Brussels R 327, Agora P 1546, Haverford EA 1989-4, Amsterdam 2178 as well as the small fragments Himera H 27.679, Acropolis 1276, Agora P 23174, San Antonio 86.134.51 and, possibly, Corinth C 37-2323; Cat. nos. 54-63, pls. 25-27). Insofar as preserved, they all closely resemble one another. A youth rides piggyback on another youth, holding his arms around the other's chest, while the bearer reaches back and grasps the other's shins. Two pairs of such youths form the scene, and each pair is preceded by a walking youth who looks round and, in the case of the youth on the far right, holds a short stick or club. The standard ornament below the handles consists of intertwined tree trunks, next to which there is invariably a small cone-shaped object, identified as the *dioros*, that is, the stone which marks the game's boundary. This specific kind of representation is not met outside the Theseus Painter's work. On the other hand, several pictures of similar, but distinctly different games in which people ride piggyback occur in vase painting as well as on other artefacts. Of them, however, only one type of game may be identified as the ephedrimos proper, in which the person riding piggyback holds his or her hands over the eyes of the bearer. In Brommer's words: "Demnach kam es also darauf an, einen aufgestellten Stein, der Grenzstein genannt wurde mit anderen Steinen oder Ballen umzuwerfen; der Besiegte musste den Sieger, der ihm auf den Rücken sitzend die Augen zuhielt, so lange tragen, bis er wieder an den Grenzstein angelangt war. Hesychius, der das Spiel s.v. ἐφεδρίζειν erwähnt, fügt als Besonderheit der Art des Tragens hinzu, dass der Besiegte dabei die Arme auf den Rücken hält, und bemerkt dass das Spiel bei den Attikern ἐν κοτύλῃ heiße [...]. Wir lernen [...] den weiteren Umstand, dass der Getragene sich mit seinen Knien auf die verschlungenen Hände des Tragenden stützte".<sup>764</sup> Therefore the game played by the Theseus Painter's youths cannot rightfully be considered the ephedrimos.<sup>765</sup> Moreover, it seems that the naked youth with a stick who walks in front of one pair, as if directing the youths towards the *dioros*, is not part of the true ephedrimos. However, the Theseus Painter included two unquestionable features of the game: the *dioros* and the way in which the bearer grasp the rider's legs.

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wie die Figur rechts vom Flötenbläser auf *a* gewesen sein kann. Spärliche Zweige."

<sup>760</sup> For palaestra scenes in general see, for example, Beck, *Album*, 29-32; Vanhove, *Sport*, 69-73.

<sup>761</sup> Para 256, "In silhouette. Free replica of the last [once Basle market]. 1, athlete standing to right with fillet and acontion, 2, woman standing to right with spathe and lekythos, 3, athlete standing to left; on the ground, between 1 and 2 a cock, between 2 and 3 a lekythos, on the right of 3 a discus."

<sup>762</sup> See, for example, Beck, *Album*, 29, 35-6; Vanhove, *Sport*, 102-104.

<sup>763</sup> Para 257; Beck, *Album*, 29, 32; R. Patrucco, *Lo sport nella Grecia antica* (Florence 1972) 225-67, 269-331; Vanhove, *Sport*, 99-106.

<sup>764</sup> Brommer, 'Huckepack', 139-41, based on C. Robert, 'Kinderspiele auf Vasen', *AZ* 37 (1879) 79. See also P. Zazoff, 'Ephedrimos, ein altgriechisches Spiel', *AuA* 11 (1962) 35-42; Beck, *Album*, 51-53, considering the Theseus Painter's skyphoi as 'true' ephedrimoi; *Jouer dans l'Antiquité*, Musée d'Archéologie Méditerranéenne, Marseille, 22 Nov. 1991 - 16 Feb. 1992, 116-19; Vanhove, *Sport*, 26, 172-75.

<sup>765</sup> Brommer, 'Huckepack', 141.

## 4. Komoi

The Theseus Painter's most popular subject is the procession of 'revellers'. It appears on most of his vases by far. Nearly identical compositions and komasts are seen on the skyphoi Agora P 1544, 1547-49, Amsterdam 290 and Taranto 4591 as well as the kyathoi Philadelphia L 64-540, Erlangen I 522 and Heidelberg S 53 (Cat. nos. 45-51, 194-196, pls. 20-23 a-b, 60-61 a-b). The komasts include naked men and youths, male and female auloi-players, amphora-bearers and, sometimes, lyre-players. The picture of Pisa P 695 is probably comparable (Cat. No. 52, pl. 23 c), although with slightly different details (booted figures, walking stick).

It has been proposed that the Theseus Painter's komoi might somehow be related to sacrificial processions. The suggestion is partly based on the goats below the handles of the skyphoi, which would then represent the participants' sacrifices.<sup>766</sup> This could be possible, but it needs to be considered that goats are not depicted on the kyathoi, which would seem to argue against their importance as integral elements of the scene and in favour of their simpler function as decorative motifs comparable to the many white herons below the handles of other skyphoi.<sup>767</sup> Furthermore, there are several examples of White Herons on the Theseus Painter's skyphoi with ritual associations.<sup>768</sup> On the other hand, the Theseus Painter's komoi have a much more dignified air than the average Attic representations, and the stances and demeanour of the figures are more in line with definite ritual processions than with revellers. Also, Athens, NM 498 (Cat. no. 80, pl. 34 e-f) with a representation of an image of Dionysos on the obverse, most likely a ritual scene, has a procession on the reverse which is very similar to the abovementioned komoi. Furthermore, the Theseus Painter's other skyphoi with goats below the handles sometimes have some ritual associations too. In short, a religious or sacred interpretation of the processions seems not too far-fetched if we bear in mind the Theseus Painter's evidently general interest in cultic themes.

Comparable, though much less like a procession, is the picture of the lekythos Athens, NM 9686 (Cat. no. 142, pl. 45 d-e), with lyre- and auloi-players and a naked and a dressed man. In Columbia 61.2 (Cat. no. 151, pl. 47 c-d) a lyre-player standing in front of a goat confronts a man leaning on a stick. On the reverse the lyre-player is replaced by a female-auloi player and a dog. Naples Stg 118 (Cat. no. 132, pl. 41 a-c) depicts a fully dressed auloi-player with mitra and dog between two male mantle-figures. As the Naples lekythos is white-ground, the black skin colour of the central figure is not necessarily indicative of male gender (see for example black skin of women on other white-ground vases: Cat. nos. 138, 145, pls. 43 d-e, 46 c). On the other hand, the prominent red forelock visible under the mitra is a usual trait of the Theseus Painter's males. Similar figures that can definitely be identified as males are discussed by D.C. Kurtz and J. Boardman. They are critical of the widely accepted notion that they represent komasts dressed in female clothing, as "associated with the stay in Athens of the poet Anakreon".<sup>769</sup> Boardman remarks that all the features of their

<sup>766</sup> Van Straten, *Hiera Kala*, komoi, cat. nos. V3-4 (Agora P 1544, P 1547); goats under handles, 52-53, "A number of Attic black figure skyphoi by the Theseus Painter [...], with more or less religious scenes, have goats under the handles, which are sometimes referred to as sacrificial victims [...]. Whether these goats under handles should be regarded as sacrificial animals, is a moot point. They are never incorporated in an unquestionably sacrificial context." P. Valavanis, in 'THNE□□A KA□□INIKH', *AA* 1991, 490-91, n. 25, compares these vases with the fragmentary amphora Acropolis 842 showing a Panathenaic or Dionysiac procession including men with twigs, Panathenaic-shaped amphora and goat. All the Theseus Painter's komoi that include amphora-bearers also show amphorai of Panathenaic shape being carried by them: Agora P 1544 (decorated with a wreath), Agora P 1548, Naples 81082, Philadelphia L 64-540, Erlangen I 522, Heidelberg S 53 (Cat. nos. 45-46, 155, 194-96). The sole possible exception is Taranto 4591 (Cat. no. 50, pl. 21 d), where the neck-amphora has a large, torus-shaped foot, but since that part of the skyphos has been restored, an amphora of Panathenaic shape might be depicted after all. See also a fragment from Reggio (Cat. no. 50), unpublished) possibly showing a komos, with a man carrying a pointed amphora. Compare also Malibu 86.AE.147 (Cat. no. 193): Herakles served by satyrs and maenads, one carrying a pointed amphora. See also Neils, *Pride*, 183, on the significance of Panathenaic-shaped amphorai. Also Burkert, *Tragedy*, esp. 98-99, figs. 1-3.

<sup>767</sup> Some skyphoi that can be assigned with a degree of certainty to a ritual context show herons below the handles: London B 79, Dionysos in a ship-cart, Cat. no. 8, pl. 4 a-b; Florida 86.52, sacrificial procession, Cat. no. 40, pl. 17 a-b. At least one komos skyphos of the Theseus Painter has white herons (Taranto 4591, Cat. no. 50, pl. 21 c-d).

<sup>768</sup> That is, if one interprets scenes like those with Athena serving Herakles in such a way (Cat. nos. 18-21, pls. 8 d-e, 9 a-d, with goats under the handles).

<sup>769</sup> Kurtz and Boardman, *Booners*, 47. See also L.D. Caskey and J.D. Beazley, *Attic Vases in the Museum of Fine Arts Boston* 2



garments can just as easily be considered typically male as female. Furthermore, such clothing for males could result from general Ionic influence on Attic vase painting from the 520s B.C. onwards rather than from a single poet's popularity. Naples 81082 (Cat. no. 155, pl. 49 c) has a more conventional komos-like portrayal: on one side, an amphora-bearer and female auloi-player; on the other, two youths, one of whom plays auloi.

Beazley described the subject of the skyphos Athens, NM 13916 as "men contemplating a large amphora" (Cat. no. 53, pl. 24).<sup>770</sup> Pipili regards it instead as quite close to a komos, comparable to that of the pelike Munich 1678 (Cat. no. 154, pl. 49 a-b)<sup>771</sup> where, on each side, a calyxlike krater is flanked by two youths, one of whom either holds a kantharos or plays auloi. On the Athens skyphos, however, a somewhat ceremonial atmosphere is evoked by the composition, colourful wreath around the amphora and birds on the rim. However, Scheibler, referring to the Athens skyphos, cites a series of red-figure pictures on opposite sides of the same vases: one side shows people looking at an amphora, very much like the figures of the Munich pelike, the other depicts people with purses. In her opinion, the subject is the sale of amphorai.<sup>772</sup>

Returning to the Munich pelike, we can note that it presents two of the very few surviving pictures by the Theseus Painter which might possibly portray a non-mythological symposium. The others are found on the exteriors of the cups Winchester College and Taranto 6515 (Cat. nos. 174, 176, pl. 56 c).<sup>773</sup> The cup Agora 1383 (Cat. no. 177, pl. 56 d-g) depicts a single dancing man, presumably a komast, as does the small olpe Athens, NM 13262 (Cat. no. 163, pl. 52 a).

The komos or a related subject probably appears on small fragments in Corinth (KP 2773) and Athens (Agora P 13373) (Cat. nos. 96-97, pl. 36 k-l), of whose figurework very little remains. Lastly, the skyphos Taranto 4449 (Cat. no. 44, pl. 19) might also depict a komos. Again we see the familiar naked and half-naked men and youths, some playing auloi. But in contrast to the preceding komoi (particularly Cat. nos. 45-52) several figures hold a staff or spear. Furthermore, one man jumps up in the air (pl. 19 a), two youths squat (19 b-c) and another youth supports himself with his hands on the floor while raising his legs (pl. 19 d), postures which are not repeated in the Theseus Painter's other komoi.<sup>774</sup>

## 5. People at work

The Theseus Painter's depictions of people at work are few. His most discussed scene that might regard work is the skyphos Harvard 60.321 (Cat. No. 64, pl. 28a-c). In the centre of side A, a youth stands behind a large cone-shaped 'heap' with flattened top, marked with rows of incised dashes. To the left, a youth empties a basket onto the heap; to the right, a man stands in front of a Herm. Apart from small differences, the reverse picture is comparable. The youth behind the heap also has a basket, and the incised markings of the heap form a herringbone pattern. Below each handle a seated youth grasps a handle of a large amphora. A fragmentary skyphos of the Theseus Painter which shows similar or perhaps identical pictures was discovered in Thasos and recently published (Cat. no. 65, pl. 28 d-e). To date, no other parallel is at hand.<sup>775</sup>

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(Oxford 1954) 55-61, suggesting that the komasts are men disguised as women, who might be intended as "Anacreon's boon companions."

<sup>770</sup> Para 259, near the Theseus Painter. Considered by M. Pipili (*CVA Athens* 4, 50-51) and A.N. Malagardis (*Skyphoi*) as work of the painter himself.

<sup>771</sup> *CVA Athens* 4, 51, where Pipili also refers to Scheibler's suggestion "on the use of belly-amphorae in sacrifices and Dionysiac feasts in the open air as opposed to house symposia." On this matter see also Scheibler, *Bild und Gefäß*, 68-72.

<sup>772</sup> Scheibler, *Bild und Gefäß*, 74-75, figs. 9-11.

<sup>773</sup> See, *Kunst der Schale*, 299, "[...] also eine art Symposion im stehen, oder ein ortsfester Komos."

<sup>774</sup> F. Brommer, 'Antike Tänze', *AA* 1989, 491, refers to "Sprungtänze" mentioned in ancient sources. According to him, they are not portrayed on Attic vases: "ein Sprungtanz ist mehrfach Dargestellt, aber nur führ Sparta überliefert. Bei ihm berühren die Tänzer mit den Füßen das Gefäß, beide Beine haben sich vom Boden gelöst. Dieser Tanz kommt bereits in geometrischer Zeit vor [...]. Von archaischen oder klassischen Vasen Attikas oder Spartas ist er nicht bekannt." Brommer's description seems suited to at least one figure of the Taranto skyphos, illustrated in pl. 19 a. See also G. Franzius, *Tänzer und Tänze in der archaischen Vasenmalerei* (Diss. Goettingen 1973) 31, type 4, fig. 4 d-e.

<sup>775</sup> Compare slightly similar scenes on three skyphoi of Heron Class type: people emptying baskets onto a (burning?) heap on the floor, Thebes R 18.98 (Burows and Ure, *Rhizóna*, 292, possibly identify it as a game; Ure, *Sixth and Fifth*, 62, pl. 18, "smelting of



The activities of the men on the Harvard skyphos have been variously interpreted. D.M. Robinson suggested that the 'cone-shaped heap' possibly represents a granary, wine-container or tank, but concluded that it might instead be a kiln under construction.<sup>776</sup> M.M. Eisman and L. Turnbull,<sup>777</sup> on the other hand, later proposed that the men are not building a kiln but carrying out stages in the clay purification process, as the shape of the heap is not comparable to that of readily identifiable kilns in vase painting. Scheibler initially agreed with Eisman and Turnbull and published a photograph of heaps of clay undergoing treatment in a present-day potter's workshop.<sup>778</sup> Later, however, she advanced an entirely different theory: the men are preparing for a harvest feast.<sup>779</sup>

Although Eisman and Turnbull's interpretation has some merit, other vase paintings supply no comparisons which might help to explain some unsolved aspects. For example, the cone-shaped heaps actually look much more like neatly arranged piles of grain or the like than irregularly shaped mounds of clay. Scheibler also notes examples of similarly formed heaps in an agricultural context.<sup>780</sup> In addition, although Eisman and Turnbull cite several examples of herms in a manufacturing environment,<sup>781</sup> the man standing in front of the herm on the Theseus Painter's skyphos appears to be decorating or cleaning it, an activity which seems rather out of place in a workshop.<sup>782</sup> Scheibler has furthermore a strong point when she remarks that the amphorai below the handles preserve traces of white wreaths indicating that they are to be seen as already in use and not as being shaped.<sup>783</sup> Despite the uncertainties, I am inclined to agree, however hesitantly, with Scheibler that the theme is the harvest or a harvest feast.

The previously unpublished skyphos in Salerno (Cat. no. 79, pl. 34 a-d) is described by Beazley as depicting a forge.<sup>784</sup> Its heavily damaged condition hampers the identification of some of the figures, however. Although the central object of side A (pl. 34 b) resembles melting furnaces seen in unquestionable representations of forges,<sup>785</sup> most of the men around it do not appear to be engaged in any kind of activity associated with metalworking: one of them bends forward, holding a stick as if stirring something, two hold what looks like a vessel (pl. 34 a). However, the man seated on the far right might be fuelling or stirring a fire (pl. 34 b), like the seated man on the Foundry Painter's name-vase.<sup>786</sup> On side B two men, poorly preserved, seem to hammer (pl. 34 c) on something resembling an anvil, assisted by a colleague. On the far right, another figure seated in a manner similar to the one on the far right of side A works beside another rectangularly shaped structure (forge or cupboard?), which has a bird on top (pl. 34 c). On each side, in the upper right, a rectangular form is visible which possibly corresponds with the rectangles with sketches on the Foundry Cup.<sup>787</sup>

A skyphos, supposedly in Thebes (Cat. no. 121), is shortly mentioned in a few publications.<sup>788</sup> Its subject is the pressing of oil or wine,<sup>789</sup> as also featured on a skyphos near the Theseus Painter (Cat. no. N52).

ore"?; Thebes R 18.100 (Burows and Ure, *Rhizóna*, 292, "four men at some occupation; perhaps another stage of the game depicted in no. 18; perhaps stoking a fire"; Ure, *Sixth and Fifth*, 62, pl. 18, "smelting of ore"); Amsterdam 2575 (CVA Hague, Scheurleer Coll. 2, pl. 6.3-4, harvest, forthcoming CVA Amsterdam).

<sup>776</sup> CVA Baltimore, Robinson Coll. 3, 11-12. See also nn. 524-26 above.

<sup>777</sup> M.M. Eisman and L. Turnbull, 'Robinson's Kiln-skyphos', *AJA* 82 (1978) 394-99.

<sup>778</sup> I. Scheibler, 'Formen der Zusammenarbeit in attischen Töpfereien des 6. und 5. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.', in H. Kalcyk et al. (eds.), *Studien zur alten Geschichte, Siegfried Lauffer zum 70. Geburtstag am 4. August 1981 dargebracht von Freunden, Kollegen und Schülern* Band III (Rome 1986) 790-794, present-day clay heaps in pl. 1 b.

<sup>779</sup> Scheibler, *Bild und Gefäß*, 72.

<sup>780</sup> Scheibler, *Skyphoi*, 27, n. 86.

<sup>781</sup> M.M. Eisman and L. Turnbull, 'Robinson's Kiln-skyphos', *AJA* 82 (1978) 398.

<sup>782</sup> Unfortunately there is no trace of a wreath or flowers or the like in the man's hand.

<sup>783</sup> Scheibler, *Skyphoi*, 27.

<sup>784</sup> Para 257, Padula.

<sup>785</sup> See, for example, J. Ziomecki, *Les représentations d'artisans sur les vases attiques* (Wrocław/Warsaw etc. 1975) 28-30, 98 ff., see esp. 57, fig. 19 (a forge, with one seated figure poking the fire), 59, fig. 20 (man hammering); G. Zimmer, *Antike Werkstattbilder* (Berlin 1982) 6-23.

<sup>786</sup> Berlin 2294 (ARV<sup>2</sup> 400,1; Para 370; Beazley *Addenda*<sup>2</sup> 230).

<sup>787</sup> This might indicate that the setting is indoors, whereas the criss-cross branches with leaves suggest the outdoors.

<sup>788</sup> ABL 251.41; D.M. Robinson and J.W. Graham, *Excavations at Olynthos VIII, The Hellenistic House* (Oxford 1938) 341, n. 14; S.C. Bakhuizen, 'Torcula Graecanica', in *Stips Voitva*, 2, n. 15.

<sup>789</sup> *Olynthos* VIII, 341, n. 14, "a man bringing down a long beam on the press out of which flows the oil into a big vat and from that into a kind of wineskin or sack. A man leans over it as if about to lift it and another stands at the left." During my visit to Thebes

The cup Malibu 96.AE.96 (Cat. no. 171, pl. 55 a-c) depicts, on one side, a man in a loincloth cutting up a large fish (tuna) and, on the other, a man carrying a similar fish. The few close comparisons are dispersed over a long period of time.<sup>790</sup>

In the tondo of Salerno 158 a (Cat. no. 175, pl. 56 b) we see a "youth carrying the leg of an ox over his shoulder"<sup>791</sup> and on the fragmentary cup Agora P 1384 (Cat. no. 172, pl. 56 h) a male carrying a piece of meat, who recalls the man carrying tuna on the Malibu cup.<sup>792</sup> It is quite remarkable that as many as three of the Theseus Painter's cups show the handling of meat or fish. Whether the figures are all intended as butchers or fish dealers remains unclear, however.

A fragment from the Acropolis (1282) (Cat. no. 66, pl. 23 d) preserves part of a scene described by Haspels as "people pulling something with a thick rope".<sup>793</sup> It could be a scene of labour, but it might instead be a religious, sacrificial procession. The incomplete figures include colourfully dressed men and a mule adorned with equally colourful wreaths and flowers pulling two very thick ropes. The abundant added colour and the fragment's discovery on the Athenian Acropolis might lead one to believe that the figures are instead processional, possibly pulling something similar to a ship-cart. The idea is further supported by the right-hand partial man in a long mantle who seems to be balancing something on his missing head, steadied by his left hand, like the left-hand figure of Tampa 86.52 (Cat. no. 40, pl. 17 b). On the other hand, we may be dealing with just a scene of men and mules at work.

The same problem applies to another fragment from the Acropolis (1271, (Cat. no. 5, pl. 2 c-d), which Haspels assigned to near the Theseus Painter.<sup>794</sup> In my opinion, however, this skyphos was decorated by the painter himself. According to Haspels, it simply depicts "washermen". Scheibler proposes that the subject is possibly the *Plynteria*, the yearly washing of the wooden statue of Athena Polias. It is unclear, however, whether only the statue was washed or, as might be depicted here, also the robe.<sup>795</sup> Moreover, the washing was apparently done by girls in the sea, with youths acting only as escorts.

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the vase could not be found.

<sup>790</sup> A lekkythos from Thasos (Gahli-Kahil, *Thasos* VII, 93, no. 127, pl. 39, close to the Theseus Painter and the Athena Painter, maybe by one of them). The olpe Berlin 1915 (ABV 377,247; *Para* 163; *Beazley Addenda*<sup>2</sup> 100; *CVA* 7, pl. 36, also mentioning the possibility of such representations being fish sacrifices; see also *Cité des Images*, 50, and J.L. Durand, 'Figurativo e processo rituale', *DdA* 1, 1979, 16-31) with a shape similar to a large skyphos on the floor. It might also be what is called a lekane (as a *spagheion*), compare, for example, *Agora* XII, 213-14, nos. 1781-1820, pls. 83-85. See also Pingiatoglou, *Frauengelage*, 44-46. Also two south Italian kraters: A.D. Trendall, *The Red Figured Vases of Lucania Campania and Sicily* (Oxford 1967) 208, no. 54 (caricatures by the Tunny-seller Painter) and once London market, *Christie's London* 12 Dec. 1990, 39, no. 79 (satyr and woman pouring liquid over a tuna). See also Durand, *Ibid.*, 28-29, mentioning the visual similarity between the picture of the above-mentioned Berlin olpe and depictions of animal sacrifice.

<sup>791</sup> ABV 520,34.

<sup>792</sup> Compare, for example, also the oinochoe Boston 99.527 (ABV 430,27, *Beazley Addenda*<sup>2</sup> 111, Group of Vatican G. 47), "man cutting up a carcass."

<sup>793</sup> ABL 251,42.

<sup>794</sup> ABL 253,12.

<sup>795</sup> Deubner, *Attische Feste*, 17-22; Parke, *Festivals*, 152-55; Simon, *Festivals*, 46-48.

### XIII. A CLOSER LOOK AT THE THESEUS PAINTER'S ICONOGRAPHY

#### 1. Introduction: general observations on late black-figure iconography

One of the remarkable traits of Attic vase painting is the range of general themes (mythology, ritual/religion, daily life, etc.) and the great diversity of the individual subject matter, strengthened by the wide variations in the pictorial schemes. In general, late black-figure is not an exception. However, some peculiar problems concern the identification and interpretation of the subjects in late black-figure. Parallel to their repetitiously clumsy decorative style<sup>796</sup> many of the 'mass-produced' vases of the least accomplished Attic late black-figure workshops show very abbreviated and repetitive representations. In spite of this, the identification of the figures or scenes is often a relatively easy matter.<sup>797</sup> Many late black-figure vases, for example, depict a very simplified picture of a man fighting a bull (often even executed in silhouette).<sup>798</sup> Although the male figure lacks special traits, he can in many instances be identified as Herakles by the carelessly painted club suspended in space or hanging from a tree. In the pictures without a club, however, it is difficult to decide whether the subject is indeed Herakles or Theseus. In other kinds of pictures where attributes are omitted or their nature is ambiguous, identification can pose greater problems.<sup>799</sup>

Another complicating factor is that the same attribute or iconographical element can have very diverse values or meanings in different kinds of representations. It can be the benchmark for the identification of a subject or have a clearly unambiguous meaning in a specific scene and, in combination with other elements, lead to an acceptable identification. Depending on the context, it is also possible that an attribute or iconographical feature has multiple meanings.<sup>800</sup> Furthermore, it might be misquoted, erroneously interpreted or incorrectly employed by a painter who haphazardly borrowed it from the work of others, thus leading to misunderstandings on our part. It is equally possible that an attribute or iconographical element is completely devoid of meaning, being perhaps merely decorative.<sup>801</sup>

The lack of literary sources or parallels in other works of art can also cause difficulties, as we have seen above in relation to the Theseus Painter's numerous subjects whose meanings are uncertain (like Herakles leading a female monster by a rope, Cat. nos. 15-16, pl. 7 a, c, amazon or Arimasp fighting a griffin, Cat. nos. 6, 10, pls. 3 a, 5 a). In addition, literary sources for many such representations might indeed exist but they are not entirely comparable to the preserved images, or the images follow pictorial conventions instead of literary ones and therefore diverge from the written source and have become unrecognisable. Furthermore, written sources are often much more informative when applied to mythological or cultic representations than to more generic subjects, by which the latter are often relatively harder to identify.

A strongly one-sided concern for the identification of subject matter has some limitations and disadvantages, however. In the history of the study of Attic vase painting the main focus of iconographical

<sup>796</sup> This is most evident in the work of the truly low-quality manufacturers like the Haimon Group, CHC Group, Class of Athens 581, Leafless Group, etc.

<sup>797</sup> For the helpfulness of repetitiveness in scenes for the identification of subjects see, for example, G. Jurriaans-Helle, 'Het ontleden van griekse vaasschilderingen', *Lampas* 30, no. 4/5, Oct. 1997, 285-96 (with English summary); *ead.*, 'The Bride, the Goddess, the Hero and the Warrior, Chariot-scenes on Attic Black-Figure Vases', *Proceedings Amsterdam*, 206-208.

<sup>798</sup> See lekythoi and mastoid-skyphoi in the Haimon Group, for example, *ABV* 547,242-43, 547,246, 547,251 (no club?), 547,253, 558,485, 558,489 (no club?), 558,492-93.

<sup>799</sup> See, for example, the numerous scenes with a 'goddess' mounting a chariot in the Haimon Group (*ABV* 539-43, 1-124; *Para* 271-74).

<sup>800</sup> Might, for example., the white-haired central satyr on the skyphos which was once in the Basle market (Cat. no. 37, pl. 15 c-d) truly be regarded as Papposilenos and thus a representation of a stage performance or is he just a decorative variation in a group of satyr musicians? Possibly he is a bit of both. See also Brommer, *Satyrspiele*<sup>2</sup>, 18.

<sup>801</sup> All this largely depends on the context of a representation; see, for example, the female figure of the Goulandris lekythos (Cat. no. 126, pl. 38 b). The question is whether she is a participating goddess or merely a space-filling bystander as often appears to be the case in the Theseus Painter's pictures.



research largely aimed at distinguishing scenes and classifying them according to type and variant.<sup>802</sup> As a result, their underlying meanings received comparatively much less attention. The approach is regrettable, above all, because it reduces the representations to mere narrative 'cartoons' or decorative templates. Secondly, if the identification of subject matter remains the sole concern, there is the risk that unidentifiable scenes are given less attention in the long run or, alternatively, they become the object of extensive guesswork. Frequently, this results in many different interpretations, none of which is fully convincing (see for example the various opinions about the female monster led by Herakles, *Cat. nos. 15-16*, chapter XI.2).

The large diversity of the subjects and their treatment, as well as their variation, development and varying function and utilisation on the individual vases, suggest that multiple factors must have determined their selection, development and appearance. Considerations like fashion, painters' preferences or simply the nice look of certain subjects played their parts, while functional, symbolic, social, cultural, political and religious factors must have been equally influential. The difference between the two approaches, that is, the identification of subjects only and the interpretation of their meanings might, roughly speaking, be equated with the difference between *iconography* and *iconology*.<sup>803</sup>

In the past decades the iconographical research of vase painting has fortunately shifted towards the iconological investigation of meanings. Two main schools of thought can be distinguished, centring largely on Attic painting. One is dominated by J. Boardman's proposal that certain subjects might sometimes reflect or comment on political situations or historical events, later termed the 'civic message'.<sup>804</sup> The second one, usually associated with the structuralists, concentrates on a more socially, culturally and religiously inclined approach in connection with hidden meanings in Greek iconography.<sup>805</sup>

The former will be briefly dealt with below. The latter, though of equal importance, is not of use with respect to the Theseus Painter because it relies on supposed generalities in relations and contexts, and on the discovery of common denominators in Greek iconography as a whole. In contrast, the present study - being a monograph about a painter - focuses on particular characteristics of the Theseus Painter, including his representations, most of which show unusual content and a degree of divergence from the overall Attic development. Therefore it is preferable to investigate the specific features which make his work stand apart. As seen above, the uncommon choice and treatment of subject matter is a prominent factor.<sup>806</sup> In short, an exploration of iconographical particulars rather than generalities seems the most suitable approach to the Theseus Painter's uncommon imagery, although wider, more general meanings and concepts would inevitably also have come into play.

As a rule, late black-figure portrays the entire thematic range of earlier black-figure as well as that of contemporary and later red-figure. Slight iconographical shifts can be discerned, however. Particular scenes and thematic groups are more popular than previously or afterwards or, alternatively, they are less common. Late black-figure shows relatively many ritualistic, cultic and sacrificial scenes, whereas symposia, for example, are not especially frequent.<sup>807</sup>

<sup>802</sup> Best represented by Brommerts *Vasenlisten* of heroes and deities, LIMC and numerous monographs. The interest in listing subjects appears to have emerged at the time when Beazley and others were compiling their lists which stylistically classify painters' hands. Often the outcome of both approaches could be combined, for example, to establish whether the earliest appearance of a subject might be linked to a particular painter, thus marking him as its possible inventor in vase painting.

<sup>803</sup> H. Hoffmann, 'Iconography and Iconology', *Hephaistos* 7/8 (1985/1986) 61-66, gives a rather extreme description of such a distinction, the first may be described as "positivistic descriptive iconography [...] believe that things are what they appear to be on the surface; hence their suspicion of symbolical, psychological, or social-critical analysis". The second as, "interpretive and historically oriented iconology [...] are interested in recovering layers of sense behind the describable phenomena - that which they consider to be their deeper meaning."

<sup>804</sup> J. Boardman, *The History of Greek Vases, Potters, Painters and Pictures* (London 2001) 202 ff.

<sup>805</sup> Examples are: H. Hoffmann, 'In the Wake of Beazley', *Hephaistos* 1 (1979) 61-70; *id.*, 'Knotenpunkte, Zur Bedeutungsstruktur griechischer Vasenbilder', *Hephaistos* 2 (1980) 127 ff.; C. Bérard, 'Iconographie-Iconologie-Iconologique', *Études de Lettres* 4 (1983) 5-37; R. Osborne, 'The Myth of Propaganda and the Propaganda of Myth', *Hephaistos* 5/6 (1983/1984) 61-69; H. Hoffmann, 'Iconography and Iconology', *Hephaistos* 7/8 (1985/1986) 61-66; *id.*, 'Why did the Greeks need Imagery, An Anthropological approach to the Study of Greek Vase-painting', *Hephaistos* 9 (1988) 143-162. See also Ch. Hupperts, *Eros Dikaïos, De praktijk en de verbeelding van homoseksualiteit bij de grieken* (Diss. Amsterdam 2000) 75-93, with further examples on p. 75.

<sup>806</sup> See, for example, also Lissarrague, *Peintre des demi-palmettes*, 125-139.

<sup>807</sup> Even the two late black-figure workshops that produced a large number of cups seldom depicted these scenes. The Haimon Group has a few representations of a 'man reclining with women and satyrs' (ABV 563,574) or Dionysos or Herakles reclining with

Furthermore, some individual subjects are particular to late black-figure (as well as sometimes to contemporary red-figure). Among the examples are Helios in his chariot, which appears late in the sixth century B.C. and disappears early in the fifth;<sup>808</sup> the earliest representation of 'the meeting of Elektra and Orestes at the tomb' (?), depicted by the Sappho Painter;<sup>809</sup> the first 'Lenaia' vases; and, by the Athena Painter, Hyakinthos (Apollo?) on the swan<sup>810</sup> and Herakles and Atlas.<sup>811</sup> The Theseus Painter might be regarded as an extreme example of a painter who was evidently inclined to choose such uncommon subjects. However, it must also be kept in mind that several other late black-figure painters showed a general interest in subjects and scenes that are out of the ordinary or are not found in vase before or after them.

Another point needs to be noted regarding late black-figure. The continued use of the older black-figure technique in the late sixth and early fifth centuries B.C. might suggest that it largely filled a traditional role, like the black-figure decoration of the Panathenaic amphorai. If so, however, such traditionalism seems to contrast sharply with the relatively many iconographical innovations of late black-figure.

With regard to contemporary red-figure, we see that it differs from late black-figure in something so basic as the range of shapes. As a rule, the late black-figure painters preferred smaller ones like oinochoai, kalpides, small neck-amphorai, skyphoi and, above all, lekythoi. On the other hand, the Theseus Painter's skyphoi, as shown above, can be quite big, and other late black-figure painters sometimes decorated largish shapes. In contrast, contemporary red-figure painters have a much broader range of shapes, including many more cups as well as big vessels like amphorai, kraters and large hydriai.<sup>812</sup>

Perhaps the differences in subjects and shapes reflect a new, more limited role for late black-figure vases as compared to earlier black-figure and contemporary red-figure.<sup>813</sup> If its altered nature was indeed traditionalistic, this was not to the extent that iconographical conservativeness was dictated. The customers themselves could also have been influential: some might have remained attached to black-figure, while others preferred the newer, more sophisticated red-figure work.

Whatever the true reasons may be for the continuation of black-figure after the introduction of red-figure and the specialisations which appeared in late black-figure, I am convinced that it is insufficient solely to maintain that late black-figure painters were simply not skilled enough to change to red-figure. First of all, several of them show enough artistic ability to let us suppose that they could successfully have switched to red-figure, among others, the Athena Painter, Edinburgh Painter and Sappho Painter as well as the Theseus Painter. Secondly, as remarked above, there are indications that at least one of these painters actually switched to red-figure, namely, the Athena Painter, known later as the red-figure Bowdoin Painter. Moreover, some contemporary red-figure painters were just as incompetent as their late black-figure counterparts, maybe even more so.<sup>814</sup>

## 2. General aspects of the Theseus Painter's Iconography

### Thematic patterns

As seen in chapters IX-XII, the exceptional and the unique play major parts in the Theseus Painter's

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women and satyrs (*ABV* 563,573). The Leafless Group (*ABV* 632-648; *Para* 311-313) depicted many representations of Dionysos (or "Dionysos twice") reclining with a goddess or satyrs, but no regular symposia.

<sup>808</sup> It is only rarely depicted in red-figure (see above) and never with Herakles, as on the Theseus Painter's skyphoi and several other late black-figure vases.

<sup>809</sup> *ABL* 226,18; *LIMC* III, s.v. 'Elektra I', no. 54.

<sup>810</sup> See *LIMC* V, s.v. 'Hyakinthos'; M. Steinhart, 'Apollon auf dem Schwan, Eine neue Lekythos des Athenamalers' *AA*, 1993, 201-212. However, there are also some early red-figure examples, for instance by Olto.

<sup>811</sup> *ABL* 256,50; *LIMC* V, s.v. 'Herakles', no. 2677. One much earlier example of Atlas is seen on a fragment by Nearchos, *LIMC* III, s.v. 'Atlas', no. 2.

<sup>812</sup> There are, of course, also relatively many cups by late black-figure painters – the Leafless Group specialised in them – but they are few compared to late black-figure lekythoi. Even skyphoi and oinochoai seem to be more numerous.

<sup>813</sup> Like specific funerary vases (lekythoi?) or drinking vessels for special occasions (skyphoi?, see below).

<sup>814</sup> See, for example, the very rude tondos of the red-figure Pithos Painter, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 139-141.



iconography. Quite a few of his representations might be considered isolated cases in Attic vase painting either because they cannot be fitted into the more common iconographical trends or because they find no place among the larger thematic clusters. For example, the pictures of Herakles dragging a female monster by a rope (Cat. nos. 15-16, pl. 7 a, c)<sup>815</sup> are clearly associated with mythology (Herakles) and irreality (a strange monster with human traits like the face and polos), although their content cannot definitely be called mythological in the sense that it is linked to a particular myth or story. Neither are they apparently part of a larger mythological cycle like the labours of Herakles or the deeds of Theseus on his way to Athens which could provide an identification by association.

Roughly speaking, the Theseus Painter's subjects can be divided into several larger thematic categories. As said, only a relative small number of the subjects can be regarded as common, whether the content is mythological/narrative or otherwise. Many of his pictures can be placed under thematic headings like religion/ritual/cult,<sup>816</sup> possible theatrical performances,<sup>817</sup> mythological narratives which are new for the period or uncommon,<sup>818</sup> mythological figures in an apparently non-narrative context,<sup>819</sup> and everyday scenes, some of which are related to work.<sup>820</sup>

Another point is the absence or rarity of particular kinds of representations. The relatively few narrative mythological scenes have already been mentioned. But even more striking is the almost complete absence of symposia on the Theseus Painter's vases. Several of his skyphoi (and some other vases) depict Herakles, Dionysos and Hermes reclining, but none of his skyphoi show revellers at a drinking party, as portrayed on so many black- and red-figure cups, which seems curious if we consider the supposedly common function of skyphoi and cups as drinking vessels. Indeed, the Theseus Painter's symposia of the more usual kind seem to appear on only two of his cups (Cat. nos. 174, not illustrated, and 176, pl. 56 c).<sup>821</sup>

Another point regarding the Theseus Painter's iconography is the apparent linkage of some general subjects with particular shapes. The cups mainly depict symposia, butcher scenes and Herakles in various non-narrative roles; the large kalpides seem to be closely associated with Apollo and the Muses; the lekythoi generally show most of the narrative mythological scenes;<sup>822</sup> the palaestra is the subject of most alabastra; the loutrophoroi portray more processions than mourners and prothesis scenes; and the skyphoi have the bulk of the Theseus Painter's unexplained and rare subjects, many of which can be linked to ritual practices.<sup>823</sup>

## Subjects compared

Table 13 complements this section, which examines the occurrences of subjects used by the Theseus Painter in the work of other competent, late black-figure painters. The Athena Painter is included for obvious reasons. The Edinburgh Painter, Gela Painter, Sappho Painter and Diosphos Painter were selected because they are the other main late black-figure vase painters with a large body of work which has demonstrable artistic quality and varied iconography. In Table 13, I omit the Theseus Painter's fragments with only youths, men or goats which lack a further context. The subjects are not counted per side, as in Table 12, but per vase,

<sup>815</sup> Other examples might be the amazon/Arimasp and griffin skyphoi (Cat. nos. 6, 10, pls. 3 a, 5 a), the vases with Herakles served by Athena (Cat. nos. 18-21, pls. 8 d-9 d), or Dionysos and a female sea monster (Cat. nos. 68-69, 115, pl. 29 a-b).

<sup>816</sup> Like processions and sacrificial scenes.

<sup>817</sup> Like satyr musicians, ostrich riders, dolphin riders.

<sup>818</sup> Like the new representations of the deeds of Theseus.

<sup>819</sup> Like Herakles either leading a female monster, reclining or being served by Athena; amazon/Arimasp fighting a griffin (depending on the identification this might also be a mythological scene or a stage representation).

<sup>820</sup> Like butchers, forge, harvest (or harvest feast), oil-press

<sup>821</sup> The picture of the Munich pelike (Cat. no. 154, pl. 49 a-b) has also been associated with a symposium rather than a komos.

<sup>822</sup> Almost half of them: 11 of 25 vases depict narrative mythological scenes: Apollo and Tytios, Hephaistos in a gigantomachy, Herakles in the cave of Pholos, Herakles and Alkyoneus, Theseus and Prokrustes/Sinis, Pelus and Thetis, Polyxena at the fountain, Odysseus escaping, Triptolemos and Demeter, judgement of Paris, Herakles and the lion, (Cat. nos 126-27, 135-39, 141, 144-445, 147, pls. 38 c-e, 39 a-c, 42 d-e-44 a-b, 45 a-c, 46 c, 46 f-g).

<sup>823</sup> Such 'thematic patterns' seem not to mark his kyathoi, small kalpides, oinochoai or olpai. The pelikai appear partly to represent 'genre' subjects like revellers, musicians; partly more specific subjects like a pyrrhic dance or satyr musicians; and partly ambiguous subjects which might or might not refer to mythological figures: man on a mule/donkey (Hephaistos or Dionysos?), two men on donkeys (Hephaistos and/or Dionysos?), man and woman seated (Dionysos and Ariadne?).



that is, a subject that occurs on the both sides of one vase is counted once. Finally, my comparisons may be somewhat biased because I rely entirely on Haspels and Beazley for the work of the other painters.

On the whole, it can be said that individual vase painters, including those working in late black-figure, seem to have their own favourite subjects or actually specialise in particular subjects. This is most obvious in the less individualistic products of groups like the Leafless Group or the Haimon Group, each of which concentrated on a few subjects. The Haimon Group, for example, has huge numbers of representations of 'a goddess mounting a chariot'.<sup>824</sup> Among late black-figure painters and groups of skyphoi the preferences for certain subjects are equally evident. The CHC Group, for instance, favours subjects (amazon and chariot in three-quarter view, youth courting a boy, dancers) which seldom find counterparts on vases decorated by the Theseus Painter or other painters.<sup>825</sup> Even the Krokotos Group and the Sub-krokotos Group rarely have subjects in common with the Theseus Painter, the exceptions are the Krokotos Painter and the Painter of Philadelphia 5481. As will be shown below, individual painters favouring particular subjects which find comparatively few parallels in the work of other painters is also a characteristic of the more capable late black-figure painters, even if they are stylistically comparable to each other. Furthermore, although all these painters pre-eminently decorated lekythoi, their overall thematic categories differ noticeably.

In style, as noted, the Theseus Painter and the Athena Painter are strongly related. On the other hand, they show a lesser degree of similarity in their subject matter. The Athena Painter specialised much more in mythological scenes, frequently depicting Trojan stories (Polyxena at the fountain, of which at least nine examples survive,<sup>826</sup> judgement of Paris,<sup>827</sup> Ajax and Achilles playing a board game,<sup>828</sup> Achilles and Hektor (?),<sup>829</sup> Ajax with Odysseus and others, for example, Agamemnon<sup>830</sup>). In contrast, few Trojan representations by the Theseus are known, and they mainly occur on lekythoi which are linked by shape to the Athena Painter's workshop. Hyakinthos is another uncommon black-figure subject of the Athena Painter which is without parallel in the work of the Theseus Painter.<sup>831</sup>

Like the Theseus Painter, the Athena Painter frequently chose Herakles as his subject, sometimes depicting the hero in scenes which are also found in the work of the Theseus Painter.<sup>832</sup> Other, more uncommon, subjects of the Athena Painter include Nike running over the sea and two men working with hammers on a giant head of Kore.<sup>833</sup> On the other hand, he regularly portrayed centauromachies and, more often, fights, more than 20 examples of which survive (although it is unclear whether or not they are mythological).<sup>834</sup> In contrast, only two pictures of fights can be assigned to the Theseus Painter (Cat. nos. 119, 148).

<sup>824</sup> Although the group's work also comprises several examples of women at an image of Dionysos, the 'Lenaia' vases, see *ABV* 553,392-94.

<sup>825</sup> The amazon and chariot in three-quarter view are otherwise quite rare in Attic vase-painting as a whole.

<sup>826</sup> *ABL* 256,40, 257,78-79; *ABV* 523, 4-5; *Para* 261 (Amsterdam 3737; Basle, private coll.); *MuM* 40 (1969) 46, no. 77; K. Herbert and S. Symeonoglou, *Ancient Collections in Washington University* (St. Louis Miss. 1973) 13, figs. 15-17. To avoid long, space-consuming references, I give in nn. 832-854 only the first listing of the cited vases by the Athena Painter, Edinburgh Painter, Gela Painter, Sappho Painter and Diosphos Painter. Most often they refer to *ABL*. References to the same vases in *ABV*, *Para* and *Beazley Addenda*<sup>2</sup> can easily be found at the beginning of each of Beazley's lists: Athena Painter (*ABV*, lekythoi, 522-23, oinochoai dispersed over 525-33; *Para* 260-61, references to *ABV* included; *Beazley Addenda*<sup>2</sup> 130-32); Edinburgh Painter (*ABV* 476; *Para* 217; *Beazley Addenda*<sup>2</sup> 120); Gela Painter (*ABV* 473; *Para* 214-15, references to *ABV* included; *Beazley Addenda*<sup>2</sup> 118-19); Sappho Painter (*ABV* 507; *Para* 246; *Beazley Addenda*<sup>2</sup> 126); Diosphos Painter (*ABV* 508-509; *Para* 248-249, references to *ABV* included; *Beazley Addenda*<sup>2</sup> 127).

<sup>827</sup> See, for example, *ABL* 254,2-3.

<sup>828</sup> *ABL* 254,6, 258,89.

<sup>829</sup> *Para* 261.

<sup>830</sup> See, i.a., *ABL* 255,8, 258,88.

<sup>831</sup> *ABL* 255,17; M. Steinhart, 'Apollon auf dem Schwan, Eine neue Lekythos des Athenamalers' *AA*, 1993, 201-212.

<sup>832</sup> Herakles and the deer (*ABL* 254,4), Herakles and the lion (for example *ABV* 522,5), Herakles and the bull (for example *ABL* 257,65), Herakles and amazons (*ABL* 256,51), Herakles and Atlas (*ABL* 256,50), Herakles and the birds (*ABV* 522,50), Herakles fighting centaurs (*ABL* 257,77), Herakles leading a monster (*ABL* 260,129), Herakles and Kyknos (*ABL* 256,36).

<sup>833</sup> Thebes (*ABL* 259,115) and Cab. Méd. 298 (*ABL* 258,87; *ABV* 522; *Para* 260; *Beazley Addenda*<sup>2</sup> 130).

<sup>834</sup> Centauromachies: *ABL* 256,44, 257,85, 258,92, 258,96-99, 259,116, 260,139; *ABV* 523,6-7, 525,12; *CVA* Castle Ashby 1, pl. 23,3-4; *CVA* Illinois 1, pl. 29,1-4. Fights (see also n. 733): *ABL* 255,12, 255,21, 255,24-25, 257,55, 257,67, 257,83-85, 258,93-95, 258,106, 260,131, 260,140; *ABV* 523,2, 523,8-10; *Para* 261; *Para* 262 (once Basle market, Neuchâtel); *CVA* Castle Ashby 1, pl. 23,5-7.

As a rule, the Athena Painter, it seems, was not very interested in the special subjects which the Theseus Painter apparently liked (Dionysian ship-cart,<sup>835</sup> amazon/Armasp and griffin, ephedrismoi, processions, ostrich riders, Theseus<sup>836</sup>). However, both painters did sometimes share iconographical and thematic preferences and even occasionally illustrated the same unusual subject, for example, Herakles leading a female monster<sup>837</sup> and the Pyrrhic dance (at least seven by the Athena Painter).<sup>838</sup> In addition, as suggested by his name, the Athena Painter depicted Athena no less often than the Theseus Painter did.<sup>839</sup>

The relatively few subjects that the Edinburgh Painter and the Theseus Painter have in common belong mainly to the realm of mythology.<sup>840</sup> As a rule, the Edinburgh Painter's other representations also show the strong influence of mythology, which is in line with his supposed descent from the Leagros Group.<sup>841</sup> He also painted numerous chariot scenes.<sup>842</sup> Some of his subjects which correspond with those of the Theseus Painter are: procession, Herakles reclining (fragment), Herakles with Hermes and Athena, Hermes on a goat, scene with a ball game comparable to the Theseus Painter's ephedrismoi or palaestra pictures.<sup>843</sup>

Whereas the vase-shapes and painting styles of the Theseus Painter and the Gela Painter are very dissimilar, their iconographical usage shows many resemblances, especially, as it were, in the general mood. Like the Theseus Painter, the Gela Painter seldom chose mythological subjects. His Dionysian representations have relatively many similarities to the Theseus Painter's.<sup>844</sup> Other iconographical correspondences are a depiction of Helios in his chariot (without Herakles) and palaestra.<sup>845</sup> Just as the Theseus Painter frequently portrayed goats, so the Gela Painter featured bulls. He placed them in various contexts: maenads on bulls, bulls led to sacrifice and bulls at altars or lavers.<sup>846</sup> Many of them appear in what look like abbreviated sacrificial scenes.

Stylistically, the Sappho Painter and the Diosphos Painter are very close, whereas their iconographical focal points diverge. The Sappho Painter was comparatively much more preoccupied with mythology and

<sup>835</sup> Dionysian scenes other than the common ones are also quite rare in the work of the Athena Painter; most show satyrs and maenads (Dionysos seated, *ABL* 256,42, 258,102; *ABV* 531,11; Dionysos in a chariot, *ABL* 257,62; thiasos, *ABL* 258,105; Dionysos with satyrs and goats, *Para* 261; Dionysos on a donkey/mule, *ABL* 258,103).

<sup>836</sup> Only Theseus and the minotaur and Theseus and the bull (*ABL* 257,66 and *Royal Athenaeum Galleries*, 1990, no. 52, resp.).

<sup>837</sup> Herakles and the monster (*ABL* 260,129); heroes at a mound (Palermo, Mormino coll., *CVA* 1, pl. 18.1-3).

<sup>838</sup> Pyrrhic dance (*ABL* 257,56, 258,90, 259,120, 260,141; *Para* 261, twice; *MuM* 40, 1967, no. 141). Other subjects that occur in the work of both painters are dolphin riders (*ABL* 255,15); sirens making music (*ABL* 255,14, 255,20, 255,27, 256,48, 257,59, 257,68, 260,136; *ABV* 525,5; *Para* 261, twice; *MuM* 63, 1983, no. 36); satyrs (some of which make music, others with maenads, *ABL* 255,9, 255,11, 257,57, 257,69; *ABV* 704,11ter, 704,15quat; *Para* 261); heroes seated at a mound (Palermo, Mormino coll., *CVA* 1, pl. 18.1-3); several komoi and palaestra scenes (komoi, *ABL* 256,45-46, 257,60-61, 258,91, 259,114, 260,137-138; *ABV* 523,11; *Para* 261; palaestra, *ABL* 255,23, 257,76; *ABV* 523,13).

<sup>839</sup> However, the specific scenes in which Athena figures are very different: gigantomachies with Athena (for example *ABL* 255,13, 255,16, 255,31-32); Athena promachos (*ABL* 255,33, 256,34, 256,37, 257,63, 258,86); Athena seated (for example *ABL* 256,38-39); head of Athena (for example *ABL* 254,1, 257,75).

<sup>840</sup> Herakles and the lion and Herakles in an amazonomachy (*ABL* 218,45; *Para* 218 and *ABL* 220,78-79); Theseus and the bull (*ABL* 216,16-17; *Para* 218); judgement of Paris (*ABL* 217,32; *Para* 218); Polyxena at the fountain (*ABL* 217,31; *ABV* 477,7).

<sup>841</sup> The Edinburgh Painter depicted several Trojan scenes; see, for example, Ajax and Achilles (for example *Para* 218), the death of Priam (*ABL* 216,1; *Para* 218); Aeneas and Anchises (*ABL* 216,10); ransom of Hektor (*ABL* 217,19). See also Achilles and Chiron (*ABL* 217,28, 217,38, 219,60). Also various labours of Herakles (*ABL* 216,15, 217,30, 218,46; *ABV* 477,9; *Para* 218); Theseus and the Minotaur (*ABL* 217,23, 218,56, 220,78; *ABV* 478,7; *Para* 218); Odysseus and sirens (*ABL* 217,27).

<sup>842</sup> *ABL* 216,6-7, 216,13, 217,20, 217,36-37, 218,40-41, 218,50-52, 218,59, 219,60, 219,71, 220,80; *ABV* 476,4-5; *Para* 217. One of the few chariot scenes by the Theseus Painter is seen on his Cambridge lekythos (Cat. no. 131, pl. 40 d-e). In shape, it has been linked to the Edinburgh Painter's workshop (see also above).

<sup>843</sup> Processions (*ABL* 216,8); Herakles reclining (*ABL* 220,84); Herakles, Hermes and Athena (*ABL* 220,82; *ABV* 477,2; *Para* 218); Hermes on a goat (*ABL* 220,83; *ABV* 478,2, 478,8; *Para* 218); ball game (*ABL* 216,2); palaestra (*ABL* 217,34, 218,53).

<sup>844</sup> Dionysos reclining, which is one of the most common subjects of the Gela Painter (see, for example, *ABL* 206,21, 206,23, 206,27, 207,28, 207,31-32, 207,39, 208,53, 209,91, 210,118, 210,120-123, 211,125, 211,127, 211,130-134, 211,141-143, 212,163, 214,189, 214,192-193; *ABV* 473,2, 474,3-5; *Para* 215-216); satyrs and maenads and a mask of Dionysos (*ABL* 206,3, 208,55); Dionysos in a donkey/mule cart or seated on a donkey/mule (*ABL* 206,22, 206,26, 208,65-66, 209,80, 211,140, 212,155); satyr musicians (*ABL* 208,56; *Para* 215); satyrs making wine (*Para* 216).

<sup>845</sup> Helios (*ABL* 206,5, 213,177); palaestra (*ABL* 206,20, 209,77, 210, 98-99). See also J.M. Hemelrijk, 'The Gela Painter in the Allard Pierson Museum', *BABesch* 49 (1974) 117-58, esp. 152.

<sup>846</sup> For examples see *ABL* 206,13, 207,30, 207,38, 207,46, 208,54, 209,78, 209,84.



related subjects,<sup>847</sup> and depicted many chariots (in battle, or with Athena or Dionysos). In contrast, the Diosphos Painter has some amazons and amazonomachies as well as a few less common subjects which are comparable to ones by the Theseus Painter: Helios in his chariot, and Theseus and Prokrustes.<sup>848</sup>

As the foregoing painters demonstrate, it is impossible to find a common denominator in the subject matter of late black-figure. Even the Athena Painter, who is regarded as narrowly linked to the Theseus Painter, shares comparatively little with him as far as iconography is concerned.<sup>849</sup> In fact, the Gela Painter's subjects better resemble the Theseus Painter's with regard to their broadly thematic content, even though his style and workshop connections are far removed. Very occasionally, the similarity even extends to a new subject: Helios, Theseus and Prokrustes, etc. In sum, although each of the above painters has his own iconographical specialities and rare subjects, it is doubtless clear that the Theseus Painter is exceptional because of their greater number and variation.

## Theseus Painter, Herakles and Theseus

The notion that the increase in representations of Theseus on Attic vases after 510 B.C., regarding both quantity and narrative variation, is linked to the newly arisen democracy of Athens and the unification of Attica has found wide acceptance.<sup>850</sup> In 1972 J. Boardman noted that a similar increase seems to occur in Heraklean representations from around 560 B.C. onwards<sup>851</sup> and suggested that the phenomenon might be linked to the reign of Peisistratos and his sons. Furthermore, he and others proposed that certain Heraklean scenes might be interpreted as metaphoric or symbolic references to, or indeed comment on, the political situation of the day, as party propaganda or as a kind of symbolic alter ego of Peisistratos and his sons. Over time, Boardman gave several examples of how the theory might apply to different representations.<sup>852</sup> Later, various scholars put forward many political interpretations of Heraklean pictures, some even proposing the they might be viewed as supporting or opposing Peisistratid propaganda.<sup>853</sup>

<sup>847</sup> Ajax and Cassandra (ABL 225,1); Eos and Memnon (ABL 226,21); Ajax with the body of Achilles (ABL 226,26); Achilles and Troilos (ABV 507,1); ransom of Hektor (ABL 227,40ter); Orestes at the tomb of Agamemnon (ABL 226,18); Odysseus escaping (ABL 228,57); Peleus and Thetis (ABV 507,2); many amazonomachies, gigantomachies of Athena, several labours of Herakles and chariot scenes. The Diosphos Painter has fewer of these types of scenes; there are some examples esp. on his neck-amphorai (ABL 238-41): Ajax and Achilles playing (ABV 510,14); several examples of Herakles' labours (ABL 232,3, 234,46, 234,52, 235,70); Eos and Memnon (ABL 236,80, 236,85); Peleus and Thetis (ABL 233,35, 234,39, 237,103; ABV 510,26); judgement of Paris (ABL 233,18); dragging of Hektor (ABL 233,15).

<sup>848</sup> ABL 238,122 and ABV 509,5, resp.

<sup>849</sup> As stated above, in comparison to the Theseus Painter's skyphoi, the subjects of his lekythoi and late oinochoai are generally more comparable to those of the Athena Painter. Nevertheless, similar subjects are seen on both the Theseus Painter's skyphoi and vases by the Athena Painter.

<sup>850</sup> See, for example, W.R. Connor, 'Theseus in Classical Athens', in A.G. Ward, *The Quest for Theseus* (Vienna 1970) 146-47; J. Boardman, 'Herakles, Theseus and Amazons', in D.C. Kurtz and B.A. Sparkes (eds.), *The Eye of Greece, Studies in the Art of Athens* (Cambridge, London, New York etc. 1982) 1-28, with extensive list of older literature, 1, n. 1; Neils, *Theseus*, 1-3, 31-78, esp. 148-51; E.D. Francis, *Image and Idea in Fifth-century Greece, Art and Literature after the Persian Wars* (London and New York 1990) 43-66; Buxton, *Imaginary Greece*, 71. See also K. Schefold and F. Jung, *Die Urkönige Perseus, Bellerophon, Herakles und Theseus in der klassischen und hellenistischen Kunst* (Munich 1988) 233-251 and LIMC III, 992 (bibl.).

<sup>851</sup> J. Boardman, 'Herakles, Peisistratos and Sons', *RA* (1972) 57-72.

<sup>852</sup> J. Boardman, 'Herakles, Peisistratos and Eleusis', *JHS* 95 (1975) 1-12; *id.*, 'Herakles, Delphi and Kleisthenes of Sikyon', *RA* (1978) 227-34; *id.*, 'Exekias', *AJA* 82 (1978) 11-25; *id.*, 'Herakles, Theseus and Amazons', in D.C. Kurtz and B.A. Sparkes (eds.), *The Eye of Greece, Studies in the Art of Athens* (Cambridge, London New York etc. 1982) 1-28; *id.*, 'Image and Politics in Sixth Century Athens', in H.A.G. Brijder (ed.), *Ancient Greek and Related Pottery, Proceedings of the International Vase Symposium in Amsterdam, 1984, Allard Pierson Series*, vol. 5 (Amsterdam 1984) 239-47; *id.*, 'Herakles, Peisistratos and the Unconvinced', *JHS* 108/109 (1988/1989) 159; *id.*, *The History of Greek Vases, Potters, Painters and Pictures* (London 2001) 202ff.

<sup>853</sup> H.A. Shapiro, 'Hippokrates, Son of Anaxileos', *Hesperia* 49 (1980) 289-93; R. Glynn, 'Herakles, Nereus and Triton: A Study of Iconography in Sixth Century Athens', *AJA* 85 (1981) 121-32; D. Williams, 'Herakles, Peisistratos and the Alcmeonids', in F. Lissarrague and F. Thelamon (eds.), *Image et céramique, Actes du colloque de Rouen, 25-26 nov. 1982* (Rouen 1982) 131-40; H.A. Shapiro, 'Painting, Politics and Genealogy: Peisistratos and the Neleids', in W.G. Moon (ed.), *Ancient Art and Iconography* (Wisconsin 1983) 87-96; H.A. Shapiro, 'Herakles, Kyknos and Delphi', in H.A.G. Brijder (ed.), *Ancient Greek and Related Pottery, Proceedings of the International Vase Symposium in Amsterdam, 1984, Allard Pierson Series*, Vol. 5 (Amsterdam 1984); 271-74;



At the same time, however, much comment as well as downright criticism and rejection of the theory has emerged.<sup>854</sup> There is doubt, for example, whether the Heraklean scenes under discussion can suitably qualify as 'political representations' because they are possibly not explicit enough to refer clearly to such unequivocal messages. In addition, the link between the historical occurrences and the pictures to which they are supposedly connected is not always convincing. Moreover, other circumstances can conceivably account for Herakles' immense popularity in the sixth century B.C. For instance, we can consider the possible potential of overseas markets, as the majority of the vases with Herakles and Athena in a chariot were found in Etruria. Therefore, a general Etruscan, basically aristocratic, interest in Herakles and horses could just as well have been the cause.<sup>855</sup>

Unfortunately, such reservations, among others, make it seem doubtful that the hypothetical political explanation of the Heraklean imagery of sixth-century vase painting can be maintained as a possible option. But the approach serves as an instructive example of the possibilities for research into Greek iconography and demonstrates the value of searching for hidden meanings.<sup>856</sup> Boardman's theories have led to much useful discussion about new and different ways of investigating Greek iconography.

Whether correct or not, the theory would have little relevance to the Theseus Painter. Even though Herakles is one of his most common personages, there are no grounds for supposing that he interpreted the hero politically. Insofar as known, he only once depicted a scene that belongs among the kinds cited by Boardman and others: the Herakles and Triton of Marseilles 7017 (Cat. no. 23, pl. 10 c-d). Nevertheless, one can imagine that it is very tempting to view some pictures in a political light. But this is exactly the point, often subjects might appear to be linked to political events, whether correctly or not, because of seeming similarities in pictorial and historical elements. For example, the subject of Herakles leading a female monster (Cat. nos. 15-16, pl. 7 a, c) could, without much difficulty, be connected, as a symbolic reference, to Athens' subdual of a 'strange' country like Persia (E.T. Vermeule, in fact, associated the monster with fantastic creatures from the Near East).<sup>857</sup> The main problem with such interpretations - and indeed the approach as a whole - is their inevitably highly speculative nature.

Moreover, according to the Theseus Painter's chronology, he began his career at the end of the reign of the Peisistratids. Therefore it would seem more probable that his Heraklean imagery had non-political associations with, among other things, religion/cult, mythology and theatre. If so, the Theseus Painter would lend support to Boardman's theory that after 510 B.C. Herakles lost significance as a political symbol. That said, however, it cannot be concluded on the basis of the Theseus Painter alone that no other vase painters placed political references in Heraklean pictures.

On the other hand, there is some chance that the Theseus Painter's depictions of Theseus have political content. As remarked, Thesean subjects, especially those which suddenly appear around the end of the Peisistratids' reign, namely the hero's adventures while travelling from Troezen to Athens, are more widely

H.A. Shapiro, *Art and Cult under the Tyrants of Athens* (Mainz 1989) 157-63.

<sup>854</sup> See, for example., W.G. Moon, 'The Priam Painter: Some Iconographic and Stylistic Considerations', in W.G. Moon (ed.), *Ancient Art and Iconography* (Wisconsin 1983) 97-118; R. Osborne, 'The Myth of Propaganda and the Propaganda of Myth', *Hephaistos* 5/6 (1983/1984) 61-69; H. Hoffmann, 'Iconography and Iconology', *Hephaistos* 7/8 (1985/1986) 61-66.; R.M. Cook, 'Pots and Peisistratan Propaganda', *JHS* 107 (1987) 167-69; Scheibler, *Bild und Gefäss*, 96; J.H. Blok, 'Patronage and the Pisistratidae', *BABesch* 65 (1990) 17-28; *ead.*, 'Phye's Procession: Culture, Politics and Peisistratid Rule', in H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg, (ed.), *Peisistratos and the Tyranny, A reappraisal of the Evidence* (Amsterdam 2000) 17-48, esp. 17-19, 22-23, 28-31; H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg, 'Cultural Politics and Chronology, *ibid.*, 79-106.

<sup>855</sup> See, for example., H. Hoffmann, 'Iconography and Iconology', *Hephaistos* 7/8 (1985/1986) 63-64, who agrees with Moon about other influences on the choice of iconography, "when he [Moon] suggests that the success of such subjects in Attic black-figure may owe more to the Etruscan funerary trade than to Peisistratid interest in painted pottery. Moon furthermore directs attention to an aspect hitherto all but ignored by archaeologists namely 'that the practice of burying vases with the dead, most popular with the Etruscans but by no means exclusive to them' which 'must certainly have been an essential factor in the Athenian ceramic industry' and hence to have influenced iconography."

<sup>856</sup> However, Boardman has a point when he says, "Taken as a whole, the Herakles phenomenon in sixth-century Athens seems inexplicable in any other terms, and for me these remain probabilities until some equally comprehensive and more compelling explanation is offered", 'Herakles, Peisistratos and the Unconvinced', *JHS* 108/109 (1988/1989) 159. See also J.H. Blok, 'Patronage and the Pisistratidae', *BABesch* 65 (1990) 27; *ead.*, 'Phye's Procession: Culture, Politics and Peisistratid Rule', in H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg (ed.), *Peisistratos and the Tyranny, A Reappraisal of the Evidence* (Amsterdam 2000) 28-30, on the relative worth of Boardman's hypothesis.

<sup>857</sup> Vermeule, *Herakles*; see also above.

accepted as bearers of political symbolism. Chronologically, it also seems more likely that some of the Theseus Painter's pictures reflect the post-Peisistratid world after 510 B.C. rather than be concerned with the preceding years of the Peisistratids' reign.

Furthermore, we have seen that, as indicated by the painter's name, it was earlier assumed that a strong connection exists between his thematic preferences and the hero, although, as remarked, the degree of linkage has been greatly exaggerated. However, the Theseus Painter was indeed among the first vase painters to depict the adventures of Theseus on his way to Athens. Viewed in this light, he conceivably may have used Theseus as a means of commenting on political occurrences. On the other hand, his work contains relatively few pictures of this kind, as compared with his very many new Herakles scenes, as well as with his other unusual or innovative subjects. J. Neils suggests that the Theseus Painter simply joined the current fashion for portraying cycles of Thesean adventures, which originated with the more prominent red-figure painters and other sources.<sup>858</sup> Such an explanation would seem most in line with the painter's apparent general fondness for new and uncommon subjects.

### 3. The Theseus Painter's iconography and function of the vases: skyphoi

#### Introduction: connection between image and vessel

I. Scheibler and H.A. Shapiro<sup>859</sup> have recently questioned whether it is possible, as a methodological starting point, "to construct a meaningful chain of associations among the varied subjects that occur on a single shape [...] that both sheds light on the uses of the shape in Athenian life and, in turn, defines the shape as signifier in its own right."<sup>860</sup> In this regard, an earlier remark by H. Hoffmann is relevant: "Die Frage nach der funktionalen Bedeutung der attischen Vasen ist vor diesem forschungsgeschichtlichen Hintergrund zu stellen: in welchem Zusammenhang sind Vasenbilder und Gefäßfunktionen zu verstehen?"<sup>861</sup>

In a very limited number of cases the correlation between representation, shape and function is unambiguous. Shapiro gives some examples:<sup>862</sup> white lekythoi and loutrophoroi (but also pinakes, alabastra, etc.) with funerary subjects obviously had a funerary function; the sports events of the Panathenaic festival appear on Panathenaic amphorai; hydriai show fountainhouses, and drinking cups symposia. Regarding other vase-shapes, however it is generally thought that their representations range so broadly, spanning mythology to daily life, that it is impossible to detect any pattern of linkage.

Nevertheless, by analysing specific types of subjects in detail, Scheibler and Shapiro try to demonstrate that comparable linkage, though less obvious, can be discerned in other types of vases. Scheibler examines belly-amphorai, Shapiro pelikai. Scheibler concludes that the pictures of belly-amphorai share iconographical elements or themes.<sup>863</sup> In her view, as summarised by Shapiro, the general common background of the different subjects of belly-amphorai might be associated with "certain cults and rituals of initiation for the Athenian ephebes, their training as horsemen and warriors, along with the virtues and values these were meant to instil."<sup>864</sup> In turn, the representations accord with the practical (and cultic?) use of amphorai as wine containers for the elites.

In contrast, pelikai often depict more commonplace subjects: oil-sellers, shoemakers, workshops and other occupations of daily life. Moreover, the painted representations of pelikai in pictures on vases occur

<sup>858</sup> Neils, *Theseus*, 76.

<sup>859</sup> Scheibler, *Bild und Gefäß*; Shapiro, *Shape and Subject*. See also, K. Junker, 'Symposiongeschirr oder Totengefäße? Überlegungen zur Funktion attischer Vasen des 6. und 5. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.', *AK* 45 (2002) 3-26.

<sup>860</sup> Shapiro, *Shape and Subject*, 63.

<sup>861</sup> H. Hoffmann, 'Knotenpunkte, Zur Bedeutungsstruktur griechischer Vasenbilder', *Hephaistos* 2 (1980) 128, however, primarily regarding the controversy whether vases were mainly made for daily use or as "Totengeschirr".

<sup>862</sup> Shapiro, *Shape and Subject*, 63.

<sup>863</sup> Scheibler, *Bild und Gefäß*, 60, "Es sind Themengewichtungen und -Kombinationen zu erkennen, die auf einen bestimmten ikonologischen Zusammenhang zu deuten scheinen, und es fragt sich, welcher Art dieses Bedeutungsnetz ist und welche Vorstellungen ihm zu Grunde liegen könnten."

<sup>864</sup> Shapiro, *Shape and Subject*, 63.



in comparable spheres of activity. The pelike would then seem to be a much more humble vessel than the belly-amphora, for example, as oil container. And in such scenes pelikai themselves are often depicted. Thus Shapiro places the pelike in a more working-class environment. Strikingly, although the pelike and the belly-amphora have roughly the same shape, their overall subject matter and, in turn, their supposed function are fundamentally different, as argued by Scheibler and Shapiro.

Their method furnishes a practical tool for trying to identify the meanings and implications of the pictures of the Theseus Painter's skyphoi in relation to the function of the actual skyphoi themselves. Perhaps it will prove all the more useful as Scheibler has recently investigated the connections between subject and shape with regard to large skyphoi, particularly the Heron Class.<sup>865</sup> However, it will probably be much more difficult, if not impossible, to determine such associations between the representations and functions of other kinds of vessels decorated by the Theseus Painter, as their iconography seems, less coherently and distinctively linked to the shape. The only obvious exceptions are the scenes of mourners on loutrophoroi and of symposia on two of the painter's cups. Thus only his skyphoi will be discussed further.

### Specific subjects of Heron Class skyphoi and the possible function of these vases

As pointed out above, most of the Theseus Painter's unusual subjects are met on his skyphoi. Furthermore, we have seen that many of them may to some degree refer to a religious, ritualistic, cultic or festive context. Importantly, as previously suggested by Scheibler and others, the same tendency marks large (later) black-figure skyphoi by other painters, particularly the Heron Class.<sup>866</sup> However, noting the inherent ambiguity of such representations, Scheibler cautions against too easily linking them with specific practices or events. Nevertheless she finds it significant that Dionysos, Herakles and Hermes figure prominently on the large black-figure skyphoi. As shown above, the same clearly applies to those of the Theseus Painter (and, to some extent, also to his other vases).

For the most part, the Dionysian character of Heron Class skyphoi is seen in komoi and thiasoi, but there are also other festive Dionysian subjects like the ship-cart and the 'Lenaia'.<sup>867</sup> The references are not always clearly specified, however. Strikingly, the tendency noted by Scheibler in the Heron Class skyphoi as a whole is most marked in the Theseus Painter's specimens: the Dionysian themes are mainly festive.<sup>868</sup>

Further, Scheibler suggests that the tie between pictures of Herakles and the large Heron Class skyphoi might partly be explained by the hero's affinity, as a mighty drunkard, with big vessels or simply by his general popularity when most of these skyphoi were made. However, several festive themes conceivably imply that the skyphoi, at least their representations, may be associated with the hero's cult. In the words of Scheibler, "Wichtig ist beispielsweise die Bedeutung des Herakles als Epheben- und Apaturien-Gott."<sup>869</sup> In fact, some Heraklean scenes of the Theseus Painter's skyphoi are indeed thought to refer to cult, though, of course, not with absolute certainty; for example Herakles and Athena together, either shaking hands in a templelike setting or the hero being regaled by the goddess.<sup>870</sup> On the other hand, there are numerous Heraklean scenes which are probably not in any manner related to cult, like his labours or his fight with Alkyoneus. It is also difficult to see how Herakles leading a female monster might relate to the foregoing.

Hermes' link with the festive usage of large skyphoi is formulated by Scheibler as follows: "Hermes der Gott der Landleute könnte signalisieren, dass auch agrarische Feste zu den Verwendungsbereiche der

<sup>865</sup> Scheibler, *Skyphoi*.

<sup>866</sup> Scheibler, *Skyphoi*, 35-39. See also Scheibler *Bild und Gefäß*, 71, "[...] Das verdeutlichen einige attischen Skyphoi des spät-schwarzfigurigen Stils, die wohl selbst rituellen Zwecken dienten und deshalb vom Theseus-Maler mit Szenen geschmückt wurden die Opferzüge und Opfervorbereitungen schildern."

<sup>867</sup> See also Shapiro, *Art and Cult*, 99ff., concerning all vases depicting Dionysos: "these vases could be called cult vessels in the truest sense, because they depict not the god himself, but an image which represented him in an enacted ritual." Such scenes, however, as stated above, are not confined to skyphoi or to the later stamnoi, but also appear on cups and lekythoi.

<sup>868</sup> With the possible exceptions of the skyphoi depicting Dionysos and a female sea monster (Bonn 1646, Cahn coll.?, Berlin 4528, Cat. nos. 68-69, 115, pl. 29 a-b) and the unpublished skyphos once in the Basle market showing Dionysos, satyr and Hermes (Cat. no. 108), although the latter also resembles a procession.

<sup>869</sup> Scheibler, *Skyphoi*, 37.

<sup>870</sup> Herakles regaled by Athena, Cat. nos. 18-21bis, 117, pls. 8-9 d; Herakles and Athena shaking hands in a sanctuary (?), Cat. no. 72, pl. 30 c-d.



Skyphoi gehörten, was durch die Aussagen einiger Schriftquellen unterstützt würde. Will man eine Verbindung zwischen dem ursprünglichen ländlichen Hermes kult und dem oben beschriebenen Weinfest herstellen, könnte man an die ländlichen Dionysien denken oder die von Malagardis vorgeschlagene These aufgreifen und alle betreffenden Bilder auf einen Doppelkult der beiden Götter Dionysos und Hermes beziehen.<sup>871</sup> Another possible ritual aspect of Hermes, as suggested by H. Hoffmann (see also chapter IX.4 above), might be represented by the god's reclining on a ram (although other deities are also seen doing the same in vase painting): "the ram as 'heroic sacrificial victim' – or ideal 'traveller' across the frontier from this world to the 'Other' – is the vehicle of transport of various deities who by their very nature mediate, or commute between worlds."<sup>872</sup> One such scene by the Theseus Painter has come down to us.<sup>873</sup>

Finally, Scheibler also mentions Theseus in connection with cult and ritual. He would have acted as a role model and hero for Attic youths because his youthful deeds contain many elements of 'rites de passage'. However, it can be seriously doubted whether possible ritualistic and cultic links between Theseus and large skyphoi were ever especially strong. First, the Theseus Painter's skyphoi rarely portray Theseus' deeds, whereas they often show Dionysos, Herakles and Hermes. Moreover, Thesean subjects are even less often seen on Heron Class skyphoi by other painters. Secondly, the representations of the deeds of Theseus as noted above, seem to follow a general trend towards the subject's increased popularity in Attic vase painting from 510 B.C. onwards, especially in red-figure. Furthermore, in comparison with some other subjects of the Theseus Painter, like some of those we have examined above, the possible religious, ritualistic or cultic associations of his Thesean scenes would appear even more ambiguous.

Curiously, Scheibler hardly takes into account the representations of the Theseus Painter's skyphoi which doubtless have a ritual context, which we have seen above: sacrificial processions (Tampa 86.52, Stuttgart KAS 74, Cat. nos. 40–41, pl. 17);<sup>874</sup> sacrifice (Agora P 9273, Cat. no. 95, pl. 36 j); processions (Acropolis 1295, Cat. no. 94, pl. 37 a, and possibly, some Acropolis fragments under Cat. nos. 82–85, pl. 35 a–h). Perhaps the Theseus Painter's komoi must also be included, as suggested by F.T. van Straten and others.<sup>875</sup> With regard to the relation between the shape's function and the subject, Scheibler pays relatively little attention to the group of representations by the Theseus Painter, as seen again mainly on his skyphoi, which might refer to theatrical performances, like satyr choruses and ostrich riders;<sup>876</sup> although they can hardly be reckoned among cultic or ritualistic subjects, they certainly have a festive character. However, it is unclear if and how they might be viewed in relation to the Theseus Painter's other special subjects.

With regard to the dimensions of the Heron Class skyphoi Scheibler argues in favour of a more general function: their large size makes them by definition useful for "Zecherwettkämpfen und allen Festen, zu denen übermässiger Weingenuss gehörte, als Trinkgefäss zu dienen, zumal an den Anthesterien, für deren Wettrinken dieses Volumen vorgeschrieben war."<sup>877</sup> She also refers to Athenaios who mentions "das die Epheben am Apaturienfest anlässlich der Kureotis ein grosses Trinkgefäss (μέγα ποτήριον) herbeitrugen, das sie mit Wein füllten um daraus zunächst dem Herakles zu spenden und dann alle Teilnehmer daraus trinken zu lassen. Man nannte dieses Gefäss οἶνιστήρια (...)". According to Scheibler, the term μέγα ποτήριον might refer to the large skyphoi.

In short, all the indications are that some relation must exist between Heron Class skyphoi and ritual representations, as seems especially evident in the case of the Theseus Painter. However, it cannot be automatically concluded that they were therefore used in cult or ritual.

## Painted representations of skyphoi

Another potential tool for discovering the possible functions of skyphoi in relation to their subjects may be

<sup>871</sup> Scheibler, *Skyphoi*, 36.

<sup>872</sup> H. Hoffmann, 'ΥΒΡΙΝ ΟΡΘΙΑΝ ΚΝΩΔΑΛΛΩΝ', in D. Metzler et al. (eds.), *Antidoron, Festschrift für Jürgen Thimme zum 65. Geburtstag am 26. September 1982* (Karlsruhe 1983) 65.

<sup>873</sup> Conservatori (Cat. no. 70, pl. 29 b; the obverse of that skyphos, pl. 29 a, has Hermes on a goat).

<sup>874</sup> Although a similar scene also appears on the lekythos Louvre CA 1837 (Cat. no. 140, pl. 44 c–d).

<sup>875</sup> See n. 766.

<sup>876</sup> Malagardis, *Skyphoi*, on the other hand, takes this group into account.

<sup>877</sup> Scheibler, *Skyphoi*, 38. The measure should be the same as a *chous*, approximately three litres. See also n. 152.

supplied by the depictions of skyphoi in vase painting. The approach used by Scheibler and Shapiro for belly-amphorai and pelikai may well prove fruitful for the Heron Class skyphoi, too.<sup>878</sup> Malagardis concludes that, in general, skyphoi are portrayed in standard 'Dionysian' scenes like komoi or symposia as well as often in contexts which have a more or less ritualistic character, as references to the Dionysian 'universe', comparable in function to the Kabirion skyphoi, for example.<sup>879</sup>

To date, the only extensive monograph on vase representations, written by H. Gericke, is rather confused and incomplete insofar as the Attic skyphoi are concerned.<sup>880</sup> She mentions five black-figure examples only,<sup>881</sup> most of which, in fact, are not skyphoi at all.<sup>882</sup> In red-figure, on the other hand, the depictions are much more numerous.<sup>883</sup> The skyphos appears in a wide variety of scenes, many of which are related to the consumption of wine: komoi, symposia, hetairai and hetairai symposia, satyrs and maenads, youths, thiasoi, Herakles reclining, Dionysos, 'Hermes' cult and Eros. Gericke's lists also include representations of skyphoi on a large number of 'Lenaia' vases, showing women dancing around an image of Dionysos as portrayed on mid- and late-fifth century stamnoi.

More recently, Malagardis presented a longer list which, however, is also incomplete.<sup>884</sup> Of the 17 black-figure examples, many are by earlier painters like the KX Painter and Sophilos.<sup>885</sup> Malagardis further adds 27 red-figure vases depicting skyphoi to Gericke's list.<sup>886</sup> In some instances, skyphoi are actually depicted on skyphoi themselves. The kinds of scenes in which skyphoi are depicted vary. There are many symposia and komoi, but also Odyssean pictures. Sometimes the subjects are Dionysian and ritualistic, including at least ten 'Lenaia' stamnoi.<sup>887</sup> Malagardis also notes four examples which have decorative bands with skyphoi and other types of vases depicted in silhouette.<sup>888</sup>

The types of skyphoi illustrated on other vase-shapes are diverse. Among them are also examples that look very much like Heron Class skyphoi. To repeat, the Heron Class skyphos has a concave off-set lip, handles low on the body and a broad and plump foot (see figs. 35, 40-51, 73-76). The depictions date, as would be expected, from the period of the type's production, the late sixth and early fifth centuries B.C. While being a typically black-figure shape, it was portrayed on both black- and red-figure vases.<sup>889</sup> To date, however, no example is found on a vase by the Theseus Painter.

<sup>878</sup> Scheibler, *Bild und Gefäß*; Shapiro, *Shape and Subject*.

<sup>879</sup> Malagardis, *Skyphoi*.

<sup>880</sup> Gericke, *Gefäßdarstellungen*, 16, tables 80-86, nos. 1-114. She also mentions the Dionysian/cultic connection of skyphoi (p. 16).

<sup>881</sup> Gericke, *Gefäßdarstellungen*, table 80, nos. 1-4. Her no. 4 actually consists of two separate items, Louvre CA 3100 and CA 3101.

<sup>882</sup> Cab. Méd. 343, Krokotos Painter (Ure, *Krokotos*, 90, no. 1, *Para* 93,1), but in *CVA* Bibl. Nat. 2, pl. 69, the vertical handles of a kantharos instead of a skyphos are clearly visible. According to Malagardis, Cab. Méd. 271 (*ABV* 449,5, *CVA* 2, pl. 66,2) also shows a kantharos, although this is not clear in the published photograph. Malagardis also states that Louvre F 224 (*ABV* 320,5; *CVA* 5, pl. 57,11) shows a basket rather than a skyphos, although it looks very much like a skyphos in the published photograph and the woman seems to raise it to her lips. In Gericke's list, therefore, only Louvre CA 3100 and CA 3101 can be definitely regarded as depictions of skyphoi (Malagardis, *Skyphoi*, nos. A1-A2).

<sup>883</sup> Gericke, *Gefäßdarstellungen*, tables 80-86, nos. 5-114.

<sup>884</sup> Malagardis, *Skyphoi*.

<sup>885</sup> Nos. A 1-17. Louvre CA 3100 and CA 3101, two late black-figure cups with komoi (?) (Gericke, *Gefäßdarstellungen*, no. 4); Protoattic amphora in Eleusis (P. Arias and M. Hirner, *Tausend Jahre griechische Vasenkunst*, Munich 1960, pl. 13); two skyphoi, KX Painter, depicting komoi, Athens, NM 640 and Kerameikos 2869 (*ABV* 26,21 and *Para* 15); Samos, cup, KX Painter, symposion (*ABV* 26,27, also depicted in H.A.G. Brijder, 'New Light on the Earliest Attic Black-figure Drinking-cups', in *Potters and Painters*, 6, fig. 8); Athens, NM 996, skyphos, near Sophilos, symposion (*CVA* Athens 4, pl. 6); Athens, NM 12513, skyphos, procession (*CVA* Athens 4, pl. 28); Heidelberg 279, skyphos, komos around a krater (*CVA* 1, pl. 42,8); Rhodes 12895, olpe, Dot-ivy Group, komos (*ABV* 447,1); London B 377, unpublished mastos; Athens A 17300, unpublished oinochoe; Sèvres 91, kalpis, Painter of the Half-palmettes, satyr holding a skyphos, here fig. 82 d (*ABV* 573,4); Tarquinia 1749, stamnos, Beaune Painter, symposion (*ABV* 345,5); Tarquinia RC 6823, psykter, symposion (*CVA* 2, pl. 22,2-3); Würzburg 369, lekkythos, Dionysos and Ariadne reclining (E. Langlotz, *Martin von Wagner Museum der Universität Würzburg. Griechische Vasen*, Munich 1932, pl. 106); oinochoe, Taleides, Dionysos in a komos (*ABL* 176,2).

<sup>886</sup> Nos. B 1-28, of these, nos. 1-17 are standard red-figure scenes, mainly komoi and symposia.

<sup>887</sup> Nos. B 18-27 (*ARV<sup>2</sup>* 621,33-35, 621,36-37, 621,39, 621,41, 1019,82, 1151,2, and in *RA* 1933, 160-61).

<sup>888</sup> Nos. B 28-31 (*ARV<sup>2</sup>* 188,66, 364,52, 427,2, 355,39).

<sup>889</sup> Heron Class skyphoi appear not to be painted in red-figure, although an example is in Six's technique, Cat. no. N65.



Depictions of Heron Class skyphoi appear in various settings. Often the subjects are komoi and symposia (fig. 82 c).<sup>890</sup> Other representations of Heron Class skyphoi or skyphoi of very similar shape occur in pictures of pottery workshops (?),<sup>891</sup> people playing board games,<sup>892</sup> possibly women weaving textile (or baskets?)<sup>893</sup> and Dionysian subjects (fig. 82 d, satyr).<sup>894</sup>

As Malagardis remarks, the settings of a part of the representations of skyphoi are religious/ritualistic/cultic. Such vase pictures contain several of the depicted skyphoi which are similar to (or intended as) Heron Class skyphoi.<sup>895</sup> Many vases by the Painter of the Half-palmettes show what appears to be a maenad at an altar. In several instances she holds an oinochoe, but twice she has a skyphos instead (see also fig. 82 b).<sup>896</sup> In another picture by the same painter a satyr similarly placed at an altar is also furnished with a skyphos.<sup>897</sup> Evidently, the skyphos could fulfil the same function as (or be synonymous with) the usual libation vessels: oinochoe and phiale.

S. Pingiatoglou presented a group of vases which apparently show exclusively female figures at a kind of symposion.<sup>898</sup> All of them can be dated to the late sixth and early fifth centuries B.C., and the subject is without parallel before or after that period. The women are generally seated on campstools and, in several instances, there are tables with meat. It is remarkable that on each of these vases some women hold large skyphoi of Heron Class type, into which wine is sometimes being poured (figs. 82 e-f).<sup>899</sup> The skyphos is not the only type of vessel portrayed in these pictures. In contrast to most representations of male symposia, the symposia of women are rather static and solemn. They sit rather than recline. In addition, one symposion is located under a colonnade.<sup>900</sup> All this leads Pingiatoglou to propose that ritualistic/cultic banquets are the subject. She even assigns them to a specific festival: the Thesmophoria in honour of Demeter and Kore which, like the Halca and Stenia, has facets in which wine occupies an important place and women are the chief participants.<sup>901</sup> Pingiatoglou chooses the Thesmophoria and not, for example, a Dionysian festival like the Lenaia because the cult statue of Dionysos is lacking and because the women sit quietly and are dignified instead of dancing ecstatically. She further points out that most of the female symposia show meat and that the eating of pork was part of the Thesmophoric rites.<sup>902</sup> Whether such arguments give sufficient reason to see a specific cult or festival in these scenes is hard to judge, but one thing seems certain: a generally ritual subject is depicted and very large skyphoi form an intrinsic part of the equipment.

<sup>890</sup> Examples in black- and red-figure, mainly komoi: Tübingen S.10 1478, komast on a clay plaque, skyphos with slightly higher handles (CVA 3, pl. 37, here fig. 82 c); Toronto 919.5.140, komos/acrobats (CVA 1, pl. 28; Para 169); JHS 95 (1975) pl. XII d); Munich 24220 (CVA 5, pl. 220; ARV<sup>2</sup> 24,8; Beazley Addenda<sup>2</sup> 155); Munich 2421 (CVA 5, pl. 225.2; ARV<sup>2</sup> 23,7; Para 323; Beazley Addenda<sup>2</sup> 155); Berlin F 2289 (CVA 2, pl. 80; ARV<sup>2</sup> 435,95; Para 375).

<sup>891</sup> See once Robinson coll., Baltimore, 'potter's shop', man with pottery (CVA Robinson 2, pl. 3; ARV<sup>2</sup> 24,14; Para 323; Beazley Addenda<sup>2</sup> 155).

<sup>892</sup> New York M.M.A 68.27, men playing a board game, skyphos or 'lekane' (Agora XII, 13-14, nos. 1781-1820, pls. 83-85). See also nn. 790, 908) on the floor between the men playing, *Potters and Painters*, 65, fig. 4; JHS 102 (1982) pl. 6d.

<sup>893</sup> Louvre F 224, women weaving textile, skyphos or basket (?), see n. 882.

<sup>894</sup> See Sèvres 91, satyr with skyphos (CVA, pl. 6,11; ABV 573,4, Lissarrague, *Peintre des demi-palmettes*, 136, no. 13, here fig. 82 d); London 68.7-5.140, seated woman (maenad?) with oinochoe and skyphos (CVA 6, pl. 98,4; Para 287; Lissarrague, *Peintre des demi-palmettes*, 137, no. 31), both by the Painter of the Half-palmettes.

<sup>895</sup> O. Borgers, 'Some Subjects and Shapes by the Theseus Painter', *Proceedings AIAC*, 87-89.

<sup>896</sup> London 64.10-7.1715, (CVA 6, pl. 98.12; ABL 248,9; Lissarrague, *Peintre des demi-palmettes*, 136, no. 9, 126, fig. 1, here fig. 82 b); Ferrara 16269 (CVA 2, pl. 24.1-2), attributed to the Painter of the Half-palmettes, but not in Lissarrague's list. The skyphos depicted in London 64.10-7.1715 is particularly interesting. Although rather crudely rendered, it clearly shows lines and tongues at the bottom of the bowl, which are typical of Heron Class skyphoi; note also the vague ivy leaves or dots on the rim.

<sup>897</sup> Ferrara 14938 (CVA 2, pl. 36.2; Lissarrague, *Peintre des demi-palmettes*, 137, no. 59).

<sup>898</sup> Pingiatoglou, *Frauengelage*.

<sup>899</sup> Munich 1538 (ABV 395,3; Beazley Addenda<sup>2</sup> 103; CVA 6, pl. 10; Pingiatoglou, *Frauengelage*, pl. 14.1, here fig. 82 f); Agrigento, similar, no colonnade (ABV 377,235; Pingiatoglou, *Frauengelage*, pl. 16.1); Athens 12951 (ABV 380,287), once Lucerne market (Ars Antiqua A.G. 1.2, May 1959, no. 110; Pingiatoglou, *Frauengelage*, pl. 16.2); once Hirschmann coll. (Para 247; Pingiatoglou, *Frauengelage*, pl. 17.1-2; here fig. 82 e).

<sup>900</sup> Munich 1538, see the preceding note.

<sup>901</sup> See A. Calderone, *QuadMess* 2 (1986/1987) 41ff. pl. 9-10. For the possible oppositions cup-male and skyphos-female see also A. d'Andrea, 'La ceramica attica figurata a Pontecagnano, analisi preliminare', *AION* 12 (1990) 224.

<sup>902</sup> See Pingiatoglou, *Frauengelage*, pls. 14-17.1-2.



A cup by Makron in Berlin (fig. 82 a),<sup>903</sup> features a skyphos with concave off-set lip, ivy on the rim (one row), diagonal handles, satyr between the handle-palmettes and a broad black band on the lower bowl. W. Oenbrink identified it as a skyphos which would have been old-fashioned at the time of the Makron cup's production, like a band-skyphos or a Hermogenian skyphos.<sup>904</sup> In fact, it is much more similar to the Heron Class skyphos, in particular those of the CHC Group which also have a broad band at the bottom of the bowl and, often, comparable palmettes at the handles.<sup>905</sup> The thematic context is again cultic, as the cup is one of the 'Lenaia' vases, for which see above. The skyphos is held by a member of a group of dancing maenads or women dressed as such. On the other side a similar group of females dance around an image of Dionysos and an altar. In parallel, skyphoi form part of the standard service on some other 'Lenaia' vases, notably the later 'Lenaia' stamnoi.<sup>906</sup> However, they show the red-figure shape: horizontal handles which are almost at the level of the lip.<sup>907</sup>

To conclude, it is remarkable that many of the scenes showing skyphoi are associated with women and possible festivals in which women had an important role. But because of their relatively small number and ambiguous nature it seems hazardous to draw conclusions which are too far-reaching. Equally risky might be the hypothesis that large skyphoi were partly intended for ritual and cult. Nevertheless, the kinds of scenes in which skyphoi are sometimes featured and the uses to which they are put strongly suggest that, at least in part, the use-context of the skyphos was ritualistic or cultic in origin, as several scholars are also inclined to believe.<sup>908</sup> Other questions are much more difficult or impossible to answer, however. Were skyphoi actually part of the cultic equipment of the Anthesteria, Lenaia, Thesmophoria or other festivals, perhaps even more than one of them? Or do the representations only refer to them? Furthermore, can all types of skyphoi be viewed as a whole or must the large skyphoi or, indeed, only the Heron Class type be separately considered?<sup>909</sup>

## Subjects, find-contexts, function

Because the find-places of only about half of the Theseus Painter's vases are known and because information concerning their specific find-contexts is even scarcer, everything that follows is stated with some reservations. Importantly, the painter's various subjects seem equally distributed over the known provenances of his work. Of his unusual subjects, like ephedrimoi<sup>910</sup> and Herakles leading a female monster,<sup>911</sup> examples

<sup>903</sup> Berlin F 2290 (ARV<sup>2</sup> 462,48, 481, 1654; Para 377; *Beazley Addenda*<sup>2</sup> 244; N. Kunisch, *Makron* (Mainz 1997) 197-98, no. 345, pls. 116-117).

<sup>904</sup> W. Oenbrink, 'Ein "Bild im Bild" -phänomen- Zur Darstellung figürlich dekorierten Vasen auf bemalten attischen Tongefässen', *Hephaistos* 14 (1996) 81-134, 95 fig. 15, 99, 127, 130, no. B3.

<sup>905</sup> Compare, for example., St. Petersburg 4037 (Gorbunova, *Ermitazhe*, 203, no. 179) or Athens, NM 366 (CVA 4, pl. 45.1-3). Also *ABV* 618-19. See also E. Simon, *Die griechischen Vasen* (Munich 1976) 121-123, pls. 168-169, who reaches a similar conclusion of this shape being reminiscent to a Heron Class skyphos but also emphasises the old-fashioned nature of such a skyphos painted on a late Archaic cup. As a matter of fact, the CHC Group skyphoi are not necessarily much earlier than the Makron cup.

<sup>906</sup> Malagardis, *Skyphoi*, nos. 18-27. Many of the 'Lenaia' stamnoi show one or more women holding a skyphos, see Frontisi-Ducroux, *Le dieu-masqué*, L1, figs. 3-4; L2, figs. 5-6; L3, figs. 7-8; L4, figs. 10-13, and on p. 66; L5, fig. 9; L11, figs. 14-15; L15, figs. 19-20; L20, figs. 30-31; L24, figs. 40-42.

<sup>907</sup> Several vases portray what might be skyphoi in what are often interpreted as sacrificial scenes. However, they could also depict bell kraters, for example, or vases of the type that are often called 'lekanai' (see *Agora* XII, 13-14, nos. 1781-1820, pls. 83-85). In addition, possibly they are represented as too large even for the largest known skyphoi; and their rims are most often more convex than concave. Furthermore, these scenes might simply represent butchers because the animals are being cut up on a block, very similarly to Malibu 96.AE.96 by the Theseus Painter (Cat. no. 171, pl. 55 b) and other examples: Berlin F 1915, cutting up of a tuna or a sacrifice (?), "im Vordergrund ein grosser Skyphos, der vermutlich für die Abfälle bestimmt ist" (*ABV* 377.274; Para 163; CVA 7, pl. 36); Oxford 1911.617, sacrifice, "a large kotyle-shaped vessel" containing objects (CVA 1, pls. 2.9, 7.3; *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 559.152; *Beazley Addenda*<sup>2</sup> 259; Van Straten, *Hiera Kala*, no. V195, fig. 145); Louvre C 10.754, sacrifice (*ARV*<sup>2</sup> 228.32; Para 347; *Beazley Addenda*<sup>2</sup> 199; Van Straten, *Hiera Kala*, no. V135, fig. 47; Ferrara T256, sacrifice (*ARV*<sup>2</sup> 266.85; Van Straten, *Hiera Kala*, no. V152, fig. 119).

<sup>908</sup> See Scheibler, *Skyphoi*, 35-39; Kerényi, *Dionysos*, 308, "a skyphos, a form of drinking-cup that was probably customary on choes day". See also Malagardis, *Skyphoi*.

<sup>909</sup> Scheibler considers mainly Heron Class skyphoi, in *Skyphoi*, 17.

<sup>910</sup> Cat. nos. 54, 58 and possibly 62, from Italy; Cat. nos. 56, 59-60 and possibly 63; from Greece (mostly Athens).

<sup>911</sup> Cat. no. 15, from Greece (Athens), Cat. no. 16, from Italy.

were found in Greece as well as in Italy, and the same apparently holds for his ritualistic or cultic scenes.<sup>912</sup> As many more of his subjects also show a similarly indiscriminate pattern of distribution, it seems unlikely that local customer preferences existed in the various export markets.

More generally, looking at the different kinds of find-places which have yielded work of the Theseus Painter (Table 11 a), we see that the Athenian Acropolis and Agora supply by far the main and most secure archaeological contexts. The Acropolis finds can obviously be associated with a sacred ambience. The situation in the Agora is less clear, however. It remains an open question whether the Agora finds, including those found in the Rectangular Rock-cut Shaft, belong exclusively to a settlement context or have more mixed associations. As to a possible relation between context and shape, no significant difference marks the kinds of shapes decorated by the Theseus Painter which came to light in the two sites and which consist largely of skyphoi.<sup>913</sup> However, some differences can be noted in their subject matter. In the Agora they have a relatively more worldly character, mainly komoi (or komasts) and ephedrismoi.<sup>914</sup> But Herakles is sometimes depicted and a fragment preserves part of a sacrifice at an altar.<sup>915</sup> On the other hand, the subjects of the Theseus Painter's vases from the Acropolis are much more varied and seem to have a slightly more cultic character, as evidenced by the number of scenes resembling processions and the several deities, especially Athena and Dionysos.<sup>916</sup>

Scheibler suggests that the Theseus Painter's skyphoi from both the Acropolis and the Agora can more or less be considered 'ritual' vessels. Her conclusion is mainly based on the subjects: processions, sacrifices, etc. On the Acropolis such a function can be expected, but the Agora is more problematical. First of all, the ephedrismoi appear to be thematically more worldly than sacred. Furthermore, it is uncertain whether the Theseus Painter's 'komoi' were indeed intended as ritual processions or simply represent revellers.<sup>917</sup> As the komos is by far the most common subject of the Theseus Painter's vases from the Agora, our interpretation of its meaning will inevitably influence our perception of the thematic relation between his pottery from the Agora and the Acropolis.<sup>918</sup> On the other hand, one of his vases from the Agora indeed depicts a sacrificial scene.

Some indications of a find-context, though not always certain, are also known with regard to several vases of the Theseus Painter which were discovered in other places. In total, such information pertains to 74 pieces only (including those from the Athenian Acropolis and Agora). As could be expected, most of them are skyphoi (54 of the total of 74). If one also counts the uncertain pieces, it can be concluded that the Theseus Painter's vases have come to light in each of the three possible contexts - funerary, sanctuary, settlement - but that those associated with graves and sanctuaries are the most numerous (see Table 11 b). Whereas his work from sanctuaries and settlements is mainly concentrated on the Acropolis and in the Agora,<sup>919</sup> the funerary finds are more widely dispersed, as the graves occur in various sites in both Greece and Italy. It is striking, however, that most of the funerary pottery turned up in Italy.<sup>920</sup>

According to Scheibler, no large skyphos of the Heron Class type has ever been discovered in an Attic

<sup>912</sup> Cat. no. 2, from Greece (Athens), Cat. no. 8, from Italy.

<sup>913</sup> Loutrophoroi from the Acropolis (the North slope, to be precise); also a cup and cup-skyphos from the Agora.

<sup>914</sup> Komoi: Agora P 1383, 1544, 1547-49, 13373 (Cat. nos. 45-48, 96, 177). Ephedrismoi: Agora P 1546 and 23174 (Cat. nos. 56, 60). However, as mentioned above and below, the Theseus Painter's komoi might not be that 'worldly' at all.

<sup>915</sup> Herakles: Agora P 1543 and P 1545 (Cat. nos. 25, 28). Probably also the fragments Agora P 1550-1, which might depict Herakles regaled by Athena (Cat. no. 21). Sacrifice: Agora P 9273 (Cat. no. 95). Possibly a sacrifice or a butcher's scene in Agora P 1384 (Cat. no. 72).

<sup>916</sup> Athena (often with parts of processions), Acropolis 1265, 1307 1311-12 (Cat. nos. 82-85); Dionysos in ship-cart and a donkey cart, Acropolis 1281, 1286 (Cat. nos. 2, 114); Dionysos (?) with satyrs at a winepress, Acropolis 1290 (Cat. no. 77); Apollo, Acropolis 843 (Cat. no. 209); Herakles leading a female monster, Acropolis 1306 (Cat. no. 15); Herakles and the birds (?), Acropolis 1298 (Cat. no. 88); procession, Acropolis 1295 (Cat. no. 94); Theseus at the labyrinth with Athena, and Theseus and Prokrustes, Acropolis 1280 (Cat. nos. 76). Also several more worldly subjects: ephedrismos, Acropolis 1276 (Cat. no. 59); 'washermen', Acropolis 1271 (Cat. no. 5); people pulling something with a thick rope (possibly a procession), Acropolis 1282 (Cat. no. 66); athletes, Acropolis 847 (Cat. no. 208).

<sup>917</sup> See n. 766 above.

<sup>918</sup> As a matter of fact, none of the Theseus Painter's 'komos' vases is known to come from the Acropolis.

<sup>919</sup> Sanctuaries besides the Athenian Acropolis (including the North slope): Corinth, Cyrene, Delos, Thasos. Settlement contexts besides the Agora: Adria, Corinth.

<sup>920</sup> Italian sites: Bologna, Centuripe, Fratte, Gela, Gnathia, Guardia Perticara, Locri, Massafra, Nola, Ruvo, Taranto, Veredemmia, Vulci. Greek sites: Athens Kerameikos (lekkythos and loutrophoros), Thebes, Vari (loutrophoros).



grave; and insofar as I am aware, her observation applies to the Theseus Painter's skyphoi. In her opinion, the circumstance may reflect their function: the Heron Class skyphoi could have been so strongly linked to ritual practice in Attica and Athens that their use as funerary gifts was unthinkable.<sup>921</sup> Furthermore, she suggests that because of their subjects and very large size, the Heron Class skyphoi were more likely used, in Attica, for official (religious?) purposes than for private ones.<sup>922</sup> On the other hand, in Italy, including the 'Greek' areas, the situation may have been slightly different. There, it seems, Heron Class skyphoi were mostly given to the dead (for the Theseus Painter's specimens see Table 11 a), which was perhaps also important usage in Greece outside Attica.<sup>923</sup>

#### 4. Concluding remarks

The subject matter of most of Theseus Painter's skyphoi is exceptional, as compared to that of the majority of his other shapes as well as to that of many other late black-figure painters. Several scholars see, more or less, a connection between skyphoi (in particular the Heron Class type) and cult or ritual. The supposition is consistent with many of the representations on the Theseus Painter's skyphoi. Although other shapes decorated by the Theseus Painter occasionally show ritual or cult scenes (for example the Uppsala kalpis, Cat. 161, pl. 51 a), his skyphoi bear the most striking, most numerous and most explicit examples. Their general thematic areas are: Dionysos, either specifically or indirectly (like the ship-cart or thiasos, komos, drinking rituals, etc.), theatre (satyr choruses, etc., which also have a Dionysian component), individual heroes or gods like Herakles and Hermes (possibly cultic, although not always definitely), processions and sacrifices (sometimes with a specific reference, like some of the Acropolis fragments, for example the Athena of Cat. no. 85, pl. 35 h, but most often without an indication of a deity).

The ritual component was probably only one aspect of Heron Class skyphoi, however, as they would, of course, have had a wider function as all-purpose drinking vessels. On the other hand, connections between the Heron Class skyphoi in particular and ritual associations and practices, in whatever form, appear certain, although the degree of linkage remains unclear. It cannot be demonstrated that, as for example choes, they were meant for use at one or more specific festivals.<sup>924</sup> The possibility seems not very likely, however, because the subjects are very varied and seem too general to refer to an individual celebration or cultic practice. But there are indications of religious spheres to which some of the Theseus Painter's pictures on Heron Class skyphoi – ship-cart and the Anthesteria, women at an image of Dionysos<sup>925</sup> – although in each instance the tie to a specific festival has been called into question (see chapter VIII, Dionysos, above). Moreover, other representations by the Theseus Painter which can be viewed as ritualistic or cultic give no clue as to the deity concerned, let alone a festival to which they might be linked. In other instances it is highly questionable whether any such content is intended, like those showing Athena serving Herakles. In addition, there remains the remote possibility that the Theseus Painter or his customers were simply interested in the subjects in themselves without looking for any further associations. The latter seems to be contradicted, however, by the noteworthy link between skyphoi and such subjects. It has also been observed that some skyphoi depicted in vase painting are obviously placed in a ritual setting, for example the Berlin cup by Makron or the libation scenes by the Painter of the Half-palmettes. In vase painting, especially red-figure, however, skyphoi function much more often as drinking vessels in symposia, although the Heron Class type is not among them. Obviously, the possible ties between the subjects and functions of skyphoi are much less clear than in the case of other shapes like loutrophoroi.<sup>926</sup>

<sup>921</sup> Scheibler, *Skyphoi*, 39.

<sup>922</sup> Scheibler, *Skyphoi*, 40.

<sup>923</sup> See, for example, the very large number of skyphoi found in sixth- and fifth-century graves at Rhitsona, Boeotia; Ure, *Sixth and Fifth*.

<sup>924</sup> Of course there are specifically ritual skyphoi, like the Kabirion skyphoi. Another example is a group of special fourth-century skyphoi from Taranto dedicated to Dionysos (E. Lippolis, S. Garraffo, M. Nafissi, *Taranto, Culti greci in occidente, Fonti scritte e documentazione archeologica* I, Taranto 1995, 180–82, pls. L–LVI).

<sup>925</sup> One needs to bear in mind, however, that most of the 'Lenaia' vases are either late black-figure lekythoi or red-figure stamnoi from the mid-fifth century onwards. Very few of the 'Lenaia' vases that depict these scenes are actually skyphoi.

<sup>926</sup> To be fair, the links between the shapes, subjects and functions of belly-amphorai and pelikai are not as strong as those of



In my opinion, it is safest, for the time being, to regard the Theseus Painter's skyphoi for the most part as basically drinking vessels, as reflected in their more usual kinds of representations which indicate such use (simply drinking scenes, symposia, etc.). In the case of Heron skyphoi, on the other hand, particularly those of the Theseus Painter, components of other representations suggest that some of the skyphoi may have filled ritualistic or cultic functions. However, all this cannot entirely account for the diversity and range of the Theseus Painter's subjects. The personal preferences of the painter and his customers as well as the iconographical influences of other painters must all have played their parts.

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loutrophoroi, although Scheibler and Shapiro's arguments for such links are convincing.

## SUMMARY

In the light of the elements defining the Theseus Painter as an individual craftsman – namely his style of painting and drawing and the specific vase-types he decorated – several noteworthy observations can be made. The Theseus Painter's work is marked by a highly characteristic decorative style that can be most clearly discerned in his drawing technique, that is, incising. His personal style of drawing can be quite easily described and recognised in the core of his work. Furthermore, his drawing provides the most evident indications of his stylistic development: he begins with sound incising, qualitatively comparable to that of the best of late black-figure painters and many earlier ones as well, then passes through a period of less and less detail and increasing carelessness, and lastly reaches the point when he totally abandons incising, as seen in the silhouette figures of an alabastron (Cat. no. 205, not illustrated).

Besides forming an interesting case study in the overall artistic production of an individual Attic vase painter, the Theseus Painter's stylistic development is instructive as a means of determining the span of a vase painter's career. The significant stylistic changes during the Theseus Painter's career strongly imply that he must have worked for a rather long time, 30 or perhaps nearly 40 years, from 515/510–480/475 B.C. Although the length of the period may seem exceptional, it appears to be corroborated by the shapes which the Theseus Painter decorated.

As explained above, the Theseus Painter evidently started his career in the workshop of the Krokotos Group, decorating mainly skyphoi of Heron Class type. The close stylistic similarity to the painters of that group, especially the Krokotos Painter, suggests that the Theseus Painter's early output cannot be very much later or was indeed even contemporaneous with the late pottery of the Krokotos Group, hence the date of his artistic starting point. Later, he turned, for the most part, to adorning lekythoi connected to the workshop in which the Athena Painter was also employed, who, so to speak, can be regarded as the Theseus Painter's stylistic brother. Afterwards, he apparently got his pottery from various other workshops, among which, that of the Beldam Painter.

During his entire career, furthermore, the Theseus Painter seems also to have decorated pottery stemming from other unrelated workshops, which led Haspels' to suggest that he might have been a 'travelling artisan', as it were, moving from one workshop to another offering his skills. Although the suggestion may be correct, it is, of course, difficult to substantiate. The same applies to possible alternative explanations: for example, he was an independent craftsman who operated his own painting atelier and variously acquired his vases from different potters.

In any event, the Theseus Painter's varied affiliations make him a special case among vase painters, especially those working in black-figure. As a rule, it seems, the relations between vase painter and workshop(s) were more stable than the Theseus Painter's appear to have been. Moreover, regarding the variety of the vase types he decorated, it seems unlikely that he actually was involved in the shaping of any of them. In this regard, it is especially notable that even his skyphoi, the shape with which he is most closely associated, were evidently fashioned by more than one potter, perhaps as many as three. Therefore it seems most probable that he was exclusively a vase painter.

Apparently, none of the other accomplished late black-figure painters embellished as many different shapes as he did, least of all the Athena Painter who concentrated on lekythoi and oinochoai only. In contrast, the Theseus Painter's shapes include skyphoi, lekythoi, large and small pelikai, large and small kalpides, olpai, oinochoai, cups and cup-skyphoi, loutrophoroi, kyathoi, alabastra and plates.

The Theseus Painter's vases were exported over a large area of the Mediterranean. The most westerly find-places are the western coasts of Italy and Sicily; the farthest east, Rhodes. To the south, a single fragment has turned up in Cyrene and nowhere else. Thasos and northern Italy are the most northern regions. Looking at the numbers, however, we see a different, more limited picture. By far the bulk of the painter's known work, as far as a single site is concerned, has come to light in and around Athens. Less numerous are his vases at other sites in mainland Greece, although even they are numerically considerable. Another relatively significant source, however, is southern Italy, especially Apulia, namely Taranto. Other areas to the south of Rome and Sicily have also yielded quite a few specimens. In contrast, very few of his vases are known to come from northern Italy, and even fewer from Etruria. None of his work seems to have been discovered in the East Greek mainland.

To judge from the apparent concentrations of find-places in certain regions, the Theseus Painter's vases have qualities that appealed not to the Etruscans but specifically to Greeks, particularly Athenians and those in southern Italy. The exact nature of the attraction (or lack of it) inevitably remains a subject of speculation, but preferences for certain shapes, iconographies and functions (especially regarding the skyphoi) would have all played their parts.

Quite some variation marks the range of the Theseus Painter's subjects: gods, heroic deeds and other mythological scenes as well as pictures of more or less daily life. Among them, elements can be discerned which are specific to the Theseus Painter. First of all, uncommon or unique scenes are numerous and seem therefore to be a speciality of his. Secondly, some general features are shared by many representations. On the one hand, a relatively minor role is reserved for narrative mythological subjects like the deeds of Herakles, Trojan episodes, etc. On the other hand, he seems to have largely been preoccupied with festive or religious subjects ranging from the obvious ritual or cultic depictions, like processions, sacrifices and Dionysos' ship-cart, to less explicit scenes which might (or might not) refer to ritual activities, theatrical performances and the like.

The Theseus Painter's possible motives for such thematic choices can only be guessed at. Most simply, his personal preferences may have played a role. A more substantial influence could have been, in terms of buyers and usage, the general position of black-figure in the late sixth and early fifth centuries B.C. when, it seems, the kinds of scenes portrayed by the Theseus Painter were more in demand than in earlier black-figure. In addition, a generally increased interest in the illustration of theatre and cult at Athens at this time might also have had some bearing on the Theseus Painter's preferences.

Another factor could have been of influence, too. Many of the ritualistic, cultic and theatrical scenes occur on the Theseus Painter's skyphoi, and there are reasons to believe that the large Heron Class skyphoi, precisely the type which he decorated, may, in part, have had a ritualistic function, which perhaps helps to explain his thematic focus. Unfortunately, however, as a ritual connection is much less certain for the Heron Class skyphoi than for other shapes like *loutrophoroi* with their funerary contexts, the possible interrelation of shape, representation and function remains highly tentative in regard to the Theseus Painter's skyphoi. Nevertheless, at the moment this seems the only possible, comprehensive explanation of the phenomenon.

Another important aspect of this monograph is the definition of the Theseus Painter's artistic environment, which has become evident to a large extent. In his stylistic features, choice of shapes and, partly, overall iconographic preferences he belongs firmly among the last generation of accomplished black-figure vase painters. Even his place in defined workshop environments poses, up to a point, not many problems. For instance, he can be firmly linked to the Krokotos/Heron workshop and the workshop of the Athena Painter. Other possible affiliations are more elusive, however, especially with regard to much of his latest work, like kyathoi and alabastra.

All in all, the Theseus Painter undoubtedly represents only a minor component in the development of Attic vase painting. Yet, as I hope to have shown, his work possesses a degree of complexity and accomplishment that justifies the attention given to him. But he is certainly not unique among his contemporaries. Much that is relevant for vase painting of the late sixth and early fifth centuries B.C., especially in relation to late black-figure painters, potters and workshops, is still unsolved or unclear. Additional detailed research will doubtless clarify much about vase painting of the period. Moreover, such studies will be of continuing importance regarding not only Athenian culture in general but also the Athenian production of decorated pottery in particular around the turn of the sixth century B.C.





# CATALOGUE

The catalogue consists of two parts: firstly the vases by the Theseus Painter, secondly those near or erroneously attributed to him. The vases included here are categorised by shapes, with a sub division into phases for each shape. At the end of each section concerning different shapes, those vases are mentioned which have been unpublished or which I have not seen, but were attributed by Haspels and Beazley. As to vases that are not illustrated here, but of which illustrations are presently published in the *Beazley Archive Pottery Database*, I give the relevant vase number of that database.

## 1. THE THESEUS PAINTER

### SKYPHOI

#### EARLY

##### 1. SYRACUSE 26857.

*Pl. 1 a-b; fig. 1 a-b.* Prov: Camarina.

Complete. Ht. 16.0 cm; diam. 22.5 cm. Torus foot (type 1).

A: satyr to right, bent towards floor playing trumpet, right hand on buttock; B: dancing satyr to right playing auloi; both satyrs between dancing maenads with krotalai; black krater under handles.

BIBL: Ure, *Krokotos*, 96, 103; pl. 10; *Para* 259; *CVA Athens* 4, p. 42.

##### 2. ATHENS, Acropolis 1281.

*Pl. 2 a; fig. 53.* Prov: Athens, Acropolis.

Large rim fragment. Max. ht. 12.6 cm; diam. c. 21.5 cm.

(A): Dionysos in ship-cart to right, holding ivy-branch, between two antithetic satyrs playing auloi.

BIBL: Frickenhaus, *Schiffskarren*, Beil. I.1 on p. 62; M. Bieber, *Die Denkmäler zum Theaterwesen im Altertum* (Berlin 1920) 90, fig. 95; Graef and Langlotz, *Akropolis*, 143, pl. 74; Mingazzini, *Castellani*, 314 no. 9; *ABL* 250,29; A.W. Pickard-Cambridge, *Dithyramb, Tragedy and Comedy* (Oxford 1962) fig. 7; Pickard-Cambridge, *Dramatic Festivals*, fig. 12; H. Kenner, *Das Phänomen der verkehrten Welt* (Klagenfurt 1970) 80, fig. 28; Lehnstadt, *Prozessionsdarstellungen*, no. K68; Brommer, *Göttersagen*, 21, no. 5;

Kerényi, *Dionysos*, fig. 57; *Athens comes of Age, From Solon to Salamis* (Princeton 1978) 93, fig. 4; Boardman, *ABFV*, fig. 247; Guarducci, *Dioniso* I, 56, pl. 5; de Miro, *Lastra*, pl. 46.1; Guarducci, *Dioniso* II, 109, pl.1; *LIMC* III, s.v. 'Dionysos', no. 827, fig. on p. 492; A. Schöne, *Der Thiasos, Eine ikonographische Untersuchung über das Gefolge des Dionysos in der attischen Vasenmalerei des 6. und 5. Jhs. v. Chr.* (Göteborg 1987) pl. 30.2; Hedreen, *Silens*, pl. 2; M. Steinhart, *Das Motiv des Auges in der griechischen Bildkunst* (Mainz 1995) pl. 36.2; Laxander, *Individuum*, Cat. no. OZ 24.

##### 3. NEW YORK 17.230.9.

*Pl. 2 b.* Prov: unknown.

Complete; nonsense inscriptions in field. Ht. 16.2 cm. Torus foot (type 1).

A-B: Nereus (yellow hair) on seahorse to right; horizontal trident in right hand; white heron under handles.

BIBL: E.M.W. Tillyard, *The Hope Vases, a Catalogue and a Discussion of the Hope Collection and on late Attic and South Italian Vases* (Cambridge 1923) 75, pl. 7; G.M.A. Richter and M.J. Milne, *Shapes and Names of Athenian Vases* (New York 1935) fig. 170; Mingazzini, *Castellani*, 314 no. 23; *ABL* 250,22; G.M. Richter, *Handbook of the Greek Collection, Metropolitan Museum New York* (Cambridge

1953) 75, pl. 57b; *ABV* 703; Brommer, *Göttersagen*, 41, no. 4; *LIMC* VI, s.v. 'Nereus', no. 15, pl. 519.

#### 4. WINCHESTER, College Museum.

*Pl. 1 c-d; figs. 24, 29.* Prov: Athens?

Complete. Ht. 15.3 cm; diam. 21.7 cm. Torus foot (type 1).

A-B: two confronting maenads (yellow hair) on goats, holding flowers, tree with double trunk in centre, yellow heron in front of it; white heron under handles.

BIBL: *ABL* 251,36; N. Oakeshot, 'Three Black-figure Vases in the Winchester College Museum', *JHS* 59 (1939) 283-86, pl. 15; S. Chittender and C. Seltman, *Greek Art, A Commemorative Catalogue of an Exhibition held in 1946 at the Royal Academy, Burlington House, London* (London 1947) 29, no. 75, pl. 15; *ABV* 518; C.A. Picón, *Classical Antiquities from Private Collections in Great Britain, A Loan Exhibition in Aid of the Ashmole Archive*, Sotheby's London 1986, 22 pl. 3, lot no. 14; *Beazley Addenda*<sup>2</sup> 129; *LIMC* VIII, s.v. 'Mainades', no. 85.

#### 5. ATHENS, Acropolis 1271.

*Pl. 2 c-d.* Prov: Athens, Acropolis.

Rim fragments; nonsenseinscriptions in field. *a*: ht. 6.8 cm, w. 11.6 cm; *b*: ht. 5.3 cm, w. 9.5 cm; diam. c. 20.0 cm.

(A): "washermen." Parts of bending and standing youths with caps and wreaths; central one with his lower arms in large vessel or basin (rim preserved); cloth hanging from lines.

BIBL: Graef and Langlotz, *Akropolis*, 141, pl. 74; *ABL* 253,12 (near the Theseus Painter).

#### 6. BOSTON 99.523.

*Pl. 3 a-b; fig. 28 a-b.* Prov: unknown.

Several small fragments missing. Ht. 15.7 cm; diam. 22.0 cm; diam. foot 13.0 cm. Torus foot (type 1).

A: amazon or Arimasps with bow on lion to right, confronting round-bodied, two legged griffin to left which is breathing fire; snake and tree in the centre; B: lion attacking herd of oxen at tree; white heron under handle A/B, hindpart of bull under handle B/A.

BIBL: J. Caskey, *Geometry of Greek Vases*, (Boston 1932) 150-51, no. 105; *ABL* 250, 26; H. Palmer, 'The Lady and the Monster', *Archaeology* 6 (1953) 180; *ABV* 518; Bothmer,

*Amazons*, 110, no. 197; *E.A.A.* VII, 753; *Para* 255.

#### MIDDLE

#### 7. MISSISSIPPI 1977.3.69.

*Pl. 3 c-e.* Prov: "Vicinity of Athens."

Complete (unbroken?). Ht. 17.1 cm; diam. 22.3 cm. Torus foot (type 1).

A-B: Dionysos in two-wheeled, high cart, drawn by two mules; youth to right in front, looking back; goat under handles.

BIBL: *CVA* Baltimore, Robinson collection 1, pl. 22.2; *ABL* 250,31; *Para* 255; Brommer, *Göttersagen*, 21,1; Burkert, *Tragedy*, 99, n. 25; Lehnstaedt, *Prozessionsdarstellungen*, no. K65; Boardman, *ABFV*, fig. 247; Malagardis, *Monde rural*, 134, fig. 15 a; Van Straten, *Hiera Kala*, 203, V57; Laxander, *Individuum*, Cat. no. OZ 32, pl. 13.2-4.

#### 8. LONDON B 79.

*Pl. 4 a-b.* Prov: Akrai.

Fragmentary, severely worn. Ht. 16.5 cm; diam. 22.6 cm. Torus foot (type 1).

A: Dionysos in ship-cart between two satyrs with auloi; B: sacrificial procession: two men in waist-clothes leading bull, four men in mantles; white heron under handles.

BIBL: *Pitture di vasi fittili, Esibite dal Cav. Francesco Inghirami per servire di studio alla mitologia ed alla storia antichi popoli* (Fiesole 1835-37) I, pl. 33; H.B. Walters, *Catalogue of the Greek and Etruscan Vases in the British Museum* Vol. II, *Black-figure Vases* (London 1893) 76, no. 79; M.G. Verral and J.E. Harrison, *Mythology and Monuments of Ancient Athens* (London 1890) 235, fig. 6; L.R. Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States* V (Oxford 1909) pl. 42 b-c; Frickenhaus, *Schiffskarren*, Beil. I.2 on p. 62; M. Bieber, *Die Denkmäler zum Theaterwesen im Altertum* (Berlin 1920) 89, figs. 93-94; Deubner, *Attische Feste*, pl. 14.2; Mingazzini, *Castellani*, 314 no. 10; *ABL* 250,30; Boardman, *Egypt*, 6, fig. 3; Bieber, *Theater*, 19 fig. 56; A. Pickard-Cambridge, *Dithyramb, Tragedy and Comedy* (Oxford 1962) 114, figs. 5-6; M.P. Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion* I (Munich 1967) 583ff; Pickard-Cambridge, *Dramatic Festivals*, fig. 13; Lehnstaedt,



*Prozessionsdarstellungen*, no. K 69; Brommer, *Göttersagen*, 21, no. 4; Kerényi, *Dionysos*, figs. 58-59; Parke, *Festivals*, 109; de Miro, *Lastra*, pls. 46.2, 47; Guarducci, *Dioniso I*, 113, pl. 3; *LIMC* III, s.v. 'Dionysos', no. 828; ; J.H. Crouwel, *Chariots and other Wheeled Vehicles in Iron Age Greece*, *Allard Pierson Series* Vol. 9 (Amsterdam 1992) pl. 26.2; Van Straten, *Hiera Kala*, 198, V28; Brandt, *Musikanten*, Cat. no. Attf 17; Laxander, *Individuum*, Cat. no. OZ 42, pl. 12.1-2.

## 9. BOLOGNA C 44 (129).

Pl. 4 c-e; fig. 44. Prov: Bologna.

Restored from many fragments, nearly complete. Ht. 16.3 cm; diam. 22.1 cm; diam. Foot 13.6 cm. Torus foot (type 1).

A-B: Hermes reclining to left (loincloth on A, chitoniskos on B) with satyr and goats, one goat on the floor, the other in poach from wall; white heron under handles A/B.

BIBL: G. Pellegrini, *Catalogo dei vasi greci dipinti delle necropoli felsinee* (Bologna 1912) 38, 40, no. 129; *CVA* 2, pl. 42; Mingazzini, *Castellani*, 314 no. 8; *ABL* 250,35; *ABV* 703; Buschor, *Satyrtenze*, fig. 67; E. Paribeni, 'Hermes e Dioniso', *Bullettino dei Musei Comunali di Roma*, 6 (1959) fig. on p. 46; *Para* 255; *LIMC* V, s.v. 'Hermes', no. 656.

## 10. GUARDIA PERTICARA.

Pl. 5 a. Prov: Guardia Perticara, Località San Vito.

Nearly complete. Concave foot (type 2).

A: amazon or Arimasps with bow on lion to left, confronting round-bodied griffin which is breathing fire; tree in centre; B: lion attacking bulls

BIBL: *Treasures from the South of Italy, Greeks and Indigenous People in Basilicata*, Ancienne Douane Strassbourg, 18 June - 15 Nov. 1998, 135, pl. 14, 241; *Atti dell 38 convegno di Studi sulla Magna Grecia, Taranto 1998* (Taranto 1999) 694, pl. 84.

## 11. HAVANA, Lagunillas coll.

Pl. 5 b. Prov: unknown.

Complete (unbroken?). Ht. 16.9 cm; diam. 22.0 cm; diam. foot 14.0 cm. Torus foot (type 1).

A-B: Herakles and the Lion, wrestling on the floor, trees with bow, quiver, and garment to left and right; white heron under handles.

BIBL: *ABV* 520,21; Brommer, *Vasenlisten*<sup>3</sup>, 134, no. 20; R. Olmos (ed.), *Vasos Griegos de la colleccion Condes de Lagunillas* (Kilchberg/Zurich 1990) 70-75, no. 19.

## 12. AMSTERDAM 2604.

Pl. 5 c-e; fig. 43. Prov: unknown.

Fragmentary. Max. ht. 13.9 cm; diam. foot 14.0 cm. Torus foot (type 1).

A-B: Herakles leading Kerberos; preceded by Hermes (foot preserved on A), Hades to left?; white heron under handle.

BIBL: *LIMC* IV, s.v. 'Hades', no. 145; *LIMC* V, s.v. 'Herakles', no. 2598; *Mededelingenblad Amsterdam* 68 (1997) 24, fig. 30; forthcoming *CVA* Amsterdam.

## 13. TARANTO 4447.

Pl. 6 a-b; fig. 46. Prov: Taranto.

Complete. Ht. 15.9 cm; diam. 22.1 cm; diam. foot 13.3 cm. Concave foot (type 2).

A-B: Herakles and Helios in his chariot. Herakles sitting and waving on A, walking up the shore, looking back on B. Helios with two arrows (?) in his shoulder, looking right; yellow sun-disk above Helios' head is overlapping rim; fish in the water below.

BIBL: *CVA* Taranto 2, pl. 10; Mingazzini, *Castellani*, 315.N; *ABL* 250,21; *BdAe* 30 (1936-37) 43; *ABV* 518; Brommer, *Vasenlisten*<sup>3</sup>, 68, no. 2; Ph. Brize, *Die Geryoneis des Stesichoros und die frühe griechische Kunst, Beiträge zur Archäologie*, 12 (Würzburg 1980) pl. 10.1; C. Belli, *Il Tesoro di Taras* (Taranto 1977) 150-51; E. de Juliis, *Archeologia in Puglia* (Bari/Milan 1983) 39, no. 71; E. de Juliis and D. Loiacono, *Taranto, Il Museo Archeologico* (Taranto 1985) 226, no. 250; *LIMC* V, s.v. 'Herakles', no. 2546, pls. 91-92; K. Schefold and F. Jung, *Die Urkönige, Perseus, Bellerophon, Herakles und Theseus in der klassischen und hellenistischen Kunst* (Munich 1988) 162, fig. 197; *Beazley Addenda*<sup>2</sup> 129; E. Lippolis, *Catalogo del Museo Nazionale Archeologico di Taranto III.1: Taranto, la Necropoli, aspetti e problemi della documentazione archeologica tra VII e I sec. A.C.* (Taranto 1994) 29 fig. 15; d'Amicis, *Catalogo*, 55, fig. 38, 224, 227, 230, no. 42.17; K. Schefold, *Der religiöse Gehalt der antiken Kunst und die Offenbarung* (Mainz 1998) 170, fig. 45.

## 14. TARANTO 4448.

Pl. 6 c-d; figs. 22, 31, 47. Prov: Taranto.

Complete; nonsense inscriptions in field. Ht. 16.0 cm; diam. 21.9 cm; diam. foot 13.4 cm. Concave foot (type 2).

A: Herakles and Alkyoneus wrestling; Athena standing to right with outstretched arm, bow, quiver and garment in trees; B: Hermes leading four oxen to right; white heron under handles.

BIBL: CVA Taranto 2, pl. 11; Mingazzini, *Castellani*, 316.Y; ABL 250,17; ABV 518; Andreae, *Herakles*, figs 39-40; Para 255; Brommer, *Vasenlisten*<sup>3</sup>, 6, no. 15; Brommer, *Göttersagen*, 34, no. 3; LIMC I, s.v. 'Alkyoneus', no. 17, pl. 420; E. de Juliis and D. Loiacono, *Taranto, Il Museo Archeologico* (Taranto 1985) 224-25, no. 249; LIMC V, s.v. 'Hermes', no. 246, pl. 221; K. Schefold and F. Jung, *Die Urkönige, Perseus, Bellerophon, Herakles und Theseus in der klassischen und hellenistischen Kunst* (Munich 1988) 193, fig. 236; Beazley *Addenda*<sup>2</sup> 129; A. Alesio, et al., *Catalogo del Museo Nazionale Archeologico di Taranto I,2* (Taranto 1990) pl. 2; E. Lippolis, *Gli eroi di Olimpia, Lo sport nella società greca e magnagrega* (Taranto 1992) 20, fig 9; A. Conte, *Atleti e guerrieri, Itinerari del Museo Nazionale Archeologico di Taranto* (Taranto 1994) 43; *Museo Nazionale Archeologico di Taranto, Guida aggiornata del Museo Nazionale di Taranto* (Taranto 1994) 43; d'Amicis, *Catalogo*, 55-56, figs. 34, 39, 228-30, no. 42.18; Laxander, *Individuum*, pl. 75.1.

### 15. ATHENS, Acropolis 1306.

Pl. 7 a-b. Prov: Athens, Acropolis.

Body fragments. (a and b). Max. ht. c. 13.5 cm.

A: Herakles leading white-faced female monster, polos on her head, by rope to right; B: hunt?, part of chest of animal (hind-legs in right edge of larger fragment a) and lower bodies and legs of 'hunters'; white heron under remains of handle.

BIBL: Graef and Langlotz, *Akropolis*, 147, pl. 75; Mingazzini, *Castellani*, 314 no. 19; ABL 250,25; Brommer, *Vasenlisten*<sup>3</sup>, 207, no. 2; *ArchEph* 1978, 110, fig. 1; Reho-Bumbalova, *Vaso inedito*, 60, fig. 5; Vermeule, *Herakles*, pl. 81.1; K. Schefold and F. Jung, *Die Urkönige, Perseus, Bellerophon, Herakles und Theseus in der klassischen und hellenistischen Kunst* (Munich 1988) 199, fig. 245; LIMC V, s.v. 'Herakles', no. 2836.

### 16. MONOPOLI, Private coll.

Pl. 7 c-d. Prov: Gnathia.

Complete (?). Nonsense inscriptions in field. Ht. 18.2 cm; diam. 22.8 cm; diam. foot 14.4 cm. Concave foot (type 2).

A: Herakles leading female monster, wreath on her head, by rope to right; B: hunt or sacrifice: two men with raised spears and helmets or caps, one with raised double-axe aiming at boar-like animal (elephant according to LIMC) with giant tusk (overlapping rim-area) which seems to be trapped in double-tree; white heron under handles.

BIBL: Reho-Bumbalova, *Vaso inedito*, 53-59, figs. 1-4; LIMC V, s.v. 'Herakles', no. 2835.

### 17. LONDON 1926.11-15.1.

Pl. 8 a-c. Prov: unknown.

Several fragments missing; nonsense-inscriptions in field. Ht. 16.4 cm; diam 22.9 cm. Torus foot (type 1).

A-B: Herakles to right, with spear and shield, fighting two amazons, one of them kneeling; Herakles' shield-devices: panther or lion on A, hindpart of panther or lion on B; amazon's shield-devices: frontal part of ox on A, flying bird (eagle) on B; white heron (wings on folded body) under handles.

BIBL: ABL 253,3 (near the Theseus Painter); Bothmer, *Amazons*, 49, no. 127, pl. 40; Brommer, *Vasenlisten*<sup>3</sup>, 21, no. 12; LIMC I, s.v. 'Amazones', no. 57, pl. 447.

### 18. LONDON 1902.12-18.3.

Pl. 8 d-e. Prov: Boeotia.

Several fragments missing; nonsense inscriptions in field. Ht. 18.1 cm; diam. 23.6 cm. Concave foot (type 2).

A-B: Herakles seated on throne (A, with swan's-head back-support) and stool (B) to right, holding phiale, regaled by Athena who is pouring out of oinochoe, satyr to left behind Herakles; goat under handles.

BIBL: JHS 31 (1911) 4-6, figs. 4-5; Mingazzini, *Castellani*, 314 no. 3; ABL 249,9; Beazley, *Berlin Painter*, 56, no. 2; Brommer, *Vasenlisten*<sup>3</sup>, 28, no. 4; Boardman, *ABFV*, fig. 246; LIMC II, s.v. 'Athena', no. 181, pl. 725; LIMC V, s.v. 'Herakles', no. 3161, pl. 141; J. Boardman, *The History of Greek Vases, Potters, Painters and Pictures* (London 2001) 65, fig. 85.

### 19. MT. HOLYOKE 1925 BS II.3.

Pl. 9 a-b; fig. 7. Prov: unknown.

Complete (?). Ht. 17.2 cm; diam. 22.0 cm. Torus foot (type 1).

A-B: Herakles seated on stool to right, holding phiale, regaled by Athena who is pouring out of oinochoe, Hermes playing aulos to right behind Herakles; goat under handles.

BIBL: *ABV* 519, with no. 18; Brommer, *Vasenlisten*<sup>3</sup>, 28, no. 18, 30, no. 16; D.M. Buitron, *Attic Vase painting in New England Collections*, Fogg Art Museum, 1 March - 5 Sept. 1972, 54, no. 22; W. Hombostel, *Aus Gräbern und Heiligtümern, Die Antikensammlung Walter Kropatscheck*, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg 11 July - 14 Sept. 1980, 106; J.P. Uhlenbrock, *Herakles, Passage of the Hero through 1000 Years of Classical Art* (New York 1986) no. 18; *Beazley Addenda*<sup>2</sup> 129; Van Straten, *Hiera Kala*, 265, V391.

## 20. DRESDEN ZV 1680.

Pl. 9 c. Prov: Greece.

Fragments missing. Ht. 18.5 cm; diam. 25.0 cm. Torus foot (type 1).

A-B: Herakles seated on stool to right, holding phiale, regaled by Athena who is pouring out of oinochoe, Hermes playing aulos to right behind Herakles; goat under handles.

BIBL: *AA* 1900, 112, no. 13; Mingazzini, *Castellani*, 314 no. 3; *ABL* 249,10; *Beazley*, *Berlin Painter*, 56, no. 1; Brommer, *Vasenlisten*<sup>3</sup>, 30, no. 5; Scheibler, *Skyphoi*, pl. 7.1.

## 21. ATHENS, Agora P 1550-1551.

Pl. 9 d. Prov: Athens, Agora.

1550: rim fragment; 1551: body fragment. 1550, max. dim. 8.7 cm; 1551, max. dim. 4.9 cm.

(A): Herakles regaled by Athena (?), parts of Athena preserved).

BIBL: Vanderpool, *Shaft*, 289, no. 62, pl. 37; *ABV* 519,18; Brommer, *Vasenlisten*<sup>3</sup>, 29, no. 23; *Agora XXIII*, no. 1492.

## 21<sup>bis</sup>. ORIA OR 502-645

Pl. 9 e. Prov: Oria

Body fragment. 5.0 x 5.2 cm.

(A): Head and upper body of Athena with phiale to right.

BIBL: G. Semeraro, *ἐν νευσί, Ceramica greca e società nel Salento arcaico* (Lecce/Bari 1997) 181-82, no. 477.

## 22. SYRACUSE 53263.

Pl. 10 a-b; fig. 6; fig. 81 c. Prov: Centuripe.

Complete; graffito below foot: Johnston, *Trademarks*, 88, type 1 B, no. 7, see fig. 81 c and chapter I.2. Ht. 17.0 cm; diam. 22.6 cm.

Concave foot (type 2).

A-B: Herakles playing lyre, standing on bema between two large antithetic birds (eagles?); bystander with mantles, flowers and wreaths to left and right; goat under handles.

BIBL: *ABV* 520,20; *Para* 256; *NSc* 1952, 338-40; M. Wegener, *Musikgeschichte in Bildern*, Band II, *Musik des Altertums, Griechenland* (Leipzig 1963) 69, fig. 39; Malagardis, *Deux temps*, 82, n. 99; *LIMC* IV, s.v. 'Herakles', no. 1448, pl. 540; *Beazley Addenda*<sup>2</sup> 129.

## 23. MARSEILLES 7017.

Pl. 10 c-d. Prov: unknown.

Complete. Torus foot (type 1).

A-B: Herakles wrestling sea monster to right, Herakles as if seated, held by his lower body; white heron under handles?

BIBL: Brommer, *Vasenlisten*<sup>3</sup>, 149, no. 24; Ahlberg-Cornell, *Herakles*, 70, no. 1, 150.

## 24. NAPLES 81154.

Pl. 11 a-d; figs. 2, 41. Prov: Ruvo.

Complete (unbroken except for handles); nonsense inscriptions in field. Ht. 17.0 cm; diam. 22.3 cm. Torus foot (type 1).

A-B: Herakles reclining to left, with raised club in right arm, 'served' by kneeling satyrs with raised arms in front; bow, quiver and cloth in trees; white heron under handles.

BIBL: H. Heydemann, *Die Vasensammlung des Museo Nazionale zu Neapel* (Berlin 1872) no. 2468; Mingazzini, *Castellani*, 315.Q; *ABL* 249,6; Buschor, *Satyrtänze*, fig. 56; *CVA* 1, pl. 46.3-5; Brommer, *Satyrspele*<sup>2</sup>, 75, no. 61 a; *ABV* 703; Brommer, *Vasenlisten*<sup>3</sup>, 191, no. 8; B. Fehr, *Orientalische und griechische Gelage* (Bonn 1971) 153, no. 185; *LIMC* V, s.v. 'Herakles', no. 3239, pl. 146; Wolf, *Herakles*, no. sf. 41, figs. 93-96; M. Gigante, et al., *Modi e funzioni del racconto mitico nella ceramica greca, italiota e etrusca dal VI al IV secolo A.C.* (Salerno 1995) 196, fig. 13.

## 25. ATHENS, Agora P 1545.

Pl. 12 a-b. Prov: Athens, Agora.

Foot missing. Remaining ht. 18.1 cm; diam c.



24.6 cm.

A-B: Herakles with club in left arm, and Hermes (?) reclining; bow, quiver and petasos in trees; white heron under handles.

BIBL: *ABL* 249,4; Vanderpool, *Shaft*, 289, no. 61, pl. 38; *ABV* 518; *LIMC* V, s.v. 'Hermes', no. 548b, pl. 245; *Agora* XXIII, 289, no. 1484, pl. 100; *Beazley Addenda*<sup>2</sup> 129; Wolf, *Herakles*, no. sf. 36, fig. 68.

**26. ONCE HELGOLAND, Kropatscheck coll.**

*Pl. 11 e-f.* Prov: unknown.

Complete (unbroken?). Ht. 19.0 cm; diam. 22.7 cm. Concave foot (type 2).

A-B: Herakles with club in left arm and Hermes (?) reclining, shaking hands on B; bow, quiver and petasos in trees; white heron under handles.

BIBL: *MuM* 63 (1983) 19, no. 35, pl. 16; W. Hornbostel, *Aus Gräbern und Heiligtümern, Die Antikensammlung Walter Kropatscheck*, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg 11 July - 14 Sept. 1980, 104-107, no. 63; R. Moreno-Cassano, 'Un skyphos del pittore di Teseo in una collezione privata di Bari', *Annali della facoltà di lettere e filosofia, Università degli studi Bari* 23 (1980) 87-97, figs. 3-4, 6; Wolf, *Herakles*, no. sf. 39, figs. 66-67.

**27. BARI, Cotecchia coll.**

*Pl. 12 a-b.* Prov: unknown?

Complete, rather worn surface. Ht. 16.6 cm; diam. 22.2 cm. Torus foot (type 1).

A-B: Herakles with club in left arm and Hermes (?) reclining, shaking hands on B; bow, quiver and petasos in trees; white heron under handles.

BIBL: R. Moreno-Cassano, 'Un skyphos del pittore di Teseo in una collezione privata di Bari', *Annali della facoltà di lettere e filosofia, Università degli studi Bari* 23 (1980) 87-97, fig. 1-2, 5; Wolf, *Herakles*, no. sf. 38, fig. 64-65.

**28. ATHENS, Agora P 1543.**

*Pl. 12 c.* Prov: Athens, Agora.

Body fragment. Max. ht. 12.2 cm; max. w. 11.2 cm.

(A): Herakles reclining with club in right arm, part of white heron to right.

BIBL: *ABL* 249,5; Vanderpool, *Shaft*, 289, with no. 61; *ABV* 703; Malagardis, *Deux temps*, 79, n. 69; *Agora* XXIII, no. 1485; Wolf, *Herakles* no. sf. 35.

**29. LAON 37996.**

*Pl. 13 a-c.* Prov: Boeotia.

Foot and lower part of body erroneously restored. Diam. 22.0 cm.

A: Theseus with double-axe holding kneeling Prokrustes, fleeing woman to right, tree with petasos to left; B: Theseus holding Skiron (leaning on rock) by his legs, fleeing woman to right; tree with cloth to left; white heron under handles.

BIBL: *Vente Drouot*, 2-4 June 1904; *ABL* 249,2; *ABV* 703; *CVA* Laon, pl. 25.8-10; *Para* 255; Brommer, *Vasenlisten*<sup>2</sup>, 245, no. 4, 250, no. 1; *LIMC* VII, s.v. 'Theseus', nos. 98, 128, pl. 646.

**30. TOLEDO (Ohio) 63.27.**

*Pl. 13 d-e.* Prov: unknown.

Complete, rather worn surface. Ht. 16.7 cm; w. 29.7 cm; diam. 22.5 cm; diam. foot 14.0 cm. Torus foot (type 1).

A: Theseus with double-axe holding kneeling Prokrustes, fleeing woman (yellow hair) to right, tree with petasos to left; B: Theseus holding Skiron (leaning on rock with yellow snake) by his legs, fleeing woman (yellow hair) to right; tree with cloth to left; white heron under handles.

BIBL: *MuM*, 26 (1963) 59, no. 114; *Para* 257; Brommer, *Vasenlisten*<sup>2</sup>, 245, no. 7, 249-50, no. 44; *MuM* 51 (1975) 62, no. 149; Boardman, *ABFV*, fig. 245.1-2; *CVA* 1, pl. 32; *Beazley Addenda*<sup>2</sup> 129; *LIMC* VII, s.v. 'Theseus', no. 97, pl. 642, no. 127, pl. 646; E. Grabow, *Schlangenbilder in der griechischen schwarzfigurigen Vasenkunst* (Münster 1998) cover, pl. 15, 302, no. K 71.

**31. CORINTH C-70-33.**

*Pl. 13 f.* Prov: Corinth.

Fragment. Max. ht. 3.25 cm; max. w. 2.9 cm.

(A): Theseus and Prokrustes (?), head of Procrustes).

BIBL: A.B. Brownlee, 'Attic Black Figure from Corinth', *Hesperia* 58 (1989) 383, no. 98, pl. 66.

**32. NEW YORK, White and Levi coll.**

*Pl. 15 a.* Prov: unknown.

Complete (unbroken?). Ht. 16.8 cm; diam. 22.4 cm. Torus foot (type 1).

A-B (continuing frieze): Odysseus escaping, men hanging under ram's bellies, led by another with white hair; Polyphemos on rock with club to

right, looking round.

BIBL: D. von Bothmer (ed.), *Glories of the Past, The Shelby White and Leon Levi Collection* (New York 1991) 150-51, no. 113; LIMC VIII, s.v. Polyphemos I, no. 114, pl. 671; B. Andreae, et al., *Ulysse, il mito e la memoria* (Rome 1996) 132, fig. 2.24.

### 33. NAPLES 81159.

Pl. 14 a-b; figs. 40, 81 f. Prov: Ruvo.

Nearly complete; graffito, (not in Johnston, *Trademarks*) see fig. 81 f, and chapter I.2. Ht. 16.0 cm; diam. 22.5 cm. Torus foot (type 1).

A-B: two heroes seated on stools at mount (omphalos or tumulus) one with horsetail crest (A2); eagle with snake (A) and hare (B) on top of mount; snake (A) and deer (B) in yellow on mount; white heron under handles.

BIBL: H. Heydemann, *Die Vasensammlung des Museo Nazionale zu Neapel* (Berlin 1872) no. 2458; JHS 19 (1899) 227, figs. 7-8; CVA 1, pl. 46; Mingazzini, *Castellani*, 314 no. 18; ABL 250,33; H. Sichterman, *Die griechischen Vasen* (Berlin 1963) fig. 13; Para 255; A.J.N.W. Prag, *The Oresteia, Iconographic and Narrative Tradition* (Warminster/Chicago 1985) pl. 42 d; Beazley *Addenda* 129; Brinkmann, *Siphnierschatzhaus*, 83; E. Grabow, *Schlangenbilder in der griechischen schwarzfigurigen Vasenkunst* (Münster 1998) 300, no. 49, pl. 9.

### 34. ONCE BASLE MARKET.

Pl. 14 c-d. Prov: unknown.

Some fragments missing, surface rather worn.

Ht. 17.1 cm; diam. 21.8 cm. Concave foot (type 2).

A-B: two heroes seated on stools at mount (omphalos or tumulus), confronting eagles on top.

BIBL: MuM 51 (1975) 53-54, no. 134.

### 35. GREIFSWALD 197.

Pl. 15 b. Prov: Boeotia.

Condition unknown. Ht. 17.2 cm; diam. 22.0 cm. Torus foot (type 1).

A-B: three sirens to right playing music (two with auloi, one with lyre), single 'listener' with mantle, leaning on staff; white heron under handles.

BIBL: ABL 251,40; ABV 518; A. Hundt and K. Peters, *Greifswalder Antiken* (Berlin 1961) 34-35, pl. 17; Para 255.

### 36. GUARDIA PERTICARA 15223.

Pl. 16 a. Prov: Guardia Perticara, Località San Vito.

Complete. Ht. 17.0 cm. Torus foot (type 1)

A-B: Two female ostrich-riders to right (yellow hair), between bystanders, one leaning on staff, the other with auloi, goat at his side.

BIBL: *Cat. Il vino di Dioniso, Dei e uomini a banchetto in Basilicata*, Roma, Museo Barracco, 8 July - 28 Nov. 1999 (Rome 1999) 53, no. 57; *Atti dell 38 convegno di Studi sulla Magna Grecia, Taranto 1998* (Taranto 1999) 694, pl. 86.

### 37. ONCE BASLE MARKET.

Pl. 15 c-d. Prov: unknown.

Complete (?). Ht. 17.0 cm; diam. 22.0 cm. Torus foot (type 1).

A-B: three satyrs to right playing music, the central one white-haired with lyre, the others with auloi; goat under handles.

BIBL: MuM 60 (1982) 16, no. 23; LIMC VIII, s.v. 'Silenoi', 96, pl. 761.

### 38. LECCE 560.

Pl. 16 c-d; figs. 20 b, 30, 33. Prov: Massafra (near Taranto).

Complete (?). Ht. 17.5 cm; diam. 21.5 cm. Torus foot (type 1).

A-B: two dancing satyrs (frontal look) behind deer at tree on which large bird; white heron under handles.

BIBL: CVA 1, pl. 3.1-2; Mingazzini, *Castellani*, 315.U; ABL 250,34; Para 255; M. Bernardini, *I vasi attici del museo provinciale di Lecce* (Galatina 1981) 34-35.

### 39. BASLE, Cahn coll. HC 1405.

Pl. 16 b; fig. 23 a. Prov: unknown.

Two fitting rim fragments. a: max. ht. 4.5 cm, max. w. 6.3 cm; b: max. ht. 4.9 cm, w. 7.8 cm; diam. 22.0 cm.

(A): upper parts of two satyrs (frontal look).

BIBL: Kreuzer, *Zeichner*, 122-23, no. 132.

### 40. TAMPA (Florida) 86.52.

Pl. 17 a-b. Prov: unknown.

Several body fragments missing. Ht. 16.5 cm; diam. 22.4 cm. Torus foot (type 1).

A-B: sacrificial procession to right, A: two naked men carrying amphora with pole, youth leading bull; B: youth carrying angular object on his shoulder, youth with boar, youth with basket on

his shoulder; white heron under handles.

BIBL: *ABV* 704,27ter, Para 256; S.P. Murray, *The Joseph Veach Noble Collection, Tampa Florida Museum of Art*, 2nd printing (Tampa 1985) 25 A; D. von Bothmer, *Ancient Art in New York Private Collections*, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 17 Dec. 1959 - 28 Febr. 1960 (New York 1961) 56, no. 221, pl. 76; J.V. Noble, 'Pottery Manufacture', in C. Roebuck, *The Muses at Work, Arts, Crafts and Professions in Ancient Greece and Rome* (Cambridge Mass./London 1969) 119, fig. 1, left; Lehnstaedt, *Prozessionsdarstellungen*, no. K 63; Malagardis, *Deux temps*, 76, n. 41; *Beazley Addenda*<sup>2</sup> 129; Neils, *Goddess and Polis*, 40, 181, no. 53; S. Peirce, 'Death, Revelry and Thysia', *ClassAnt* 12 (1993) 266, fig. 7; P.J. Russel, *Ceramics and Society, Making and Marketing Ancient Greek Pottery*, Tampa Mus. of Art, 20 Febr. - 15 May 1994 no. 24; van Straten, *Hiera Kala*, 201, V44; Laxander, *Individuum*, Cat. no. OZ 56.

#### 41. STUTTGART KAS 74.

Pl. 17 c-d. Prov: unknown.

Several body fragments missing; nonsense inscriptions in field. Ht. 16.5 cm; diam. 22.7 cm. Torus foot (type 1).

A-B: sacrificial procession, A: two naked men carrying amphora with pole, man with boar; B: male with offerings on his shoulder, male leading bull, auloi player.

BIBL: *CVA* 1, pl. 19.1-2, 20.1; Lehnstaedt, *Prozessionsdarstellungen*, no. K64; Para 258; Malagardis, *Deux temps*, 76, n. 42; Scheibler, *Bild und Gefäss*, 71, fig. 8; Van Straten, *Hiera Kala*, 201, V43; N. Himmelmann, *Tieropfer in der griechischen Kunst* (1997) 43, fig. 28; Brandt, *Musikanten*, Cat. no. Attf 28; Laxander, *Individuum*, Cat. no. OZ 55, pl. 9.1-2.

#### 42. NEW YORK 06.1021.49.

Pl. 18 a-b; fig. 18. Prov: unknown.

Nearly complete; nonsense inscriptions in field. Ht. 16.2 cm; diam. 22.5 cm. Torus foot (type 1).

A: wrestlers with bystander and trainer; B: pancratiasts with bystander and trainer; white heron under handles.

BIBL: *ABL* 251,43; H. McClees and C. Alexander, *The Daily Life of the Greeks* (New York 1933) 94, 96, fig. 122; Mingazzini, *Castellani*, 314 no. 24; *ABV* 703; H.A. Harris, *Greek Athletes and Athletics* (London 1964) pl.

21; H.A. Harris, *Sport in Greece and Rome* (London 1972) fig. 20; Beck, *Album*, pl. 39.210; M.B. Poliakoff, *Studies in the Terminology of the Greek Combat Sports* (Königstein 1982) pl. 3; M.I. Finley and H.W. Pleket, *The Olympic Games, the First Thousand Years* (London 1976) pl. 22, fig. A; *Beazley Addenda*<sup>2</sup> 129; Vanhove, *Sport*, 345-46, no. 213. H.R. Immerwahr, *Attic Script: A Survey* (Oxford 1990) 91, fig. 103.

#### 43. AMSTERDAM 2159.

Pl. 18 c-g; fig. 16. Prov: Taranto.

Fragments of rim and body (a-e). a: max. ht. 13.6 cm, max. w. 14.4 cm; b: max. ht. 5.2 cm, max. w. 5.6 cm; c: max. ht. 4.4 cm, max. w. 5.0 cm; d: max. ht. 8.2 cm, max. w. 8.1 cm; e: max. ht. 8.0 cm, max. w. 10.3 cm; est. diam. 23.0 cm.

(A-B?): palaestra, parts of trainer, youths and youths with spears.

BIBL: J.M. Hemelrijk 'The Gela Painter in the Allard Pierson Museum', *BABesch* 49 (1974) 152, n. 196; forthcoming *CVA* Amsterdam.

#### 44. TARANTO 4449.

Pl. 19; fig. 48. Prov: Taranto.

Body fragments missing; nonsense inscriptions in field. Ht. 16.4 cm; diam. 22.1 cm; diam. foot 13.3 cm. Concave foot (type 2)

A-B: Komos, or procession of auloi players, men and youths, dancing, jumping and kneeling with sticks or spears, B2 with yellow hair; kneeling youth under handle A/B, youth with his feet in the air and his hands on the floor under handle B/A.

BIBL: Mingazzini, *Castellani*, 316.Z; *ABL* 251,46; E. Lippolis, *Gli eroi di Olimpia, lo sport nella società greca e magnagrega* (Taranto 1992) 52-53, figs. 41-44; A. Conte, *Atleti e Guerrieri, Itinerari del Museo Nazionale Archeologico di Taranto* (Taranto 1994) 29; *Museo Nazionale Archeologico di Taranto, Guida aggiornata del Museo Nazionale di Taranto* (Taranto 1994) 42; d'Amicis, *Catalogo*, 93-94, figs. 69-70, 224-26 no. 42.16.

#### 45. ATHENS, Agora P 1544.

Pl. 20; figs. 25, 32, 50. Prov: Athens, Agora.

Body fragments missing. Ht. 18.8 cm; diam. 24.2 cm; diam. foot 15.2 cm. Concave foot (type 2).

A-B: komos, revellers, female auloi player, (panathenaic-shaped) amphora-carrier; squatting youth under handle B/A, goat under handle A/B.



BIBL: *ABL* 251,47; Vanderpool, *Shaft*, 290, no. 63, pl. 38-39; *ABV* 518; *Para* 255; Burkert, *Tragedy*, 87-122, pl. 4, fig. 3; Malagardis, *Deux temps*, 77, n. 47; *Agora XXIII*, no. 1483, pl. 100; *Beazley Addenda*<sup>2</sup> 129; Van Straten, *Hiera Kala* 195, V3; Laxander, *Individuum*, pl. 10.1.

#### 46. ATHENS, Agora P 1548.

*Pl. 21a*. Prov: Athens, Agora.

Rim fragment. Remaining ht. 8.5 cm; diam. c. 25.0 cm.

(A): komos, revellers, female auloi player, (panathenaic-shaped) amphora-carrier.

BIBL: *ABL* 251,48; Vanderpool, *Shaft*, 290, no. 64, pl. 40; *ABV* 518; Malagardis, *Deux temps*, 77, n. 47; *Agora XXIII*, no. 1487, pl. 101; *Beazley Addenda*<sup>2</sup> 129.

#### 47. ATHENS, Agora P 1549.

*Pl. 23 a*. Prov: Athens, Agora.

Rim fragment. Remaining ht. 7.1 cm; diam. c. 24.5 cm.

(A): komos, reveller, female auloi player.

BIBL: *ABL* 251,48<sup>bis</sup>; Vanderpool, *Shaft*, 291, no. 65, pl. 37; *ABV* 518; *Agora XXIII*, no. 1488, pl. 101; *Beazley Addenda*<sup>2</sup> 129.

#### 48. ATHENS, Agora P 1547.

*Pl. 21 b*; fig. 19. Prov: Athens, Agora.

Rim fragment. Remaining ht. 14.7 cm; diam. c. 24.5 cm.

(A): komos, revellers; goat under handle.

BIBL: *ABL* 251,49; Vanderpool, *Shaft*, 291, no. 66, pl. 40; *ABV* 518; Burkert, *Greek Tragedy*, 87-122, pl. 3; *Para* 255; *Agora XXIII*, no. 1489, pl. 100; *Beazley Addenda*<sup>2</sup> 129; van Straten, *Hiera Kala* 195, V4; Laxander, *Individuum*, pl. 10.2.

#### 49. AMSTERDAM 290.

*Pl. 22*; figs. 17, 42. Prov: Thebes.

Fragments (lower part of body and foot, fragments of rim and body: a-e). fragment c has been erroneously composed from several fragments: the left-hand fragment as indicated on *pl. 22 d*, does not belong to it.

a: max. ht. 12.5 cm, foot: diam. 14.0 cm; b: max. ht. 6.6 cm, max. w. 5.2 cm; c: max. ht. 5.8 cm, max. w. 11.6 cm; d: max. ht. 4.1 cm, max. w. 6.9 cm; e: max. ht. 9.7 cm, max. w. 10.0 cm; est. diam. 22.5 cm. Torus foot (type 1)

A-B: komos, revellers, auloi players; goat under handles.

BIBL: C.W. Lunsingh Scheurleer, *Catalogus eener verzameling Egyptische, Grieksche, Romeinsche en andere oudheden* (The Hague 1909) 192, no. 392; O. Borghers, 'Some Subjects and Shapes by the Theseus Painter', *Proceedings ALAC*, 87, pl. 8; forthcoming *CVA Amsterdam*.

#### 50. TARANTO 4591.

*Pl. 21 c-d*; fig. 49. Prov: Taranto.

Some fragments missing, rather damaged; nonsense inscriptions in field. Ht. 17.0 cm; diam. 21.5; diam. foot 14.0 cm. Concave foot (type 2).

A-B: komos: revellers, female auloi players, lyre-player, youth with basket, amphora-carrier, youth and man with object over his shoulder, white heron under handles.

BIBL: Q. Quagliati, 'Una tomba monumentale del cinquecento A.C. in Taranto, *Dedalo, rassegna d'arte* 2 (1921-22) 617-27, fig. on 621; Mingazzini, *Castellani*, 315 no. 34; *ABL* 251,45; F. G. Lo Porto, 'Tombe di atleti tarentini', *AttiMGrecia* 8 (1967) pl. 17 c-d, 18 c; E. De Juliis and D. Loiacono, *Taranto, il Museo Archeologico* (Taranto 1985) 237, no. 266; A. d'Amicis, *Vecchi Scavi, nuovi restauri* (Taranto 1991) 44, no. 4.26, 45; A. Alesio et al., *Catalogo del Museo Nazionale Archeologico di Taranto I.2* (Taranto 1990) 64, fig. 60; d'Amicis, *Catalogo*, 77, fig. 56, 302-303, no. 81.62.

#### 51. BASLE, Cahn coll. HC 1469.

*Pl. 23 b*. Prov: unknown.

Rim fragment. Max. ht. 6.3 cm; w. 8.25 cm; est. diam. 22.0 cm.

(A): komos (?), upper parts of man with drinking-horn and youth with lyre to right.

BIBL: *ABV* 520,24; *Para* 256; Kreuzer, *Zeichner* 116, no. 124. No reference to Beazley is given by Kreuzer.

#### 52. PISA P 695.

*Pl. 23 c*. Prov: Taranto.

Fragment. Max. ht. 9.2 cm; w. 7.0 cm.

(A): komos(?). Man with boots leaning on stick, man with boots.

BIBL: C. Tronchetti, 'Materiali dell'Istituto di Archeologia di Pisa, i vasi attici a figure nere', *StCLO* 21 (1972) 413-14, pl. 2,1.

#### 53. ATHENS, NM 13916.

*Pl. 24*; fig. 45. Prov: unknown

Large fragments missing. Ht. 17.5-6 cm; diam. 22.2 cm; diam. foot 14.0 cm. Torus foot (type 1). A-B: two men leaning on sticks, large amphora with wreath on the shoulder and birds on the rim inbetween; goat under handles.

BIBL: *Para* 259, "near the Theseus Painter"; Malagardis, *Deux temps*, 77, n. 47; Scheibler, *Bild und Gefäß*, 75; CVA 4, pl. 42, "by the Theseus Painter."

#### 54. COPENHAGEN 6571.

Pl. 25 a-b. Prov: Isola del Liri.

Fragmentary. Ht. 16.7 cm; diam. 23.0 cm. Torus foot (type 1).

A-B: ephedrimos: two groups of youths carrying others, youth in front of each pair, right-hand one holding stick; intertwined tree and *dioros* under handles.

BIBL: CVA 3, pl. 119.9; Mingazzini, *Castellani*, 314 no. 20; ABL 251,50; Beck, *Album*, pl. 65.332.

#### 55. BRUSSELS R 327.

Pl. 25 c-d. Prov: unknown.

Nearly complete, severely worn. Ht. 18.0 cm; diam. 22.5 cm. Torus foot (type 1).

A-B: A-B: ephedrimos: two groups of youths carrying others, youth in front of each pair, right-hand one holding stick; intertwined tree and *dioros* under handles.

BIBL: S. Reinach, *Répertoire des vases peints grecs et étrusques, Avec des notices explicatives et bibliographiques* (Paris 1899-1900) I, 80-1, no. 5-6; CVA 3, pl. 25.4; ABL 251,51; ABV 518; R. May et al., *Jouer dans l'antiquité*, Musée d'Archéologie Méditerranéenne, Centre de la vieille charité, Marseilles, 22 Nov. - 16 Febr. 1992, 118, no. 110.

#### 56. ATHENS, Agora P 1546.

Pl. 26 a-b. Prov: Athens, Agora.

Fragmentary, foot missing. Diam. c. 24.5 cm.

A-B: ephedrimos: two groups of youths carrying others, youth in front of each pair, right-hand one holding stick; intertwined tree and *dioros* under handles.

BIBL: ABL 251,54; Vanderpool, *Shaft*, 291, no. 67, pl. 41, no. 67; ABV 518; *Agora XXIII*, no. 1490, pl. 101; *Beazley Addenda*<sup>2</sup> 129; Malagardis, *Deux temps*, 79, n. 69 mentioning a skyphos by the Theseus Painter: *Athens, Agora P 2646*, but this is an olpe: *Agora XXIII*, no. 688, it must be

an error for *Agora P 1546*); O. Tzachou-Alexandri, *Mind and Body, Athletic Contests in Ancient Greece* (Athens 1988) 198, no. 88; Cat. *Le corps et l'esprit*, Lausanne, 2 March - 15 July 1990, 116, no. 63; P. Valavanis and D. Kourkouvelis, *XAIPEKAITHEI, Drinking Vessels* (Athens 1996) 99; M. Fittà, *Gioco e giocattoli nell'antichità* (Milan 1997) 22, figs. 27-28 (erroneously assigned to the Allard Pierson Museum Amsterdam, see Cat. no. 58); Laxander, *Individuum*, pl. 10.3.

#### 57. HAVERFORD EA 1989-4.

Pl. 26 c-d. Prov: unknown.

Fragmentary. Ht. 18.1 cm; diam. 22.1 cm; diam. foot 14.1 cm.

A-B: ephedrimos: two groups of youths carrying others, youth in front of each pair, right-hand one holding stick; intertwined tree and *dioros* under handles. Torus foot (type 1).

BIBL: A.H. Ashmead, *Haverford College Collection of Classical Antiquities, The Bequest of Ernest Allen* (Philadelphia 1999) 31-33, figs. 37-40.

#### 58. AMSTERDAM 2178.

Pl. 27 a-e; fig. 12. Prov: Taranto.

Rim fragment, smaller body fragments. a: max. ht. 15.5 cm; max. w. 21.0 cm; diam. 22.0 cm; b: max. ht. 4.9 cm, max. w. 5.3 cm; c: max. ht. 4.2 cm, max. w. 4.5 cm; d: max. ht. 3.7 cm, max. w. 5.9 cm; e: max. ht. 6.7 cm, max. w. 6.2 cm.

(A-B?): ephedrimos: two groups of youths carrying others, youth in front of each pair; intertwined tree and *dioros* under handles.

BIBL: CVA The Hague (Scheurleer) 2, pl. 6.5-9; ABL 251,52; Vanhove, *Sport*, 172, no. 25; forthcoming CVA Amsterdam.

#### 59. ATHENS, Acropolis 1276.

Pl. 27 g. Prov: Athens, Acropolis.

Fragments. Max w., a: 12.2 cm; b: 3.7 cm; c: 5.5 cm.

(A): ephedrimos, legs and feet; part of intertwined tree-trunk.

BIBL: Graef and Langlotz, *Akropolis*, 141-42, pl. 72; ABL 251,53.

#### 60. ATHENS, Agora P 23174.

Pl. 27 h. Prov: Athens, Agora.

Fragment. Max. ht. 7.8 cm; max. w. 8.0 cm.

(A): ephedrimos, part of 'carrier' and rider.

BIBL: *ABV* 520,27<sup>bis</sup>, 704; *Agora XXIII*, no. 1491, pl. 101; *Beazley Addenda*<sup>2</sup> 129.

**61. SAN ANTONIO 86.134.51.**

*Pl.* 27 i. Prov: unknown.

Rim fragment.; repair-hole in left part of rim.  
Max. ht. 5.2 cm; max. w. 4.3 cm.

(A): ephedrimos, head of carrier, tuft of hair of boy on his back.

BIBL: *Greek Vases in San Antonio*, 262, no. 162.

**62. HIMERA H 72.679.**

*Pl.* 27 f. Prov: Himera.

Fragment. Max. w. 6.0 cm.

(A): ephedrimos (?), heads of youths.

BIBL: N. Allegro et al., *Himera II, Campagna di scavo 1966-1973*, *Istituto di Archeologia, Università di Palermo* (Rome 1976) XXII, 277, no. 20, pl. 44,8.

**63. CORINTH C 37-2323.**

*Pl.* 27 j.

Prov: Corinth

Fragment.

Max. dim. 6.1 cm.

(A): ephedrimos (?), legs.

BIBL: A.B. Brownlee, 'Attic Black Figure from Corinth II', *Hesperia* 58 (1989) 383, no. 99, pl. 66.

**64. HARVARD 1960.321.**

*Pl.* 28 a-c. Prov: Veredemmia, Ceglie Messapica Puglie.

Fragmentary. Ht. 17.4 cm; diam. 22.0 cm; diam. foot 13.5 cm. Torus foot (type 1).

A-B: two youths at cone-shaped, incised mount with flat top, A1, B1-2 with baskets; man decorating (?) herm; seated youth touching (shaping?) amphora under handles.

BIBL: *CVA* Robinson coll., Baltimore, 3, pl. 1-2; *ABV* 520,26; *Para* 256; T.B.L. Webster, *Potter and Painter in Classical Athens* (London 1972) 248; J.Z. Ziomecki, *Les représentations d'artisans sur les vases attiques* (Wrocław 1975) 30, 32, figs. 6-7; Eisman and Turnbull, *Skyphos*, 395-396, Ill. I, figs. 1-4; I Scheibler, *Griechische Töpferei, Herstellung, Handel, Gebrauch der attischen Tongefäße* (Mainz 1983) 111, fig. 102; I. Scheibler, 'Formen der Zusammenarbeit in attischen Töpfereien des 6. und 5. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.', in: H. Kalcyk et al. (eds.), *Studien zur alten Geschichte, Siegfried Lauffer zum 70.*

*Geburtstag am 4. August 1981 dargebracht von Freunden, Kollegen und Schülern*, Band III (Rome 1986) 790-92, fig. 1, pl. 1 a; *Beazley Addenda*<sup>2</sup> 129; Scheibler, *Bild und Gefäß*, 72; *Cat. Ceramics and Society, Making and Marketing Ancient Greek Pottery*, Tampa Museum of Art, 20 Febr. - 15 May 1994, 13-14, no. 1; S. Angiolillo, *Arte e cultura nell'Atene di Pisistrato e dei pisistratidi* (Bari 1997) 105, fig. 50; Maffre, *Thasos*, 271, figs. 3-6; Scheibler, *Skyphoi*, 27, pl. 6.3-4; J. Boardman, *The History of Greek Vases: Potters, Painters and Pictures* (London 2001) 142, fig. 175.

65. THASOS 59.2706, 59.1494, 59.3070, 59.931, 59.3090

*Pl.* 28 d-e. Prov: Thasos.

Several fragments, including one of the rim.

A-B: figures kneeling and standing to left of conical, flat-topped mount; old man with mantle kneeling on staff to right of it; part of the base of herm in far right edge (?).

BIBL: Maffre, *Thasos*, 269-78.

**66. ATHENS, Acropolis 1282.**

*Pl.* 23 d. Prov: Athens, Acropolis.

Fragments. (A): people pulling large rope, part of donkey or mule.

BIBL: Graef and Langlotz, *Akropolis*, 143-44, pl. 76, *ABL* 251,42; Lehnstadt, *Prozessionsdarstellungen*, no. K70; Laxander, *Individuum*, Cat. no. OZ 25.

**67. MALIBU 86.AE.152.**

*Pl.* 23 e. Prov: unknown.

Fragment. Ht. 4.2 cm; w. 5.2 cm.

(A): head of man to left.

BIBL: *CVA* 2, pl. 78,3.

TRANSITIONAL FROM MIDDLE TO LATE

**68. BONN 1646.**

*Pl.* 29 a. Prov: unknown.

Some fragments missing. Ht. 18.0 cm; diam. 23.0 cm. Torus foot (type 1).

A-B: tritones holding Dionysos to right, looking back, Dionysos with bent knees, as if seated; goat under handles.

BIBL: *AA* 1935, 475-76, fig. 52; *ABL* 250,24; *ABV* 518; *LIMC* VIII, s.v. 'Tritones', no. 101.



**69. BASLE, Cahn coll.**

Pl. 29 b. Prov: unknown.

Large rim fragment. Max. ht. 26 cm; est. diam. c. 24.0 cm.

(A): tritones holding Dionysos to right, looking back.

BIBL: *Das Tier in der Antike, 400 Werke ägyptischer, griechischer, etruskischer und römischer Kunst aus privatem und öffentlichem Besitz, Archäologisches Institut der Universität Zürich*, 21 Sept. - 17 Nov. 1974, 39, no. 227, pl. 38; *LIMC* VIII, s.v. 'Tritones', no. 110, pl. 59.

**70. ROME, Conservatori.**

Pl. 29 c-d. Prov: Rome (Pons Milvius).

Fragmentary. Ht. 25.0 cm; diam. 31.0 cm. Torus foot (type 1).

A: Hermes reclining on goat, accompanied by man with wineskin and aulos player (procession); B: Hermes reclining on ram, accompanied by man and aulos player (procession); small naked youth squatting under handles

BIBL: E. Paribeni, 'Hermes e Dioniso', *Bullettino dei Musei Comunali di Roma* 6 (1959) 41-47; *Para* 257; *AJA* 64 (1960) pl. 103, fig. 2; *AA* 88 (1973) 647, figs. 91-92; Malagardis, *Deux temps*, 80, n. 73; *LIMC* V, s.v. 'Hermes', no. 25 a-b.

**71. ST. PETERSBURG 4498.**

Pl. 30 a-b; figs. 3, 21. Prov: unknown.

Complete or nearly. Ht. 24.5 cm; diam. 29.2 cm. Torus foot (type 1).

A: Hermes to left, playing aulos, four nymphs and satyr in front of him; B: Apollo to left, playing lyre, five muses with krotalai and aulos; amphora under handle A/B, goat under handle B/A.

BIBL: L.A. Stella, *Mitologia greca* (Turin 1956) fig. on 114 (erroneously identified by Beazley as Berlin, see Cat. no. 115); P. Zanker, *Wandel der Hermesgestalt in der attischen Vasenmalerei* (Bonn 1965) 56, pls. 1-2; *Para* 257; *LIMC* II, s.v. 'Apollon', no. 702, pl. 242; *LIMC* V, s.v. 'Hermes', no. 322, pl. 227; Gorbunova, *Ermitazhe*, 148, no. 118; Beazley *Addenda*<sup>2</sup> 129

**72. DELOS B 6140.**

Pl. 30 c-d; fig. 8. Prov: Delos.

Foot missing. Preserved ht. 22.5 cm; diam. 29.5 cm.

A: "Athena receiving Herakles in her sanctuary", shaking hands between cocks on columns; B: Nike or Iris with oinochoe and Hermes with

phiale between owls on columns; small oxen under handles.

BIBL: Dugas, *Délos* X, pl. 47; Mingazzini, *Castellani*, 316.ZC-ZD; *ABL* 249,7; Beazley, *Berlin Painter*, 56, with no. 3; Brommer, *Vasenlisten*<sup>3</sup>, 28, no. 13; *RM* 92 (1985) 45-64, 54, n. 68; *LIMC* V, s.v. 'Herakles', no. 3185.

**73. DELOS B 6142.**

Pl. 31 a-b. Prov: Delos.

Fragmentary. Ht. 30.0 cm; diam. 32.0 cm; diam. foot 21.8 cm. Foot in two degrees (type 3).

(A-B): "Athena receiving Herakles in her sanctuary" (?). Athena between cocks on pillars, horseman (youth) below handle(s).

BIBL: Dugas, *Délos* X, 180, pl. 54; *ABL* 249,8; G. Daux, 'Chronique des fouilles et découvertes archéologiques en Grèce en 1958: Délos', *BCH* 83 (1959) 787-90; *Para* 255; Brommer, *Vasenlisten*<sup>3</sup>, 28, no. 14; *LIMC* V, s.v. 'Herakles', no. 3185.

**74. DELOS B 6138.**

Pl. 31 c-e, fig. 81 a. Prov: Delos.

Fragmentary; votive inscription just below rim, see fig. 81 a and chapter I.2. Ht. 27.5 cm; diam. 28.5 cm. Torus foot (type 1).

A: Herakles and Ares (?) reclining; B: Herakles and Hermes (?) reclining; bow, quiver and petasos in trees; white heron under handles.

BIBL: Dugas, *Délos* X, 179, pl. 46; *ABL* 249,3; B. Fehr, *Orientalische und griechische Gelage* (Bonn 1971) 161 no. 278; Brommer, *Vasenlisten*<sup>3</sup>, 70, no. 4; *LIMC* V, s.v. 'Hermes', no. 548a, pl. 245; Wolf, *Herakles*, no. sf. 37, fig. 61-63.

**75. ONCE US MARKET.**

Pl. 33 c. Prov: unknown.

Complete; traces of dripping clay-paint on surface of bowl. Ht. 26.0 cm; diam. 28.0 cm. Torus foot (type 1).

A-B: Herakles and Hermes (petasos) reclining; bow, quiver and petasos in trees.

BIBL: A. Emmerich gallery, *Masterpieces of Greek Vase-painting*, 22 Apr. - 30 May 1964, no. 20; *Para* 257; Brommer, *Vasenlisten*<sup>3</sup>, 70, no. 5; Malagardis, *Deux temps*, 77, n. 48, 80, n. 70; Shapiro, *Art and Cult*, 160, pl. 71b; Wolf, *Herakles*, no. sf. 40, fig. 60.

**76. ATHENS, Acropolis 1280.**

Pl. 32 a-b; fig. 52. Prov: Athens, Acropolis.

Large fragments of rim and body; nonsense inscriptions in field. Restored ht. 21.4 cm; diam c. 30.0 cm.

A: Theseus at the Labyrinth (indicated by patterned rectangle), shaking hands with Athena, bystanders to left; B: Theseus and Skiron, turtle in white on the rock; yet another group to right: foot of Theseus to right and part Prokrustes (?) to left on the floor near the right handle-edge; tree under handles.

BIBL: Graef and Langlotz, *Akropolis*, 142, pl. 73; Mingazzini, *Castellani*, 314 no. 1; *ABL* 249,1; Brommer, *Vasenlisten*<sup>3</sup>, 245, no. 5; Malagardis, *Deux temps*, 82, n. 99; *LIMC* VII, s.v. 'Theseus' nos. 62, 99, 308.

#### 77. ATHENS, Acropolis 1290

Pl. 32 c-f. Prov: Athens, Acropolis.

Four body fragments. a: ht. 5.5 cm, w. 7.7 cm; b: ht. 6.8 cm, w. 6.1 cm; c: -; d: ht. 10.1 cm, w. 8.9 cm.

(A-B) satyrs making wine: pressbed, Dionysos and goddess watching to left?

BIBL: Graef and Langlotz, *Akropolis*, 144, pl. 72; *ABL* 253,13 (near the Theseus Painter).

#### 78. ATHENS, Kanellopoulos 842

Pl. 33 a-b. Prov: unknown.

Nearly complete.

Narrow-band skyphos, torus foot (type 1).

A: satyrs and hare at tree; B: satyrs and deer at tree.

BIBL: unpublished.

#### 79. SALERNO.

Pl. 34 a-d. Prov: Padula.

Some fragments missing; lower part of vase heavily damaged. Ht. c. 30.0 cm; diam. c. 30.0 cm. Torus foot of slightly different, more simple shape than type 1.

A: forge, slightly bent man with stick, two men holding vessel in between them, men seated and standing around oven; B: forge, two bent men, two hammering, youth standing, youth seated at forge or large chest with bird on top.

BIBL: *Para* 257.

#### 80. ATHENS, NM 498.

Pl. 34 e-f; fig. 51. Prov: Athens.

Some missing fragments. Ht. 17.0 cm; diam. 19.7 cm; diam. foot 13.0 cm. Foot in degrees (type 3).

A: satyr and maenad (or dressed-up male and

female?), both fully dressed at image of Dionysos; B: komos (procession): man and youth, and youth carrying amphora on his shoulder; goat under handles.

BIBL: *CVA* 1, pl. 4.1-3; A. Frickenhaus 'Lenäenvasen', *BWPr* 72 (1912) 4, no. 2; Mingazzini, *Castellani*, 314 no. 16; *ABL* 251,44; Kerényi, *Dionysos*, fig. 76 a-c; *Cité des Images* 132, no. 190; Malagardis, *Deux temps*, 77, n. 47; *LIMC* III, s.v. 'Dionysos', no. 36; Frontisi-Ducroux, *Le dieu-masqué*, 142, fig. 79; K.G. Kachler, *Zur Entstehung und Entwicklung der griechischen Theatermaske* (Basel 1991) 43, figs. 15-17; S. Moraw, *Die Mänade in der attischen Vasenmalerei des 6. und 5. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. Rezeptionsästhetische Analyse eines antiken Weiblichkeitsentwurfs* (Mainz 1998) 282, no. 166.

#### 81. CORINTH C 69-57.

Pl. 33d. Prov: Corinth.

Fragment. Max. ht. 6.0 cm; max. w. 5.8 cm.

(A): upper part of man to right.

BIBL: A.B. Brownlee, 'Attic Black Figure from Corinth II', *Hesperia* 58 (1989) 383, no. 97, pl. 66.

#### 81<sup>ba</sup>. ORIA OR 662.R.

Pl. 33 e. Prov: Oria.

Two body fragments. a: 4,9 x 3,9 cm; b: 2,8 x 3,8 cm.

(A): head and part of body of youth to left.

G. Semeraro, *ἐν νεύσει, Ceramica greca e società nel Salento arcaico* (Lecce/Bari 1997) 179-80, no. 473.

#### NOT DATED BY THE AUTHOR

#### 82. ATHENS, Acropolis 1265.

Pl. 35 a-d, Prov: Athens, Acropolis.

Fragments (a-d).

(A-B) a: part of head and helmet of Athena, hand reaching out towards owl. In right corner: (Doric) column and cock; b: head of snake; c: crest of Athena; d: rim of shield (?).

BIBL: Graef and Langlotz, *Akropolis*, 140, pl. 77; Mingazzini, *Castellani*, 314 no. 18A; *ABL* 250,12; Melldahl and Flemberg, 68, fig. 15.

#### 83. ATHENS, Acropolis 1312 a-b.

Pl. 35 e-f. Prov: Athens, Acropolis.

Fragments (a-b).

(A) a: head of Athena, owl on Ionic column; b: crest of Athena's helmet (?).

BIBL: Graef and Langlotz, *Akropolis*, 147, pl. 77; *ABL* 250,13; Melldahl and Flemberg, 68, fig. 16.

**84. ATHENS, Acropolis 1311.**

Pl. 35 g. Prov: Athens, Acropolis.

Fragment.

(A): "altar with owl" (Haspels), different from the other owls by the Theseus Painter, maybe another bird is pictured; white birds in front of altar.

BIBL: Graef and Langlotz, *Akropolis*, 147, pl. 72; *ABL* 250,14.

**85. ATHENS, Acropolis 1307.**

Pl. 35 h. Prov: Athens, Acropolis.

Rim fragment. Max. ht. 5.1 cm; max. w. 8.8 cm; diam. c. 26.0 cm.

(A): man or youth carrying object on his shoulder, helmet and spear (of Athena) to right.

BIBL: Graef and Langlotz, *Akropolis*, pl. 77; Mingazzini, *Castellani*, 314 no. 18B; *ABL* 250,15.

**86. DELOS 6667.**

Pl. 35 i-k. Prov: Delos.

Fragments. (a-c). Max. dim., a: 10.7 cm; b: 7.5 cm; c: 7.8 cm.

(A): a: legs of figure seated on goat (Hermes reclining on ram?); b: goat's head; head with ivy wreath; c: part of male with ivy-wreath.

BIBL: Dugas, *Délos* X, 179-80, pl. 54; *ABL* 251,37.

**87. THASOS 1167.**

Pl. 35 l. Prov: Thasos.

Fragments. Max. ht. 5.0 cm; max. w. 2.5 cm.

(A): white heron, Hermes?

BIBL: Ghali-Kahil, *Thasos* VII, pl. 35, no. 74; *Para* 258.

**88. ATHENS, Acropolis 1298.**

Pl. 35 m. Prov: Athens, Acropolis.

Fragment. Max. ht. 5.8 cm; max. w. 4.3 cm.

(A): parts of white birds on black background, "Herakles and the birds" (Haspels).

BIBL: Graef and Langlotz, *Akropolis*, 146, pl. 72; *ABL* 250,19.

**89. THASOS 1117.**

Pl. 35 n. Prov: Thasos.

Fragment(s). Max. ht. 4.0 cm; max. w. 5.0 cm.

(A): parts of Herakles and animal, "Herakles and the stag" (Haspels).

BIBL: *ABL* 250,20; Ghali-Kahil, *Thasos* VII, 85, pl. 35, no. 75; *Para* 255; Brommer, *Vasenlisten*<sup>3</sup>, 77, no. 24.

**90. SATYRION.**

Pl. 36 a. Prov: Saturo.

Rim fragment.

(A): head of Herakles, with lion skin, to right.

BIBL: *Convegno di Studi sulla Magna Graecia*, Taranto 3-8 Oct. 1976, 730, pl. 99.

**91. NAVPLION.**

Pl. 36 b. Prov: Tyrins

Rim fragment.

(A): Herakles with club on shoulder, satyr playing aulos.

BIBL: *AW* 6.2, 1975, 28, fig. 6; *LIMC* V s.v. 'Herakles', no. 3216.

**92. GIOIA DEL COLLE MG 308-315.**

Pl. 37 b. Prov: Monte Sanace.

Fragments. Max. dim. 23 x 10.3 cm.

(A-B?): Herakles regaled by Athena?; white heron under handle.

BIBL: *CVA* 1, pl. 23.

**93. ATHENS 1959 NAK 740/1960 NAK 211.**

Pl. 36 i. Prov: Athens, South slope

Fragments. a: greatest dim. 5.2 cm; b: greatest dim. 3.5 cm.

(A): satyr, white heron, goat.

BIBL: *ArchDelt* 27 (1972) pl. 83, no. 61-62.

**94. ATHENS, Acropolis 1295.**

Pl. 37 a; fig. 81 b. Prov: Athens, Acropolis.

Nine fragments (c-d rimfragments); inscriptions on a-b, see fig. 81 b and chapter I.2. a: ht. 8.2 cm, w. 10.5 cm; b: ht. c. 15.0 cm; c: ht. 4.5 cm, w. 8.5 cm, diam. c. 22.0 cm; d: ht. 4.0 cm, w. 7.6 cm, diam. c. 22.0 cm; e: ht. 4.9 cm; w. 2.1 cm; f: ht. 5.4 cm, w. 6.1 cm; g: ht. 4.3 cm, w. 4.6 cm; h: ht. 0.7 cm, w. 3.9 cm; i: ht. 0.7 cm; w. 3.3 cm.

(A-B) seated goddess between altar and temple, procession (man holding small boar in white, another oinochoe) sacrifice?.

BIBL: Graef and Langlotz, *Akropolis*, 145-46, pl. 72; Lehnstaedt, *Prozessionsdarstellungen*, K36; Laxander, *Individuum*, Cat. no. OZ 26.



**95. ATHENS, Agora P 9273.**

Pl. 36 j. Prov: Athens, Agora.

Fragment. Max. dim. 7.4 cm.

(A): man or youth at burning altar with curling object (sacrum of animal).

BIBL: *ABV* 520,27; *Agora XXIII*, no. 1495, pl. 101; *Beazley Addenda*<sup>2</sup> 129; Van Straten, *Hiera Kala*, 222, V156; Laxander, *Individuum*, Cat. no. OS 6.

**96. ATHENS, Agora P 13373.**

Pl. 36 k. Prov: Athens, Agora.

Fragment. Max. dim. 3.9 cm.

(A): komos, "woman playing the flute."

BIBL: *ABV* 520,25; *Agora XXIII*, 1494, pl. 101; *Beazley Addenda*<sup>2</sup> 129.

**97. CORINTH KP 2773.**

Pl. 36 l. Prov: Corinth.

Fragment. Ht. 7.6 cm.

(A): komos?

BIBL: A.N. Stillwell and J.L. Benson, *Corinth, Results of Excavations Conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens* Vol. XV, part III, *The Potters Quarter, the Pottery* (Princeton New Jersey 1984) 364, no. 2297, pl. 124.

**98. LOCRI.**

Pl. 36 e. Prov: Locri.

Rim fragment. 7.0 x 6.5 cm.

(A): parts of heads and bodies of two men, komos (?).

BIBL: *AttiMGrecia* 4 (1961) 123 no. 220, pl. 60.

**99. ATHENS, NM P 3725.**

Pl. 36 c. Prov: Perachora.

Fragments. (a-g). Max. dim., a: ht. 3.9 cm, w. 5.2 cm; b: 3 cm, w. 2.7 cm; c: ht. 3.3 cm, w. 4.4 cm; d: ht. 2.7 cm, w. 5 cm; e: ht. 3.2 cm, w. 3.9 cm; f: 3.9 cm, w. 3.9 cm; g: ht. 1.6 cm; w. 1.7 cm.

(A): people in mantles, goats.

BIBL: T.J. Dunbabin (ed.), *Perachora, The Sanctuaries of Hera Akraia and Limenia, Excavations of the British School of Archaeology at Athens 1930-1933 II* (Oxford 1962) 344, pl. 141; *ABV* 520,30<sup>bis</sup>; Malagardis, *Deux temps*, 80, n. 76; Van Straten, *Hiera Kala*, 197, V20.

**100. CYRENE 278.12-14.**

Pl. 36 d (only 278.13 illustrated). Prov: Cyrene.

Fragments. (3). Max. dim., 278.12: 6.4 cm;

178.13: 7.7 cm; 178.14: 4.5 cm

(A-B?): reclining figure, youth and goat, naked body.

BIBL: D. White (ed.), *The Extramural Sanctuary of Demeter and Persephone at Cyrene, Lybia, Final Reports* Vol. III, part II, 33 no. 188, pl. 35.

**101. ADRIA.**

Pl. 36 h. Prov: Adria.

Fragment. Max. dim. 6.6 cm X 5.4 cm.

(A): goat to right.

BIBL: *CVA* 2, pl. 30.2.

**102. HARVARD 1995.18.30.**

Pl. 36 f. Prov: unknown.

Fragment. Max. dim. 4.3 cm

(A): upper legs and arm of figure seated on goat (misinterpreted as ram, part of head preserved) to left.

BIBL: A.J. Paul, 'Fragments of Antiquity, Drawing upon Greek Vases', *Harvard University Art Museum Bulletin* V, no. 2 (Spring 1997) 24, 49, no. 18.

**103. THASOS 1243.**

Pl. 37 d. Prov: Thasos.

Fragment. Max. ht. 2.5 cm; max. w. 4.0 cm.

(A): lower part of body of naked man to right.

BIBL: Ghali-Kahil, *Thasos VII*, no. 76, pl. 35; *Para* 258,30<sup>quat</sup>.

**104. ATHENS, Agora P 25913.**

Pl. 36 g. Prov: Athens, Agora.

Fragment. Max. dim. 4.0 cm.

(A): part of head and chest of man with whiskers and open mouth, outstretched left arm.

BIBL: *Para* 258; *Agora XXIII*, 1496, pl. 101; *Beazley Addenda*<sup>2</sup> 130.

**105. THASOS 889.**

Pl. 37 c. Prov: Thasos

Fragment. Max. ht. 3.8 cm; max. w. 9.2 cm.

(A): male leg, lower part of female; to left, tail of white heron

BIBL: Ghali-Kahil, *Thasos VII*, no. 81, pl. 35.

**106. ATHENS, Agora P 6177**

Pl. 37 e. Prov: Athens, Agora

Fragment.

(A): tree with sword, part of reclining figure; goat to left (under handle?).

BIBL: *ABV* 521 (near the Theseus Painter);

Agora XXIII, no. 1497, pl. 102; *Beazley Addenda*<sup>2</sup> 130.

**107. HIMERA H 71,465,2-1137.**

Pl. 37 f. Prov: Himera.

Fragment.

(A): part of goat to right.

BIBL: N. Allegro, et al., *Himera II, Campagna di scavo 1966-1973, Istituto di Archeologia, Università di Palermo* (Rome 1976) XV, pl. 23.4.

**108. ONCE BASLE MARKET.**

Prov: unknown.

Some fragments missing. Torus foot (type 1).

A-B: Hermes, satyr playing auloi, Dionysos, satyr (with pointed amphora on A, wineskin on B) walking to right; goat under handles.

BIBL: *Para* 257. For illustration, see *Beazley Archive Pottery Database*, vase no. 351549.

**109. ONCE ATHENS MARKET?**

Prov: unknown.

A: Herakles and Alkyoneus wrestling; B: Hermes and oxen; white heron under handles.

BIBL: *ABL* 250,18; Brommer, *Vasenlisten*<sup>3</sup>, 6, no. 16; Brommer, *Göttersagen*, 34, no. 4. For illustration, see *Beazley Archive Pottery Database*, vase no. 390469.

**110. ELEUSIS 314.**

Prov: unknown.

(A-B): satyrs playing music.

BIBL: *ABL* 251,39; *Para* 255; *CVA Athens* 4, p. 49. For illustration, see *Beazley Archive Pottery Database*, vase no. 351520.

**111. DELOS.**

Prov: Delos ("not from Heraion").

Two fragments.

(A): a: satyr's head to right; b: goat's head and satyr's tail.

BIBL: *ABL* 251,38-38<sup>bis</sup>. For illustration, see *Beazley Archive Pottery Database*, vase nos. 390472-73.

**112. CAMBRIDGE AG 320.**

Prov: unknown.

Three body fragments.

(A-B?): a: hand holding stick or staff, head and upper body of auloi player to right; b: intertwined shape like the tree below the handles of the Theseus Painter's ephedrismos skyphoi (pl. 25 b).

b: arm and knee of figure riding stayer to left, hand of another pulling the goats beard.

BIBL: *Para* 258. For illustration, see *Beazley Archive Pottery Database*, vase nos. 351558-59.

UNPUBLISHED/NOT SEEN BY THE AUTHOR

**113 THE HAGUE 2135.**

Prov: unknown.

Fragment.

(A): "bird on white zigzag."

BIBL: *ABL* 250,16; Malagardis, *Monde Rural*, 82, n. 99.

**114. ATHENS, Acropolis 1286 a-i.**

Prov: Athens, Acropolis

Rim fragments and body fragments, a-l, foot with white (?) and red tongues. Max. w. 14.4 cm (a).

(A-B): Dionysos in donkey cart.

BIBL: Graef and Langlotz, *Acropolis*, 144; *ABL* 250,32; Lehnstadt, *Prozessionsdarstellungen*, no. K67.

**115. BERLIN 4528.**

Prov: Boeotia.

Diam. 22.5 cm.

(A-B): "tritones holding Dionysos"; white heron under handles.

BIBL: K.A. Neugebauer, *Führer durch das Antiquarium Berlin, II Vasen* (Berlin 1932) 75; *AA* 1935, 475-76; Mingazzini, *Castellani*, 315.O; *ABL* 250,23; *LIMC* VIII, s.v. 'Tritones', with no. 101.

**116. BERLIN.**

Prov: unknown.

(A-B?) "Apollo and the muses."

BIBL: *Para* 257.

**117. BASLE, Kambli coll.**

Prov: unknown.

Fragments (?)

(A?): Herakles regaled by Athena, satyr.

BIBL: *ABL* 250,11; *Para* 255.

**118. PARIS, Louvre Cp 108.56.**

Prov: unknown.

Fragmentary

Preserved ht. 22.0 cm.

A: satyr playing auloi; B: satyr playing lyre?

BIBL: *ABV* 520,22; *Para* 256; *CVA Athens* 4, p. 49; Malagardis, *Skyphoi*.

**119. BASLE, Cahn coll. (?)**

Prov: unknown.

(A): fight?

BIBL: *Para* 258.

**120. REGGIO.**

Prov: Locri.

Two fragments.

(A): *a*: "upper part of man carrying pointed amphora, *b*: raised hand of male, part of his head, extended hand of woman, *c*: hair of male to left."

Possibly a komos

BIBL: *Para* 258; Malagardis, *Deux temps*, 77, n. 47.

**121. THEBES.**

Prov: Tachy Potniai (near Thebes).

(A-B): pressing of oil ("a man bringing down a long beam on the press out of which flows the oil into a big vat and from that into a kind of wineskin or sack. A man leans over it as if about to lift it and another stands at the left"). Compare Boston 99.525 (Cat. No. N52).

BIBL: *ABL* 251,41; *Olynthos* VIII (1938) 341, n. 14; *Stips Votiva*, 2, n. 15.

**122. ROME, Villa Giulia.**

Prov: unknown.

Fragment.

(A): head and shoulder of youth to right.

BIBL: *ABV* 520,28.

**123. ATHENS.**

Prov: Athens.

Fragment.

(A): head to left and chest of youth.

BIBL: *ABV* 520,29.

**124. ATHENS.**

Prov: Athens.

Fragment.

(A): head of man to right, branch.

BIBL: *ABV* 520,30.

**LEKYTHOI**

**TRANSITIONAL FROM MIDDLE TO LATE**

**125. ARMONK (NY), Pinney coll.**

*Pl.* 38 *a-b*. Prov: unknown

Several fragments missing. Ht. 33.2 cm. Palmette on shoulder, double row of dots at the side; torus foot.

Artemis and Apollo attacking Leto and Tityos, dog in front of Apollo.

BIBL: *MuM* 14 (1954) pl. 13, no. 64; *ABV* 518,1; *JbBerlMus* 1 (1959) 28, figs. 23-24; D. von Bothmer, *Ancient Art in New York Private Collections*, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 17 Dec. 1959 - 28 Febr. 1960 (New York 1961) 55, no. 216, pl. 76; *Para* 256; *LIMC* VIII, s.v. 'Tityos', no. 5.

**126. ATHENS, Museum for Cycladic and Archaic Art, Goulandris coll. 265.**

*Pl.* 38 *c-e*; figs. 20, 56. Prov: unknown.

Several missing fragments, somewhat worn. Ht. 34.0 cm; max. diam. 12.6; diam. foot 8.5 cm. Red-ground; palmettes on shoulder, dots at the side; torus foot.

Hephaistos fighting fallen giant; Ares or another giant to left, woman to right looking round.

BIBL: *Para* 256; F. Brommer, 'Vier mythologische Vasenbilder in Griechenland', *AAA* 5 (1972) 455-59, figs. 5-9; *Exhibition of Ancient Greek Art from the N.P. Goulandris Collection, Cycladic Civilization - Historic Period*, Benaki Museum, June - Nov. 1978, 289-90, no. 161; *Beazley Addenda*<sup>2</sup> 129; *LIMC* IV, s.v. 'Gigantes', no. 296; *LIMC* V, s.v. 'Hephaistos', no. 205; Shapiro, *Art and Cult*, suppl. 1995, pl. 76 c; L.I. Marangou, *Ancient Greek Art, the N.P. Goulandris Collection* (rev. ed. Athens 1996) 83, no. 121.

**127. ONCE PHILADELPHIA MARKET.**

*Pl.* 39 *a-c*. Prov: unknown.

Unbroken (?). Severely worn. Ht. 31.7 cm. Red-ground, palmettes on shoulder, dots at the side; torus foot.

Herakles (with club) and Hermes reclining in the cave of Pholos, indicated by a cloud-shaped vault, bow and quiver hanging from the wall, Pholos lights them with torches, pine tree behind Pholos.

BIBL: *Para* 256; *Sotheby's London*, 1 Dec. 1969, lot no. 108; *RM* 86 (1971) 45, n. 15; A. Emmerich Gallerie Zurich, *Kunst der Antike*, 22 Nov. 1975 - 10 Jan. 1976, no. 9; B. Schiffler,



*Typologie des Kentauren in der antiken Kunst vom 10. bis zum Ende des 4. Jhs. v. Chr.* (Frankfurt 1976) 263 A/Ph. 22; Ph. Brize, *Die Geryoneis des Stesichoros und die frühe griechische Kunst*, Beiträge zur Archäologie 12 (Würzburg 1980) 54, 148, no. 21; Brommer, *Herakles II*, 55; LIMC IV, s.v. 'Herakles', no. 1496, erroneously mentioned as Boston 21.277; Wolf, *Herakles*, sf. 44, fig. 58; LIMC VIII, s.v. 'Kentauroi et Kentaures', no. 364.

# **128. SAN ANTONIO 86.134.54.**

Pl. 39 d-f. Prov: unknown. Unbroken but for neck. Ht. 31.2 cm; max. diam. 11.4 cm; diam. foot 8.1 cm. Red-ground; palmettes on shoulder, dots at the side; torus foot.

Two men with mantles leaning on sticks, goat in front of tree, siren on rock with lyre in centre.

BIBL: W. Hornbostel, (ed.), *Kunst der Antike, Schätze aus norddeutschem Privatbesitz*, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe Hamburg (Mainz 1977) 292-93, no. 254; W. Hornbostel, *Aus Gräbern und Heiligtümern, Die Antikensammlung Walter Kropatscheck*, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg 11 July - 14 Sept. 1980, 107-109, no. 64; *MuM* 63 (1983) no. 36; H. Mommsen, *CVA Berlin* 7, p. 50; M. Pipili, *CVA Athens* 4, p. 51; M. Steihart, *AA* 1993, 201, n. 1; *Greek Vases in San Antonio* 124, no. 62.

# **129. ATHENS, Kerameikos 5671.**

Pl. 40 a-b. Prov: Athens Kerameikos.

Several fragments missing. Red-ground; palmettes on shoulder, dots at the side; foot: vertical section is inward curving towards base.

Two facing warriors with high-crested helmets and spears riding dolphins, auloi player to right in centre.

BIBL: *ABV* 518,2; Green, *Birds*, 102, 107, no. 13, fig. 16 a-b; *Beazley Addenda*<sup>2</sup> 129; Green, *Theatre*, 32, pl. 1; R. Förtsch, 'Die Nichtdarstellung des Spektakulären: Griechische Bildkunst und griechisches Drama', *Hephaistos* 15 (1997) 63, fig. 20.

# **130. ONCE LUCERNE MARKET.**

Pl. 40 c. Prov: unknown.

Intact. Ht. 30.0 cm. White-Ground; palmettes on shoulder, dots at the side; foot: vertical section is inward curving towards base.

Warriors leading horses, archers.

BIBL: *Ars Antiqua Auktion* 2, pl. 59, 149; *Para* 256.

# **131. CAMBRIDGE G.3.1955.**

Pl. 40 d-e; figs. 37 e, 54. Prov: unknown.

Complete, white-ground smudged. Ht. 36.0 cm; max. diam. 12.0 cm; diam. foot 8.1 cm.

White-ground; palmettes on shoulder, meander to right at the side; foot: vertical section is inward curving towards base.

Horse; man climbing chariots with two horses, man with whip looking round, man with long white chiton, youth to left in himation, holding horse-gear.

BIBL: W. Lamb, 'Seven Vases from the Hope collection', *JHS* 38 (1918) 30; E.M.W. Tillyard, *The Hope Vases, a Catalogue and a Discussion of the Hope Collection and on late Attic and South Italian Vases* (Cambridge 1923) 51, pl. 5; *ABL* 251,55; *Para* 255.

# **132. NAPLES Stg 118.**

Pl. 41 a-c; figs. 55, 81 e. Prov: unknown.

Unbroken. Ht. 28.4 cm; max. diam. 10.9 cm; diam. mouth 6.6 cm; diam. foot 7.5 cm. White-ground; foot: vertical section is inward curving towards base; graffito: Johnston, *Trademarks*, 94, type 9 B, no. 4, see fig. 81 e and chapter I.2.

Male or female auloi player with mitra, and dog at his/her feet between male bystanders with staffs and mantles.

BIBL: *ABL* 251,56; *ABV* 703-704.

## LATE

# **133. GERMANY, Private coll.**

Pl. 41 d-e. Prov: unknown.

Intact (?). Ht. 24.0 cm. White-ground; palmettes on shoulder, line at the side; concave foot.

Satyr to left, goat, satyr on rock with notepad, satyr holding goat by its horns ("numbering the flock?").

BIBL: C Blümel, *Antike Kunstwerke* (Berlin 1953) fig. 9; *ABV* 518,3; Bieber, *Theater*, 16, fig. 50; Mertens, *AWG*, pl. 37.1; *Beazley Addenda*<sup>2</sup> 129.

# **134. PALERMO, Collisani coll. R 32.**

Pl. 42 a-c; figs. 4, 37 c. Prov: Agrigento.

Mouth, neck, shoulder and fragments missing. Ht. 21.0 cm; diam. 9.5 cm. Red-ground; meander at the side of the shoulder; concave foot.

Dancing satyr, satyr playing aulos, dinos on tripod, Dionysos reclining against small curving tree.

BIBL: H.P. Isler and M. Sguaitamatti (eds.), *La collezione Collisani/Die Sammlung Collisani*, Archäologisches Institut der Universität Zürich (Zürich 1990) 117, no. 170, pl. 24.

**135. BRUSSELS A 1953.**

Pl. 42 d-e. Prov: unknown.

Unbroken (?). Ht. 24.0 cm; diam. 9.0 cm. Red-ground; palmettes on the shoulder, double row of dots; torus foot.

Herakles standing in front of Alkyoneus who is lying on the floor, hypnos hovering above Alkyoneus; Athena to right, tree in centre.

BIBL: CVA 2, pl. 20.6; ABL 251,57; ABV 518; Para 255; Andreae, *Herakles*, 190; LIMC I, s.v. 'Alkyoneus', no. 18, pl. 421; Beazley *Addenda*<sup>2</sup> 129; H.A. Shapiro, *Personifications in Greek Art, The Representation of Abstract Concepts 600 - 100 B.C.* (Zürich 1993) 152, fig. 11.

**136. ATHENS, NM 515.**

Pl. 43 a-b; figs. 36 b, 37 d, 59. Prov: unknown. Several missing fragments. Ht. 26.2 cm; max. diam. 8.8 cm; diam. foot 5.7 cm.

Red-ground; palmettes on the shoulder, meander at the side; concave foot.

Theseus with raised double-axe, attacking Prokrustes who has fallen on to the floor; Theseus holding kneeling Sinis, who holds on to bending tree.

BIBL: P. Wolters, 'Archaeologische Bemerkungen I, Darstellungen des Labyrinths', *Sitzungsberichte Bayerische Akademie, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse* 1913, 7, fig. 2; ABL 252,58, pl. 43.1; A. Rumpf, *Malerei und Zeichnung der Griechen* (Munich 1953) pl. 24.5; ABV 518; K. Hoffelner, 'Die Metopen des Athener-Schatzhauses, Ein neuer Rekonstruktionsversuch', *AM* 103 (1988) 80, 103, fig. 32; LIMC VII, s.v. 'Theseus' nos. 63, 129.

**137. SYRACUSE 33501.**

Pl. 43 c. Prov: Gela.

Complete (?). White-ground; palmettes on shoulder, line at the side; concave foot.

Peleus (with lion-protome and fish-tail on his

back) holding Thetis (holding fish) around her waist, in front of altar and tree; Nereid running to right, looking round.

BIBL: *MonAnt* 17 (1906) pl. 13.2; *BdA* 1933-1934, 488; ABL 252,59, pl. 42.2; LIMC VIII (suppl.), s.v. 'Ketos', no. 21; *id.*, s.v. 'Thetis', no. 15.

**138. LONDON 1904.7-8.5.**

Pl. 43 d-e; fig. 60. Prov: Thebes

Complete. Ht. 16.2 cm; max diam. 6.4 cm; diam. foot 4.4 cm. White-ground; palmettes on shoulder, meander between double lines at the side; low disk-shaped foot.

Peleus (with lion-protom and fish-tail on his back) holding Thetis (holding fish) around her waist; Nereid running to right, looking round, holding fish, tree in centre.

BIBL: *JHS* 31 (1911) 12, fig. 10; ABL 252,68.

**139. ATHENS, NM 9684.**

Pl. 44 a-b. Prov: unknown.

Unbroken (?). Lower part of vase severely worn. Red-ground; palmettes on shoulder, line at the side; concave foot.

Polyxena standing in front of the fountain, mantle and chiton, right hand raised above head, left one outstretched; fountain with lion-head spout, bird standing on top, flying birds painted in white on rock, tree; Achilles kneeling to left, Attic helmet, round shield, back of animal (ox?) as shield-device.

BIBL: ABL 252,63; LIMC I, s.v. 'Achilleus', no. 210.

**140. PARIS, Louvre CA 1837.**

Pl. 44 c-d; fig. 37 b. Prov: unknown.

Complete or nearly. Red-ground; palmettes on shoulder, meander at the side; concave foot.

Bull led to sacrifice: man and two youths leading bull towards man seated on chair below architectonical structure with columns.

BIBL: ABL 252,60, pl. 43.2; Lehnstaedt, *Prozessionsdarstellungen*, K66; *Malagardis, Deux temps*, 77, n. 50.

**141. OXFORD 1934.372.**

Pl. 45 a-c; fig. 57. Prov: unknown.

Complete, black glaze heavily worn. Ht. 21.1 cm; max. diam. 7.0 cm; diam. foot 5.6 cm. White-ground; rays on the shoulder, line at the side; concave foot.

Odysseus escaping: man leading rams, Polyphemos seated on rock below tree; to left, cave.

BIBL: *ABL* 252,65; O. Touchefeu-Meynier, *Thèmes odysseïens dans l'art antique* (Paris 1968) 48-49, no. 116, pl. X; *LIMC* VI, s.v. 'Odysseus', no. 118; *LIMC* VIII, s.v. 'Polyphemos I', no. 45, pl. 671.

**142. ATHENS, NM 9686.**

*Pl.* 45 d-e; *figs.* 14, 36 a, 58. Prov: unknown.

Complete; somewhat worn. Ht. 26.5 cm; max. diam. 8.8 cm; diam. foot 5.7 cm. Red-ground; palmettes on shoulder, line at the side; concave foot.

Komos: men and youths, lyre- and auloi player.

BIBL: *ABL* 252,62, pl. 44.2.

**143. BONN 307.**

*Pl.* 46 a-b. Prov: Eretria.

Nearly complete. Ht. 26.0 cm. Red-ground; rays on the shoulder, double row of dots at the side; concave foot.

'Pyrrhic': auloi player between two naked armed dancers and camp stools.

BIBL: A. Greifenhagen, 'Attische schwarzfigurige Vasen in Bonn', *AA* 1935, 471, fig. 46-47; *ABL* 252,66; *ABV* 518; J.C. Poursat, 'Les représentations de danse armée dans la céramique attique', *BCH* 92.2 (1968) 550-615, 570, fig. 20; *Para* 255; R.M. Schneider, 'Augustus und die frühe römische Kunst', *Jdl* 105 (1990) 179, fig. 9; M. Delavaux-Roux, *Les danses armées en Grèce antique* (Aix-en-Provence 1993) 99, no. 25; M. Leski, *Untersuchungen zur Ikonographie und Bedeutung antiker Waffentänze in Griechenland und Etrurien* (Munich 2000) no. Gr. 12.

**144. ERLANGEN I 238**

*Pl.* 46 g. Prov: unknown.

Complete (?). Rays on the shoulder; line at the side; concave foot.

Triptolemos in his wheelchair with Demeter.

BIBL: *LIMC* IV, s.v. 'Demeter', no. 314, pl. 585. For illustration and shape see *Beazley Archive Pottery Database*, vase no. 390478.

LATE, POSSIBLY VERY LATE (?)

**145. BERLIN F 2005.**

*Pl.* 46 c; *figs.* 26, 37 a. Prov: unknown.

Complete (?). White-ground; palmettes on shoulder, meander at the side; concave foot.

Judgement of Paris: Aphrodite, Athena, Hera; Hermes, holding Paris with lyre.

BIBL: F. von Duhn, 'Parisurteil auf attischer lekythos', *AZ* (1882) 209-214, pl. 11; S. Reinach, *Répertoire des vases peints grecs et étrusques, Avec des notices explicatives et bibliographiques* (Paris 1899-1900) I, 442, *figs.* 6-7; *Jdl* 21 (1906) 48, *fig.* 2; *ABL* 252,67, pl. 44.1; *LIMC* VII, s.v. 'Paridis iudicium', no. 17, pl. 109.

VERY LATE

**146. BOSTON 21.277.**

*Pl.* 46 d-e; *fig.* 10. Prov: unknown.

Unbroken (?). Red-ground; rays on shoulder, line at the side; concave foot.

Herakles, Athena and Hermes to right.

BIBL: *ABV* 518,4; *LIMC* V, s.v. 'Herakles', no. 3122, pl. 138; *LIMC* V, s.v. Hermes, no. 548b, pl. 245.

**147. ONCE PARIS, Peyrefitte coll.**

*Pl.* 46 f. Prov: unknown.

Unbroken. Ht. 22.5 cm. Red-ground; rays on the shoulder, meander at the side; concave foot.

Herakles and the lion: youth holding club and flower, Herakles wrestling the lion (standing scheme).

BIBL: *Para* 256; *Cat. Collection Roger Peyrefitte, Ader/Picard/Tajan*, Paris, 26 May, 1977, no. 40.

NOT DATED BY THE AUTHOR

**148. LONDON, Embiricos coll.**

Prov: unknown.

Complete (?). White-ground; palmettes on shoulder, line at the side; concave foot.

Fight, two pairs of warrior fighting horseman.

BIBL: *Hesperia Art Bull.* 11, 5, no. 90; *Para* 256. For illustration, see *Beazley Archive Pottery Database*, vase no. 351525.



UNPUBLISHED/NOT SEEN BY THE  
AUTHOR

**149. ONCE ATHENS MARKET.**

Prov: unknown. Red-ground.

"Concert (singer and two auloi players between two listeners)."

BIBL: *ABL* 252,61.

**PELIKAI**

**MIDDLE (LARGE)**

**150. MALIBU 71.AE.297.**

*Pl. 47 a-b.* Prov: unknown.

Unbroken (?). Ht. 37.8 cm. Torus mouth; lotus-band above panel; torus foot.

A-B: two satyrs playing auloi, in front of goats.

BIBL: *Sotheby's London* 12 June 1967, 60, lot no.

113; *Sotheby's London* 1 Dec. 1969, lot no. 83;

*Para* 257; Becker, *Peliken*, cat., 11, no. 32; *AJA*

83 (1979) 361; Brommer, *Huckepack*, additional

list to Brommer, *Satyrspiele*<sup>2</sup>, no. 211a, *Beazley*

*Addenda*<sup>2</sup> 129; T. Schreiber, *Athenian Vase*

*Construction, A Potter's Analysis* (Malibu 1999)

211, figs. 8-9.

**151. COLUMBIA, Univ. of Missouri 61.2.**

*Pl. 47 c-d; fig. 61.* Prov: unknown.

Unbroken (?). Ht. 33.8 cm; diam. rim 14.4 cm;

diam. foot 16.2 cm. Torus mouth; lotus-band

above panel; torus foot.

A: youth with lyre, goat, male bystander; B:

woman playing auloi, male bystander.

BIBL: J.V. Noble, *The Techniques of Painted*

*Attic Pottery*, rev. ed. (London 1988) fig. 246;

D.D. Feaver, 'Musical Scenes on a Greek Vase',

*Muse* 2, 1968, 14-20; *AJA* 75 (1971) 432; *Para*

256; Becker, *Peliken*, cat., 11, no. 31, pl. 38 e.

**152. SAN ANTONIO 86.134.157.**

*Pl. 48 a-b.* Prov: unknown.

Unbroken. Ht. 33.4 cm; diam. rim 15.2 cm; diam.

foot 17.5 cm. Torus mouth; lotus-band above

panel; torus foot.

A-B, pyrrhic: flute-player and goat (only on A),

campstool with garments, armed dancer.

BIBL: *Sotheby's London*, 11 Apr. 1960, 32; *Para*

257; *Sotheby's New York*, 8-9 Febr. 1985, lot no.

66; Neils, *Goddess and Polis*, 56, 95, no. 48;

*Greek Vases in San Antonio*, 114, no. 56; H.A.

Shapiro, 'Correlating Shape and Subject: the Case

of the Archaic Pelike', in, *Potters and Painters*,

67, fig. 9; P. Ceccarelli, *La pirrica nell'antichità*

*greco romana, Studi sulla danza armata* (Pisa

1998) pl. XVIII.1; M. Leski, *Untersuchungen zur*

*Ikongraphie und Bedeutung antiker Waffentänze*

*in Griechenland und Etrurien* (Munich 2000) no.

Gr. 19, fig. 7.

**LATE (SMALL)**

**153. PORT SUNLIGHT 5019 (X 2125).**

*Pl. 48 c-d*

Prov: unknown.

Unbroken; nonsense inscriptions in field.

Ht. 17.8 cm; diam. mouth: 10.1 cm.

Inverted echinus mouth; double row of dots

above and at sides of panel; torus mouth.

A; Dionysos/Hephaistos on donkey, satyr; B:

Dionysos and Ariadne seated?

BIBL: M. Robertson, *Greek, Etruscan and*

*Roman Vases in the Lady Lever Art Gallery, Port*

*Sunlight* (Liverpool 1987) 27-28, no. 17.

**154. MUNICH 1678.**

*Pl. 49 a-b.* Prov: South-Italy.

Some missing fragments; nonsense inscriptions in

field. Preserved ht. 14.7 cm; diam. rim 9.4 cm.

Inverted echinus mouth; double row of dots

above and at sides of panel; torus mouth.

A-B: youths dancing around calyx-krater.

BIBL: *ABV* 704, 11<sup>bis</sup>; Becker, *Peliken*, cat., 28,

no. 81, pl. 9 d; *Kunst der Schale*, 299, no. 49.1 a-

b, 483.

**155. NAPLES 81082.**

*Pl. 49 c-d; figs. 62, 81 d.* Prov: Nola.

Unbroken; graffito: Johnston, *Trademarks*, type 9

F, 156, no. 3, see fig. 81 d and chapter I.2,

nonsense inscriptions in field. Ht. 17.7 cm; diam

rim 9.4 cm; diam. foot 9.3 cm. Inverted echinus

mouth, torus foot.

A: komos, two youths with auloi, one of them

wearing boots; B: female auloi player and youth

carrying pointed amphora.

BIBL: H. Heydemann, *Die Vasensammlung des*

*Museo Nazionale zu Neapel* (Berlin 1872) 382, no. 2752, pl. 13; Bothmer, *Pelikai*, 43, no. 26; *ABV* 519,11; Becker, *Peliken*, cat., 28, no. 80, pl. 9 c; Johnston, *Trademarks*, 156, no. 3; *AJA* 83 (1979) 361.

**156. PARIS, Cab. des Médailles 250.**

*Pl. 49 e-f.* Prov: unknown.

Unbroken (?). Ht. 19.1 cm; diam. mouth 10.3 cm. diam. foot 9.5 cm. Torus mouth?; double row of dots above and at sides of panel; torus foot.

(A-B): two men riding donkeys.

BIBL: *CVA* 2, pl. 78.6-8; *AJA* 45 (1941) 67, no. 23; Bothmer, *Pelikai*, 43, no. 25; P. Bruneau, 'Héphaistos à l'âne', *BCH* 87 (1963), 515; *Para* 257; Becker, *Peliken*, cat., 28-29, no. 82.

**157. PARIS, Louvre F 391.**

Prov: unknown.

Repainted (?). Ht. 17.2 cm; diam. rim 9.7 cm; diam. foot 9.4 cm. Inverted echinus mouth; torus foot.

A-B: two naked youths, both running to right on A, left-hand one running on B.

BIBL: Bothmer, *Pelikai*, 43, no. 28; *Para* 257; Becker, *Peliken*, cat., 27, no. 78, pl. 9 a; *AJA* 83 (1979) 361. For illustration, see *Beazley Archive Pottery Database*, vase no. 351535.

**NECK-PELIKE**

UNPUBLISHED/NOT SEEN BY THE  
AUTHOR

**158. LONDON, Winslow coll. (?).**

Prov: unknown.

A-B: "man courting boy" (Beazley); "man embracing boy" (Von Bothmer).

BIBL: Bothmer, *Pelikai*, 46, no. 3; *ABV* 519,10; *Select Exhibition of Sir John and Lady Beazley's Gifts to the Ashmolean Museum 1912-1966* (Oxford/London 1967) 102, mentioned under no. 379; Becker, *Peliken*, 92, nn. 309-10.

**KALPIDES**

**MIDDLE (LARGE)**

**159. LONDON B 346.**

*Pl. 50 a.* Prov: Camiros.

Complete (intact?). Ht. 37.5 cm; max. diam. 33.2 cm. Torus mouth; lotus-band in top of panel, net-band at the sides; torus foot.

Apollo playing lyre, between two pairs of muses with krotalai, small deer, partly hidden by right-hand pair.

BIBL: *CVA* 6, III He, 12, fig. a; *ABL* 252,72; Melldahl and Flemberg, 62, fig. 8; *LIMC* II, s.v. 'Apollon', no. 722; *LIMC* VI, s.v. 'Mousa/mousai', no. 36b, pl. 388.

LATE, POSSIBLY VERY LATE (?)  
(LARGE)

**160. MADRID 10930.**

*Pl. 50 b.* Prov: unknown.

Rim, shoulder and foot much restored with parts of a red-figure kalpis. Restored ht. 38.0 cm. White-ground; angular mouth; red-figure floral band in top of panel (?), net-band at the sides. Apollo playing lyre and three muses, with small deer.

BIBL: *CVA* 1, pl. 29,3; *ABL* 252,73; *LIMC* I, s.v. 'Apollon', no. 700, pl. 241; *LIMC* VI, s.v. 'Mousa/Mousai', no. 35.

LATE (SMALL)

**161. UPPSALA 352.**

*Pl. 51 a; fig. 63.* Prov: unknown.

Nearly complete. Ht. 23.2 cm; diam. 19.4 cm. Torus mouth; meander in top of panel, double row of dots at the sides; echinus foot.

Youth with sheep and bull at altar.

BIBL: *JHS* 32 (1912) 174; A.B. Cook, *Zeus* iii, 783, n. 4, fig. 578; E. Bielefeld, 'Zum Relief aus Mondragone', *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Universität Greifswald* 1 (1951/52) 16-17, fig. 9; *ABV* 519,15; E. Diehl, *Die Hydria, Formgeschichte und Verwendung im Kult des Altertums* (Mainz 1964) 196, n. 187; Lehnstaedt, *Prozessionsdarstellungen*, no. K 62; Melldahl

and Flemberg, 57-79, 64, figs. 1-7, 11-12; Simon, *Festivals*, pl. 16.1; C. Bron, 'Chouettes', *Etudes de Lettres* 1983.4, 48, fig. 16; *Cité des Images*, 106, fig. 154; *LIMC* II, s.v. 'Athena', no. 581, pl. 761; R. Garland, *Introducing New Gods* (London 1991) pl. 2; Van Straten, *Hiera Kala*, no. V50, fig. 5; M. de Cesare, *Le statue in immagine, Studi sulle raffigurazioni di statue nella pittura vascolare greca* (Rome 1997) 168, fig. 105.

## 162. UTRECHT 29.

Pl. 51 b; fig. 64. Prov: unknown.

Some fragments missing. Ht. 28.7 cm; diam. 22.3 cm. Torus mouth; meander in top of panel; torus foot.

Man leaning on stick, boy with scarf and exleipton in front of camp-stool with garments, woman with mirror.

BIBL: *ABV* 519,14; Melldahl and Flemberg, 63, fig. 9.

## OLPAI

### MIDDLE

## 163. ATHENS, NM 13262.

Pl. 52 a. Prov: unknown.

Unbroken. Red-bodied, footless.

Naked youth, with pointed cap dancing to right.

BIBL: Beazley, *Review Baltimore*, 89; *ABL* 252,71; *ABV* 450,1; *Para* 255; C. Fournier-Christol, *Catalogue des olpés du Louvre* (Paris 1992) 162, no. 123; Clark, *Olpoi and Oinochoiai*, no. 382. For illustration see Beazley *Archive Pottery Database*, vase no. 330165.

### LATE

## 164. BERLIN 3230.

Pl. 52 b; fig. 65. Prov: Italy.

Nearly complete. Ht. 23.2 cm; diam. rim 9.9 cm; diam. body 13.6 cm; diam. foot 9.1 cm. Ogive mouth, echinus foot. Ivy at rim, net-band and meander on neck, net-band along sides of panels. Man leaning on a staff beating boy with sandal; wreath hanging down above the boy.

BIBL: *AA* 1893, 85, no. 19; *ABV* 519,7; *AA* 1976, 286, no. 3; Beck, *Album*, pl. 52, 271; W.D. Heilmeyer, *Antikenmuseum Berlin, Die ausgestellten Werke*, Staatliche Museen Berlin 1988, 94, no. 12; *CVA* 7, pl. 39.3-5, Beilage G6; C. Fournier-Christol, *Catalogue des olpés du Louvre* (Paris 1992) 162, no. 122; Clark, *Olpoi and Oinochoiai*, no. 737.

## OINOCHOAI

### MIDDLE

## 165. PARIS, Louvre F 342.

Pl. 52 c-d. Prov: unknown.

Unbroken. Class of Cambridge 162. Beazley's shape II; Red-ground; trefoil mouth, high ridged handle, low torus foot. Tongues in top of shoulder, ivy panel-decoration.

The blinding of Polyphemos; man sharpening pole in fire, two men blinding Polyphemos with another large pole.

BIBL: *ABL* 252,70, pl. 42.3; *ABV* 433,6, 697, 704; Boardman, *ABFV*, fig. 248; H. Fronig, 'Anfänge der kontinuierlichen Bilderzählung in der griechischen Kunst', *Jdl* 103 (1988) 189, figs. 215-216; Beazley *Addenda*<sup>2</sup> 111; *LIMC* VI, s.v. 'Kyklops, Kyklopes', no. 18, pl. 72; *id.*, s.v. 'Odysseus', no. 95; Clark, *Olpoi and Oinochoiai*, no. 1302; Penguin 60p Classics: Homer, *the Iliad* (London 1995) cover; R. Garland, *The Eye of the Beholder, Deformity and Disability in the Graeco-Roman World* (London 1995) fig. 39; B. Andreae, et al., *Ulisse, Il mito e la memoria* (Rome 1996) 48, fig. A-B; *LIMC* VIII (suppl.), s.v. 'Polyphemos I', no. 21

## 166. LONDON B 513.

Pl. 53 a-c; fig. 66. Prov: Vulci.

Fragments of figured panel missing. Ht. 22.9 cm; ht. w. handle 27.9 cm; max. diam. 17.4 cm; diam. foot 7.8 cm. Red-ground; trefoil mouth, high handle, echinus foot. Tongues in top of shoulder, ivy panel-decoration.

Two dancing satyrs to right, one with lowered frontal looking head; Dionysos on donkey; dancing satyr to left.

BIBL: Walters, *Catalogue*, 248; *ABL* 252,69; Clark, *Olpoi and Oinochoiai*, no. 1304,



comparable to the Class of Cambridge 162. For illustration, see *Beazley Archive Pottery Database*, vase no. 390479.

## LATE

### 167. PARIS, Petit Palais 313.

Pl. 53 d-e. Prov: unknown.

Unbroken (?). Ht. 18.5 cm; ht. w. handle 25.0 cm. White-ground, Class of London B 630: flat circular mouth with spikes, high ridged handle, small torus foot.

Theseus holding the bull to right.

BIBL: *CVA*, pl. 10.5-6; *ABV* 519,6; Clark, *Olpai and Oinochoai*, no. 1699.

### 168. ONCE BRUSSELS, Theodor coll.

Pl. 54 a; fig. 67. Prov: unknown.

Unbroken. Ht. 16.6 cm, ht. w. handle 18.3 cm; diam. foot 6.3 cm. White-ground; Beazley's shape I, Athena Painter's workshop, group IV or V, Class of London B 630: small trefoil mouth, circular handle high disk-foot.

'Pyrrhic', two youths with helmet, shield and spear, stool with cloth and tree inbetween..

BIBL: *Mededelingenblad Amsterdam*, 66-67 (1996) 16, no. 9; Heesen, *Theodor coll.* 70-72, no. 9; *Sotheby's New York*, 17 Dec. 1998, 27, lot no.75; P. Ceccarelli, *La pirrica nell'antichità greco romana, Studi sulla danza armata* (Pisa 1998) pl. III.2.

### 169. ADOLPHSECK 13.

Pl. 54 b-c. Prov: Gela (?).

Complete (unbroken?); worn; nonsense inscriptions in field. Ht. 20.6 cm. White-Ground; Beazley's shape I, Athena Painter's workshop, group IV or V, Class C: small trefoil mouth, circular handle, high disk foot.

Two dancing youths to right, looking round, with drawn swords, holding sheaths and wreaths, hat or helmet with female bust on top, chitoniskoi.

BIBL: *CVA* I, pl. 14.1-4; F. Brommer, 'Kopf über Kopf', *AuA* 4 (1954) 42-44; *Para* 256; Clark, *Olpai and Oinochoai*, no. 1671; P. Ceccarelli, *La pirrica nell'antichità greco romana, Studi sulla danza armata* (Pisa 1998) pl. XXIV.3; M. Leski, *Untersuchungen zur Ikonographie und Bedeutung antiker Waffentänze in Griechenland und Etrurien* (Munich 2000) no. Gr. 29.

UNPUBLISHED/NOT SEEN BY THE AUTHOR

### 170. ONCE NEW YORK MARKET.

Prov: unknown.

Ht. 21.7 cm; ht. with handle 23.3 cm; diam. foot 7.2 cm.

"Rider (Thracian cloak) and old man seated."

BIBL: Clark, *Olpai and Oinochoai*, no. 1103<sup>bis</sup>, comparable to the Keyside Class.

## CUP OF SPECIAL SHAPE

## MIDDLE

### 171. MALIBU 96.AE.96.

Pl. 55 a-c. Prov: unknown.

Complete. Ht. 8.5 cm; diam. 19.7 cm. Floral ornament of special type under handles (compare fig.38). A: man cutting up large 'tuna-fish' on high chopping-block. To the side low table on elegantly curved legs on which meat; B: man carrying a large 'tuna-fish'.

BIBL: *A Passion for Antiquities: Ancient Art from the Collection of Barbara and Lawrence Fleischman*, J.P. Getty Museum, Malibu 13 Oct. 1994 - 15 Jan. 1995, Cleveland Museum of Art 15 Febr. - 23 Apr. 1995, 92-93, no. 38; J.K. Papadopoulos and D. Ruscillo, 'A Ketos in Early Athens: An Archaeology of Whales and Sea Monsters in the Greek World', *AJA* 106 (2002) 202-203, fig. 16.

### 172. ATHENS, Agora P 1384.

Pl. 56 h; figs. 38 b, 70. Prov: Athens, Agora.

Fragments. Diam. c. 14.0 cm. Floral ornament of special type under handles.

(A): male with meat hanging down from his left hand.

BIBL: Vanderpool, *Shaft*, 308-309, no. 185, pl. 56; *Para* 100; *Agora* XXIII, no. 1825, pl. 117; *Beazley Addenda* 56.

## TYPE C CUPS, PREYS SCUPS

### TRANSITIONAL FROM MIDDLE TO LATE

#### 173. LONDON B 446.

Pl. 55 d-f; fig. 68. Prov: Camiros.

Nearly complete; nonsense inscriptions in field. Ht. 14.6 cm; diam. 30.0 cm. Curving lip, rather heavy foot. Low reserved figure-band.

I: ithyphalic satyr jumping on the back of fawn; A: Dionysos and Herakles reclining; B: Hermes and Herakles reclining; leaf under handles.

BIBL: Walters, *Catalogue*, 232; *ABV* 520,32; Malagardis, *Deux temps*, 79, n. 69; *ProcCopenhagen*, 345, fig. 10; *LIMC* IV, s.v. 'Herakles', no. 1497, pl. 544; Wolf, *Herakles*, no. sf. 43, figs. 39, 59.

#### 174. TARANTO 6515.

Pl. 56 a; fig. 9. Prov: Ceglie di Bari.

Condition unknown; nonsense inscriptions in field.

I: statue of Herakles, beardless with mantle over his arm and quiver and bow, standing on pedestal; A-B: symposium: youths reclining with cups and playing aulos in a vineyard; leaf under handles.

BIBL: H.J. Bloesch, *FAS*, 29, no. 7; *ABV* 520,33; *LIMC* IV, s.v. 'Herakles', no. 15, pl. 445; Shapiro, *Art and Cult*, pl. 70 b; Oenbrink, *Götterstatuen*, 389, no. G 1, pl. 43.a; M de Cesare, *Le statue in immagine, Studi sulle raffigurazioni di statue nella pittura vascolare greca* (Rome 1997) 57, fig. 11. For illustrations of A and B, see *Beazley Archive Pottery Database*, vase no. 330715.

## TYPE C CUP

### TRANSITIONAL FROM MIDDLE TO LATE

#### 175. SALERNO 158a.

Pl. 56 b; fig. 13. Prov: Fratte.

Condition unknown; nonsense inscriptions in tondo. Ht. 9.6 cm; diam rim 21.6 cm; diam. foot 9.0 cm. Black outside.

I: youth to left carrying leg of ox over his shoulder.

BIBL: *ABV* 520,34; G. Berthiaume, *Les rôles de magesiros - Étude sur la boucherie, la cuisine et le sacrifice dans la Grèce ancienne* (1982) 49, pl. 9.2; G. Greco and A. Pontrandolfo (eds.), *Fratte, un insediamento etrusco-campano* (Modena 1990) 196, no. 14, fig. 313; Van Straten, *Hiera Kala*, V214.

## TYPE B CUP

### NOT DATED BY THE AUTHOR

#### 176. WINCHESTER, College Museum.

Pl. 56 c. Prov: unknown.

Condition unknown. Ht. 12.5 cm; diam. 27.5 cm.

I: Herakles to right; A-B: symposium between eyes: man reclining on kline, and aulos player.

BIBL: *ABL* 252,76; N. Oakeshot, 'Three Black-figure Vases in the Winchester College Museum', *JHS* 59 (1939) 284, fig. 1; *ABV* 520,35. For illustrations of I, see *Beazley Archive Pottery Database*, vase no. 330717.

## CUP-SKYPHOS OR BOWL

### MIDDLE

#### 177. ATHENS, Agora P 1383.

Pl. 56 d-g; figs. 38 a, 69. Prov: Athens, Agora.

Handles and foot missing, much of rim restored. Remaining ht. 9.2 cm; diam. c. 24.5 cm. Floral ornament of special type under handles.

A-B: dancing komast to right.

BIBL: Vanderpool, *Shaft*, 308, no. 184, pl. 54; *ABV* 520,31; *Agora XXII*, no. 1657, pl. 107; Freyer-Schauenburg, *Camiros*, 154, n. 17; *Beazley Addenda*<sup>2</sup> 129.

## LOUTROPHOROI

492, pl. 100.

### MIDDLE OR TRANSITIONAL FROM MIDDLE TO LATE

#### 178. DRESDEN ZV 2006.

Pl. 57 a-b. Prov: Attica.

Most of the neck and part of the shoulder preserved. Net-band on lower part of neck, tongues on shoulder.

(A): mourning men, horsemen and youth on lower part of shoulder.

BIBL: *AA* 1925, 107, figs. 9-10; *ABV* 519,8; Killet, *Ikonographie*, b-f. cat. 1.57.

#### 179. ATHENS, Kerameikos.

Pl. 57 e. Prov: Athens, Kerameikos.

Neck fragment. Max. ht. 6.0 cm; max. w. 9.0 cm.

(A): mourning men.

BIBL: *Jdl* 61/2 (1946/47) pl. 20, no. 75; *ABV* 519,9.

#### 180. OXFORD 1930.620.

Pl. 57 f. Prov: "Kabirion near Thebes (doubtfull)."

Neck fragments. (2). a: max. w. 10.2 cm; b: max. w. 7.5 cm.

(A): mourning men.

BIBL: *ABL* 252,74; *CVA* 3, pl. 25.5.

#### 181. BASLE, Cahn coll. HC 382.

Pl. 57 g. Prov: unknown.

Shoulder fragment. Max. ht. 12.5 cm; max. w. 17.1 cm.

(A): prothesis: two mourning women, dead man lying on kline.

BIBL: Kreuzer, *Zeichner*, 114, no. 120; Laxander, *Individuum*, Cat. no. PS 52.

### TRANSITIONAL OR LATE

#### 182. ATHENS 1957 Aa 193.

Pl. 57 c-d. Prov: Athens, Nymphaion.

Most of body and foot preserved. Max. ht. 20.0 cm; max. w. 11.7.

A-B: procession: male and female auloi players, lyre players and torch bearers, chariot and horses.

BIBL: Papadopoulos-Kanelopoulos, *Hiero*, no.

### NOT DATED BY THE AUTHOR

#### 183. NEW YORK, Love coll.

Prov: unknown.

Several fragments.

Prothesis and mourners.

BIBL: *Para* 257; H. Mommsen, *Exekias I, Die Grabtafeln, Kerameus* Vol. 11 (Mainz 1997) 70, no. 67; Laxander, *Individuum*, Cat. no. PS 128. For illustration, see *Beazley Archive Pottery Database*, vase no. 351538.

### UNPUBLISHED/NOT SEEN BY THE AUTHOR

#### 184. ONCE ATHENS MARKET.

Prov: unknown.

Neck fragment.

"Men mourning (the neck only)"

BIBL: *ABL* 252,75.

#### 185. ATHENS.

Prov: Vari.

Fragments.

"(Standing figures, horse's head). On the neck (mourners)."

BIBL: *Para* 257.

#### 186. ATHENS NA 1957 Aa 229.

Prov: Athens.

"On the neck, youth to right, woman to right, looking round, woman to right with loutrophoros, auloi player."

BIBL: *Para* 257.

#### 187. ATHENS NA 1957 Aa 2237.

Prov: Athens.

Fragment.

"On the neck (woman with loutrophoros, fluteplayer)."

BIBL: *Para* 257; Killet, *Ikonographie*, b-f. cat. 10.8.

#### 188. ATHENS NA 1957 Aa 2241.

Prov: Athens.

"Lyre-player with wreath, fluteplayer."



BIBL: *Para* 257.

**189. ATHENS NA 1957 Aa 2251.**

Prov: Athens.

Fragment.

"On the neck (one with loutrophoros to right, and fluteplayer to right)."

BIBL: *Para* 257.

**190. ATHENS NA 1957 Aa 2258.**

Prov: Athens.

Fragment.

"On the neck (woman to right, woman with wreath to right, looking round, woman with loutrophoros, fluteplayer)."

BIBL: *Para* 257; Killet, *Ikonographie*, b-f. cat. 10.7.

**191. ATHENS.**

Prov: Athens.

Fragment.

"(Lyre-player with wreath, fluteplayer)."

BIBL: *Para* 257; possibly Killet, *Ikonographie*, b-f. cat. 10.8, misquoted as *ABV* 518,21.

## KYATHOI

### VERY LATE

**192. MALIBU 86.AE.146.**

*Pl.* 58; *fig.* 71. Prov: unknown.

Complete. Ht. 7.8 cm; ht. w. handle 14.7 cm; diam. 11.0 cm; diam. foot 5.3 cm. White-ground; ogival foot.

Perseus with sword, petasos and winged boots, pursuing three gorgons.

BIBL: K. Schauenburg, *Festschrift Gottfried von Lücken* (Rostock 1968) 767, pls. 45-46; *Greek Vases and Modern Drawings in the Collection of Mr and Mrs Walter Bareiss, Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York 1969) no. 30; Brommer, *Vasenlisten*<sup>3</sup>, 280, after no. 79?; Eisman, *Kyathos*, 477-81, no. 135, pl. 34; J. Frel and M. True, *Greek Vases, Molly and Walter Bareiss collection, J.P. Getty Museum* (Malibu 1983) 28-29, fig. 16, 74, no. 79; Mertens, *AWG*, 84, no. 27, 86; *CVA* 2, pl. 76; *LIMC* VII, s.v.

'Perseus', no. 101, pl. 289; T. Schreiber, *Athenian Vase Construction, a Potter's Analysis* (Malibu 1999) 144, pl. XI.

**193. MALIBU 86.AE.147.**

*Pl.* 59; *figs.* 5, 11, 72. Prov: unknown.

Nearly complete. Ht. 8.1 cm, ht. with handle 14.4 cm; diam. 10.8 cm; diam. foot 5.3 cm. Ogival foot.

Herakles reclining, satyrs (with wineskin and amphora) and maenads; bow and quiver hanging in field.

BIBL: K. Schauenburg, *Festschrift Gottfried von Lücken* (Rostock 1968) 767, no. 30; *Greek Vases and Modern drawings from the Collection of Mr and Mrs Walter Bareiss, Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York 1969) no. 31; Eisman, *Kyathos*, no. 130; J. Frel and M. True, *Molly and Walter Bareiss Collection, J.P. Getty Museum* (Malibu 1983) 74, no. 80; *CVA* 2, pl. 77; Wolf, *Herakles*, no. sf. 45.

**194. PHILADELPHIA L-64-540.**

*Pl.* 60; *figs.* 15, 27. Prov: unknown.

Complete. Ht. 7.4 cm; ht. w. handle 14.3 cm; diam. 10.6 cm; diam. foot 5.6 cm. Ogival foot.

Komos: men/youths, women, amphora-carrier.

BIBL: *ABV* 519,16; Eisman, *Kyathos*, 129; *Archaeology* 28 (1975) 81; *Beazley Addenda*<sup>2</sup> 129.

**195. ERLANGEN I 522.**

*Pl.* 61 a. Prov: unknown.

Handle missing. Preserved ht. 8.2 cm. White-ground; ogival foot.

Komos: men, women, amphora-carrier.

BIBL: W. Grünhagen, *Archäologisches Institut der Universität Erlangen, Antike Originalarbeiten der Kunstsammlung des Instituts* (Nürnberg 1948) pl. 13; *ABV* 519,17; Eisman, *Kyathos*, no. 132.

**196. HEIDELBERG S 53.**

*Pl.* 61 b. Prov: unknown.

Handle and part of body missing. Preserved ht. 7.5 cm. Ogival foot.

Komos: men, women, amphora-carrier.

BIBL: *CVA* 1, pl. 41.3; *ABV* 704,17<sup>bs</sup>; Eisman, *Kyathos*, no. 131.

**197. OMAHA 1936.484.**

*Pl.* 62. Prov: unknown.

Severely damaged. Ht. 9.3 cm, ht. w. handle 16.3 cm; diam. 12.0 cm; diam. foot 5.6 cm. Double-ridged foot; alternate black and dotted squares alongside rim.

Dionysos mounting chariot with Nike, Hermes, satyr carrying pointed amphora and two women.

BIBL: *MuM* 22 (1961) pl. 46, 146; *Para* 259; Eisman, *Kyathos*, no. 136; *CVA* 1, pls. 28-29; *Beazley Addenda*<sup>2</sup> 130.

#### 198. ONCE BASLE MARKET.

*Pl. 61 c-d*. Prov: unknown.

Double-ridged foot (?).

Dionysos with satyrs and maenads.

BIBL: *Para* 259 (near the Theseus Painter); Eisman, *Kyathos* no. 133, pl. 33 (by the Theseus Painter). For illustration, see *Beazley Archive Pottery Database*, vase no. 351586.

#### 199. ONCE PHILADELPHIA MARKET.

*Pl. 61 e-f*. Prov: unknown.

Complete, possibly intact (?). Ht. 8.3 cm, ht. with handle 14.0 cm. Ovoid foot, white-ground.

Peleus and Thetis between pairs of fleeing Nereids.

BIBL: *Hesperia Art Bull.* 37, no. A6; Eisman, *Kyathos*, no. 128.

#### 200. NEW YORK 1982.27.6

Prov: unknown.

Two heroes seated on stools at mount (omphalos or tumulus), confronting eagles on top; dog in front; youth leaning on stick, and woman to left and right.

BIBL: *ABV* 716, 17ter, *Para* 255; Eisman, *Kyathos*, no. 134. For illustration, see *Beazley Archive Pottery Database*, vase no. 307007.

### ALABAstra

#### VERY LATE

#### 201. HAVANA, Lagunillas Coll.

*Pl. 63*. Prov: Greece.

Complete (?). Severely worn. Ht. 19.7 cm; max. diam. 6.2 cm. White-ground; meander on shoulder.

Prothesis; horsemen in silhouette aiming spears

at a deer below shoulder.

BIBL: *ABV* 518,5; Mertens, *AWG* pl. 14.3; *Beazley Addenda*<sup>2</sup> 129; R. Olmos (ed.), *Vasos Griegos de la colección Condes de Lagunillas* (Kilchberg/Zurich 1990) 76-79, no. 20; Laxander, *Individuum*, Cat. no. PS 125.

#### 202. ONCE BASLE MARKET.

*Pl. 64 a-b*. Prov: unknown.

Complete (?). Severely worn. Ht. 19.0 cm. White-ground.

Woman with alabastron, lekythos on the floor, youth, Ionic column, youth with spears, campstool (?).

BIBL: *MuM* 26 (1963) pl. 41, 120; *Para* 256.

#### 203. ONCE BASLE MARKET.

*Pl. 64 c-e*. Prov: unknown.

Complete (?). Severely worn. Ht. 18.0 cm. White-ground.

Woman with alabastron, lekythos on the floor, youth, Ionic column, youth with spears.

BIBL: *Sotheby's London*, 10 July 1972, lot no. 102; *Sotheby's London*, 3 Dec. 1973, lot no. 153; *MuM*, *Sonderliste R*, Dec. 1977, no. 44.

#### 204. PALERMO, Mormino coll. 660.

*Pl. 65 a-c*. Prov: unknown.

Complete (?). Severely worn. Ht. 16.7 cm; diam. 4.9 cm. White-ground.

Athletes, dog, and auloi player.

BIBL: *CVA* 1, pl. 19.4-6.

#### 205. ONCE PHILADELPHIA MARKET.

Prov: unknown.

White-ground.

In silhouette, woman with alabastron, lekythos on the floor, youth, cock, youth with spears; discus on thye floor.

BIBL: *Para* 256. For illustration, see *Beazley Archive Pottery Database*, vase no. 351530.

### PLATE

#### MIDDLE

#### 206. CHICAGO 1967.115.256.

*Pl. 65 d*. Prov: unknown

Severely damaged. Ht. 2.3 cm; Diam. 22.2 cm; diam. foot 11.0 cm. Callipolitis Feytmans' type BII.

I: goat to right, looking round. Raised left frontal leg.

BIBL: G. Ferrari, C.M. Nielsen and K. Olson (eds.), *The David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, The University of Chicago, The Classical Collection* (Chicago 1998) 37-38.

## UNDETERMINED FRAGMENTS

### 207. ATHENS, British School A 380.

Pl. 65 e. Prov: Athens.

Fragment. Max. w. 3.8 cm.

(A): back of head of man (?) to right.

BIBL: *Para 259; Athenian Potters and Painters, Catalogue of the Exhibition, Gennadius Library American School of Classical Studies Athens*, 1 Dec. 1994 - 1 March 1995, 30-31, no. 19.

UNPUBLISHED/NOT SEEN BY THE AUTHOR

### 208. ATHENS, Acropolis 847.

Prov: Athens, Acropolis.

Fragment.

(A): Athletes ("Oben Rest der Knospenspitzen und der verbindenden Bogen. Mänlicher Kopf mit Stirnschopf n. links, erhobener rechter Arm, der einen weissen Stock über den Kopf schwingt").

BIBL: Graef and Langlotz, *Akropolis*, 103; *ABV* 519,12.

### 209. ATHENS, Acropolis 843.

Prov: Athens, Acropolis.

Fragment.

(A): Apollo and goddess ("Oben das typische Ornament mit hängenden Knospen. Weiblicher Oberkopf nach links. Rechts davon Kopf des Apollon mit reichem Haar, Schläfelocken, Kranz und diadem n. rechts. Ansatz der Brust mit Gewand, grosse Chelys, Rebzweige").

BIBL: Graef and Langlotz, *Akropolis*, 103; *ABV* 519,13.



## 2. BY OR NEAR THE THESEUS PAINTER

Vases from this section onwards are given a 'N' previous to their catalogue numbers to distinguish them from the core-group of certain attributions to the Theseus Painter.

### SKYPHOI

#### N1. ATHENS, NM 18720.

Fig. 73. Prov: unknown

Complete. Ht. 18.1 cm; diam. 22.9 cm; diam. foot 14.8 cm. Concave foot.

A-B: sphinx on Doric column, seated youth in front of it, youth on horseback (A), man leaning on stick confronting female in long mantle (B); goat under handles.

BIBL: *ABV* 529,23; K. Schauenburg (ed.), *Praestant Interna, Festschrift für Ulrich Hausmann* (Tübingen 1982) 232-33, 235, pl. 51.2; J.M. Moret, *Oedipe, le sphinx et les Thébains, Essai de Mythologie iconographique* (Rome 1984) 40, 42-43, 169, no. 38, pl. 35; *Beazley Addenda*<sup>2</sup> 129; *CVA* 4, pls. 41, 43.1-2; Scheibler, *Skyphoi*, pl. 7.3-4.

#### N2. OLYMPIA BE 634.

Prov: Frankonisi.

Complete, body of bull on A and B is left unglazed. Torus foot.

A-B: Herakles and the bull, Athena walking away (A), and watching (B).

BIBL: *ABV* 520 (by or near the Theseus Painter); U. Hausmann, *Hellenistische Reliefbecher aus attischen und böotischen Werkstätten* (Stuttgart 1959) pl. 49; Brommer, *Vasenlisten*<sup>3</sup>, 202, no. 37; *LIMC* V, s.v. 'Herakles', no. 2324; *Jdl* 103 (1988) 188, figs. 13-14; *CVA* Athens 4, p. 45 (perhaps by the Herm Painter).

#### N3. CHIUSI.

Prov: Chiusi (?)

Rim fragment. Max. ht. 14.7; max. w. 14.5.

(A): Herakles and the deer (?). Part of deer to right, parts of arms and hands to left and right; many branches in field.

BIBL: *CVA* 1, pl. 34.4.

#### N4. NAXOS, MESSINA (Sicily).

Prov: Naxos.

2 rim fragments. *a*: ht. 4.0 cm, w. 3.5 cm; *b*: ht. 2.0 cm, w. 3.3 cm.

(A): part of head of male to left, ivy wreath.

BIBL: *NSc* 38/39 (1984/85) 427-28, no. 81, fig. 145.

#### N5. ATHENS, Agora P 15199.

Prov: Athens, Agora.

Fragments. (15). Max. dim., *a*: 16.2 cm; *b*: 8.1 cm; *c*: 7.6 cm; *d*: 3.1 cm; *e*: 7.5 cm; *f*: 3.0 cm; *g*: 1.8 cm; *h*: 3.0 cm; *i*: 1.8 cm; *j*: 6.1 cm; *k*: 3.4 cm; *l*: 4.1 cm; *m*: 2.3 cm; *n*: 1.8 cm; *o*: 3.5 cm. Overly large ivy on the rim, broad band below.

(A): Herakles (?) reclining with satyrs; small animal in front of tree (under handle?).

BIBL: *ABV* 520,19 (by the Theseus Painter); Brommer, *Vasenlisten*<sup>3</sup>, 191, no. 9; *Agora* XXIII, 279, no. 1493; *Beazley Addenda*<sup>2</sup> 129.

#### N6. CORINTH C-37-2967.

Prov: Corinth.

Fragment. Ht. 4.0 cm; w. 4.4 cm.

(A): Herakles wrestling seamounter (Triton).

BIBL: A.B. Brownlee, 'Attic Black Figure from Corinth II', *Hesperia* 58 (1989) 383, no. 100, pl. 66.

#### N7. ADRIA IG 22588.

Prov: Adria.

Fragment. 9.2 x 7.3 cm.

(A): Dionysos (?), seated to right, kantharos in hand.

BIBL: *CVA* 2, pl. 30.1.

#### N8. ADRIA IG 22806.

Prov: Adria.

Fragment. 5 x 6.8 cm.

(A): satyrs playing auloi.

BIBL: CVA 2, pl. 29.6.

**N9. ATHENS, Acropolis 1275.**

Prov: Athens, Acropolis.

Fragments (a-e). Max. dim., a: 12.2 cm; b: 3.3 cm; c: 4.5 cm; d: 9.0 cm; e: 6.0 cm.

(A-B): palaestra.

BIBL: Graef and Langlotz, *Akropolis*, 141.

**N10. PARMA C 23.**

Prov: unknown.

Fragment. Might also be part of a kyathos, the wall seems very thin. Max. ht. 3.3 cm; max. w. 4.3 cm.

(A): komos (?).

BIBL: CVA 1, pl. 16.1: Y. Tuna-Nörning, *Die Ausgrabungen von Alt-Smyrna und Pitane, Die attisch-schwarzfigurige Keramik und der attische Keramikexport nach Kleinasien* (Tübingen 1995) 153, n. 186 (near the Theseus Painter).

**N11. ADRIA IG 22812.**

Prov: Adria.

Rim fragment. Max. dim. 7 x 6.8 cm.

(A): head and upper body of man to left.

BIBL: G. Fogolari and M. Scarfi, *Adria antica* (Milan 1970) pl. 11.2; CVA 2, pl. 29.5.

**N12. ADRIA IG 22589.**

Prov: Adria.

Fragment. Max. dim. 3.6 x 6.0 cm.

(A): female figure to right.

BIBL: CVA 2, pl. 30.3.

**N13. KITION 1143.**

Prov: Kition (Larnaca, Cyprus).

Fragment. Max. dim. 6.1 cm.

(A): ox at a tree (?). Legs preserved.

BIBL: V. Karageorgis, *Excavations at Kition IV, The Non-Cypriote Pottery* (Nicosia 1981) 52, pl. 38, no. 6.

**N14. ATHENS, Acropolis 1266.**

Prov: Athens, Acropolis.

Two fragments.

a: raised hand and male head with elaborate wreath to right. Branches in field; b: white object (rear of bird?) and branches in field.

(A): komos or Procession?

BIBL: Graef and Langlotz, *Akropolis*, 141, pl. 72.

**LEKYTHOI**

**N15. DELOS B 6135.**

Prov: Delos, Heraion.

Complete. Ht. 32.6 cm. Red-ground; palmettes on shoulder; torus foot.

Dance of meanads trough porch?

BIBL: Dugas, *Délos* X, pl. 41 and 69; *ABL* 146-47, 254,1 ("perhaps by his own hand").

**N16. ONCE PARIS, Peyrefitte coll.**

Prov: unknown

Complete. Red-figure palmettes on black shoulder. Torus foot.

Satyrs and maenads.

BIBL: *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 694 (manner of the Athena painter); *Para* 262; *Beazley Addenda*<sup>2</sup> 131; *Cat. Coll. Roger Peyrefitte*, Ader/Picard/Tajan, Paris, 26 May 1977, no. 38.

**N17. HANOVER 1966.31**

Prov: unknown.

Complete. Ht. 17.8 cm. Rays on shoulder. Concave foot.

Pyrrhic: auloi player between two dancing warriors.

BIBL: CVA 1, pl. 22.6-8.

**N18. BUCHAREST, Magheru coll.**

Prov: unknown (Athens?).

Body and foot preserved. Remaining ht. 15.8 cm; diam. foot 4.8 cm. Concave foot.

Woman between men and youth with mirror.

BIBL: CVA 2, pl. 39.3, 7-9.

**N19. AGRIGENTO AG 22641.**

Prov: Agrigento.

Complete, severely worn. Ht. 30.0 cm.

White-ground; foot: vertical section is inward curving towards base.

Two male figures with high boots.

BIBL: *Veder Greco, Le Necropoli di Agrigento*, Agrigento, 2 May - 31 July 1988, 368, no. 1.

**N20. ATHENS, Agora P 15953.**

Prov: Athens, Agora.

Fragments. Max. dim. a: 4.6 cm; b: 6 cm; c: 2.2 cm.

Athletes.

BIBL: *Agora* XXIII, no. 1184, pl. 87.

## OINOCHOE

### N21. HARVARD 1927.154.

Prov: unknown.

Complete. Ht. 25.3 cm. White-ground.

Hermes fighting giant.

BIBL: *CVA* Fogg and Gallatin 1, pl. 21.7; *ABV* 528,47 (near the Athena Painter); Mertens, *AWG* 72, no. 54, pl. X.3; *LIMC* IV, s.v. 'Gigantes', no. 295.

## CUP

### N22. ONCE HILLSBOROUGH, Hearst coll.

Prov: unknown.

Fragmentary. Ht. 13.0 cm; diam. 29.5 cm. Foot does not belong.

I: woman at kline. A: Herakles reclining between eyes; B: satyr reclining; satyrs at handles; intertwined tree under handles.

BIBL: I.K. Raubitscheck, *The Hearst-Hillsborough Vases* (Mainz 1969) 46-49, no. 12; Wolf, *Herakles*, no. sf. 27, figs. 91-92.

## ALABASTRA

### N23. TÜBINGEN S./10 1729

Prov: unknown.

Fragment. Ht. 5.0 cm; w. 5.9 cm.

Female with exaleiptron.

BIBL: *CVA* 5, pl. 34.3.

### N23<sup>ba</sup>. PALERMO, Collisani coll. N51

Prov: Selinunte,

Complete. Ht. 14.0 cm; diam. 4.6 cm; diam. mouth 3.8 cm. Meander to right below shoulder.

Three women to right, one playing lyre; deer and 'heron'.

BIBL: H.P. Isler and M. Sguaitamatti (eds.), *La collezione Collisani/Die Sammlung Collisani*, Archäologisches Institut der Universität Zürich (Zurich 1990) 121, no. 176, pl. 26.

## DISH (LEKANIS?)

### N24. ATHENS, Acropolis 2392.

Prov: Athens, Acropolis.

Fragments. Max. dim., *a*: 11.6 cm; *b*: 12.8 cm.

I: satyr.

BIBL: Graef and Langlotz, *Akropolis*, pl. 96; *ABV* 521,2.



### 3. NEAR THE THESEUS PAINTER

#### THE PAINTER OF PHILADELPHIA 5481

##### SKYPHOI

###### N25. PHILADELPHIA MS 5481.

Prov: unknown.

Complete. Concave foot.

A: Herakles fighting Nereus (?), fleeing woman;  
B: Hermes, Herakles and Athena; bow and quiver  
under handle B/A, ram under handle A/B.

BIBL: E. Rambo, 'An Attic Black-Figured skyphos', *Museum Journal* 10, 1919, 15-19; *AJA* 26 (1922) 174-75; Mingazzini, *Castellani* 314, no. 17; Haspels *ABL* 253,1; Ure, *Krokotos*, 95, n. 23; *Cat. Aspects of Ancient Greece*, Allentown Art Museum, 16 Sept.-30 Dec. 1979, 52-53, no. 23; *LIMC* VI s.v. 'Nereides', no. 261.

###### N26. ATHENS, NM 362.

Fig. 75. Prov: Tanagra.

Complete (?). Ht. 17.5 cm; diam. 22.5 cm; diam. foot 13.6 cm. Inverted echinus foot.

A-B: procession of four old men; white heron (plump type) under handles.

BIBL: M. Heinemann, *Landschaftliche Elemente*, 74, n. 2; Haspels, *ABL* 253,11; Ure, *Krokotos*, 93, no. 17, pl. 9.3 (Painter of Philadelphia 5481); *ABV* 522,2 (near the Painter of Rodin 1000); *CVA* 4, pl. 35 (Sub-krokotos Group).

###### N27. THEBES 17097 (R 18.99).

Prov: Rhitsona.

Complete. Ht. 18.0 cm; diam. 22.5 cm. Torus foot.

A-B: procession of four old men; white heron (plump type) under handles.

BIBL: Burows and Ure, *Rhitsona*, 292; Ure, *Sixth and Fifth*, 60, pl. 18; *ABL* 253,10; *ABV* 522,1 (near the Painter of Rodin 1000); *CVA* Athens 4, p. 46.

###### N28. WINCHESTER, College Museum.

Prov: unknown.

Complete (?). Torus foot.

(A-B?): wrestlers with trainer.

BIBL: Ure, *Krokotos*, 95, pl. 9.4

###### N29. ONCE MARKET.

Prov: unknown.

Intact, somewhat worn. Ht. 17.3 cm; diam. 23.5 cm. Concave foot

A-B: Athena in gigantomachy; white heron (plump type) under handles.

BIBL: *MuM* 51 (1975) 53, no. 133; *Sotheby's London*, 13-14 July 1981, 116, lot no. 261 (near the Theseus painter?); *CVA* Athens 4, p. 46 (close to the Painter of Philadelphia 5481).

###### N30. ATHENS, NM 635.

Fig. 76. Prov: Euboea.

Complete. Ht. 18.0 cm; diam. 22.4-8 cm; diam. foot 14.1 cm. Torus foot.

A-B: Herakles playing the lyre with Athena and Hermes seated; white heron (plump type) under handles.

BIBL: H. Heydemann, *Griechische Vasenbilder* (Berlin 1870) 3-4, pl. 3.2; M. Collignon and L. Couvé, *Catalogue des vases peints du Musée National d'Athènes* (Paris 1902) 250, no. 791; M. Heinemann, *Landschaftliche Elemente*, 74, n. 2, 75; Brommer, *Vasenlisten*<sup>3</sup>, 101, no. 30; *ProcAmsterdam*, 246 n. 24; *LIMC* IV, s.v. 'Herakles', no. 1448; *CVA* 4, pl. 36, p. 46.

###### N31. MONTE IATO K 1679.

Prov: Monte Iato.

Fragmentary. Max. ht. 16.0 cm; diam. 23.0 cm.

A-B: Herakles and Athena, female bystander, dog?; white heron (plump type) under handle.

BIBL: *AntK* 39 (1996) 60-61, pl. 12.8.

**N32. ST. PETERSBURG 1912.**

Prov: unknown.

Complete (?). Ht. 19.2 cm; diam. 23.2 cm; diam. foot 14.1 cm. Torus foot.

A-B: hunt?

BIBL: M. Heinemann, *Landschaftliche Elemente* 75, fig. 13; Haspels, *ABL* 250,28 (Theseus Painter); Gorbunova, *Ermitazhe*, 149-50, no. 119.

**POSSIBLY BY THE PAINTER OF PHILADELPHIA 5481?**

**SKYPHOI**

**N33. CORINTH C-64-401.**

Prov: Corinth.

Three fragments. *a*: max. ht. 13.4 cm, est. diam. 21.0 cm; *b*: max. ht. 5.4 cm, max. w. 5.6 cm; *c*: max. ht. 6.5 cm, max. w. 5.0 cm.

(A-B): dancing women; flying eagle under handle(s).

BIBL: E.G. Pemberton, *Corinth. Results of Excavations conducted by the American School of Classical Studies*, Vol. XVIII.1, *The Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore, The Greek Pottery* (Princeton New Jersey 1989) 140, no. 313, pl. 34.

**N34. STARANGA BOGDANO**

Provenance: Staranga Bogdanovka (Olbia)

Fragment.

(A): female to left; Herakles (?) to right; two women to right. Herom (plump type) under handle.

BIBL: K. Marchenko and Ya. Domansky, 'The Complex of Artefacts found on the Antique Site of Staranga Bogdanovka', *Archeologijeskii Sbornik* 24 (1983) 56-72, 59 fig. 3, no. 6.62.

**N35. ATHENS, NM 15372**

Prov: unknown

Several missing fragments

Ht. 17.8-18.0 cm; diam. 22.9 cm; diam. foot 13.8 cm. Torus foot.

A: satyr playing lyre between maenads with krotalai; B: satyr playing auloi between maenads with krotalai. White heron (plump type) under

handle.

BIBL: *CVA* 4, pl. 40, fig. 11.

**N36. WÜRZBURG (Kiseleff coll.), K 1802.**

Prov: unknown.

Foot and large areas of body missing. Ht. 17.5 cm; diam. 22.5 cm; diam. foot 10.8 cm.

A-B: Herakles, Hades, Persephone; eagle devouring hare under handle A/B; Kerberos under handle B/A.

BIBL: E. Simon, (ed.), *Die Sammlung Kiseleff im Martin von Wagner Museum der Universität Würzburg, Teil II, Minoische und griechische Antiken* (Mainz 1989) 63, no. 122, pl. 49; *LIMC* IV, s.v. 'Hades', no. 147 a.

**N37. THEBES 17078.**

Prov: Thebes.

Some fragments missing. Ht. 18.8-19.1 cm; diam. 23.5 cm; diam. foot 14.7 cm. Torus foot.

A-B: two women playing auloi and krotalai between men leaning on sticks; dogs under handles.

BIBL: unpublished.

**ATTRIBUTED BY URE TO THE PAINTER OF PHILADELPHIA 5481**

**N38. THEBES R 82.35.**

Prov: Rhitsona.

Missing fragments. Ht. 18.0 cm; diam. 22.3 cm.

Torus foot; narrow frieze, like CHC skyphoi.  
 A-B: satyr reclining and donkey under tree.  
 BIBL: Ure, *Sixth and Fifth*, 61, pl. 18; *ABL* 253,17; Ure, *Krokotos*, 95, n. 24; B. Fehr, *Orientalische und griechische Gelage* (Bonn 1971) 157, no. 239; *CVA Athens* 4, p. 4.

## NEAR THE THESEUS PAINTER: THE PAINTER OF RODIN 1000

### SKYPHOI

#### N39. PARIS, Rodin 1000 (244).

Prov: unknown.

Complete (?). Ht. 19.0 cm; diam. 23.5 cm. Torus foot.

A-B: Perseus and Medusa, birth of Chrysaor, Athena and Hermes, white heron under handles.

BIBL: *CVA* pl. 12.7, 9-10; *ABV* 521,1; *Cat. Rodin Collectionneur*, Paris, Musée Rodin, 1967-1968, pl. 93; *Para* 259; *Beazley Addenda*<sup>2</sup> 93.

#### N40. ONCE HAMBURG, private coll.

Prov: Capua Vetere?

Intact (?); graffito below foot (AZ), not in Johnston, *Trademarks*. Ht. 18.8 cm; diam. 23.5 cm; diam. foot 13.9 cm. Torus foot.

A: Hermes, Athena, Perseus running above sea; B: three Gorgons running above sea, winged dolphin under handles.

BIBL: Mercklin, *Werkstatt*, 1-14; *ABV* 521,2; *Sotheby's London*, 8 July 1992, lot no. 119.

#### N41. HARVARD 60.324.

Prov: Vulci.

Complete (?). Ht. 28.8 cm; diam. 21.3 cm; diam. foot 14.5 cm. Torus foot.

A-B: Perseus slaying Medusa, with Hermes; red figure-8 like shape under one handle.

BIBL: *Sotheby's London*, 25 July 1935, lot no. 38; *ABL* 253,5; *AJA* 60 (1956) 16-17, pl. 13, fig. 61-62; *Para* 259 ("near the Theseus Painter").

#### N42. ROME, Villa Giulia 3551.

Prov: Falerii.

Handles lost. Ht. 22.4 cm. Torus foot.

A-B: judgement of Paris (Hermes leading the three goddesses).

BIBL: *CVA* 3, pl. 48.5; *ABV* 521,4

#### N43. ATHENS, Agora P 2768.

Prov: Athens, Agora.

Three non-joining fragments. Max. dim., a: 21.2 cm; b: 6.5 cm; c: 6.3 cm.

A-B: male mounting chariots, Hermes (?), white heron under handles.

BIBL: Vanderpool, *Shaft*, 291, no. 68, pl. 42; *ABV* 522,5; *Agora XXIII*, no. 1500.

#### N44. PARIS, Rodin 552.

Prov: unknown.

Complete (?). Ht. 15.0 cm; diam. 19.5 cm. Torus foot.

A-B: Theseus and Skiron, white heron under handles.

BIBL: *CVA*, pl. 13.1-2; *ABV* 521,3.

### POSSIBLY ALSO?

#### N45. CORINTH 1068.

Prov: Corinth.

Rim fragment. Max. ht. 7.8 cm; max. w. 14 cm.

(A): white dog, man leaning on stick.

BIBL: M. Thornton Campbell, 'A Wheel of the Black-figure Period at Corinth', *Hesperia* 7 (1938) 571, no. 9, 573, fig. 7.



## NEAR THE THESEUS PAINTER: MISCELANEOUS

### SKYPHOI

#### N46. BOLOGNA 130 (D.L. 109).

Fig. 74. Prov: Bologna.

Handles and fragments missing. Ht. 18.0 cm; diam. 22.6 cm; diam. Foot 14.8 cm. Concave foot.

A: Dionysos in ship-cart; B: procession.

BIBL: Pellegrini, *Vasi greci*, 39, 41, no. 130; Haspels, *ABL* 253,15; *CVA* 2, pl. 43; Frickenhaus, *Schiffskarren*, 62 ff.; M. Bieber, *Die Denkmäler zum Theaterwesen im Altertum* (Berlin 1920) 88, fig.91; A. Rumpf, *Die Religion der Griechen* (Berlin 1928) 152; *ABL* 253,15; Deubner, *Attische Feste*, pl. 11.1; M.P. Nilsson, *Die Geschichte der griechischen Religion I* (Munich 1967) 572; Pickard-Cambridge, *Dramatic Festivals*, 12, fig. 11; A. Pickard-Cambridge, *Dithyramb, Tragedy and Comedy* (Oxford 1962) 113, fig.4; Lehnstaedt, *Prozessionsdarstellungen*, 199, K 70; Parke, *Festivals*, 109, pl. 42; Brommer, *Vasenlisten Göttersagen*, 21, no. 3; Kerényi, *Dionysos*, fig. 56; Simon, *Festivals*, 94, fig. 12; *LIMC* III, s.v. 'Dionysos', no. 829; de Miro, *Lastra*, pl. 48; Malagardis, *Deux Temps* 77-8, n. 50; Malagardis, *Monde Rural*, 134, fig. 15 a; F. Berti and C. Gasparri, *Dionysos, mito e mistero* (Bologna 1989) 101.42; Göttlicher, *Kultschiffe*, 104, fig. 59; L.J. Roccas, 'The Kanephoros and her Festival Mantle in Greek Art', *AJA* 99 (1995) 653, fig. 10; Van Straten, *Hiera Kala* 198, V24; Brandt, *Musikanten*, Cat. no. Attsf 15; Laxander, *Individuum*, Cat. no. OZ 68, pl. 13.1.

#### N47. ATHENS, Acropolis 1314.

Prov: Athens, Acropolis.

Two fragments.

(A-B): Theseus at the Labyrinth, a: part of female body with dress, arm and tunic of 'Theseus'; b: lower body of 'Theseus' in front of the entrance of the Labyrinth.

BIBL: Graef and Langlotz, *Akropolis*, pl. 76; *ABL* 253,3.

#### N48. ATHENS, NM 13907.

Prov: unknown.

Fragmentary. Ht. 18.0 cm; diam. 22.8 cm; diam. foot 13.9 cm. Torus foot.

A: Herakles reclining with seated warrior; B: Herakles reclining with satyr; tree under handles.

BIBL: *CVA* 4, pl. 44.

#### N49. ST. PETERSBURG 404 (1428).

Prov: unknown.

Complete (?). Ht. 11.4 cm; diam. 13.8 cm; diam. foot 7.9 cm. Concave foot.

A-B: Theseus and Prokrustes.

BIBL: Gorbunova, *Ermitazhe*, 47, 52, no. 32.

#### N50. BUDAPEST 54.230

Prov: unknown.

Parts of rim, body and handles.

(A-B): satyrs making music (all with kithara), part of altar in corner.

BIBL: *Acta Antiqua Hungarica* 25 (1977) 361-64, figs. 1-4.

#### N51. GERMANY, private coll.

Prov: unknown

Small fragments missing; ancient repair holes. Ht. 21.4 cm; diam. 23.0 cm. Torus foot, rather high, narrow skyphos.

A-B: komos; youths under handle.

BIBL: K. Vierneisel, *Antikenmuseum Berlin, Antiken aus Berliner Privatbesitz* (Berlin 1979) no. 70.

#### N52. BOSTON 99.525.

Prov: unknown

Intact. Torus foot, no tongues, three bands below frieze.

A-B: oil or wine press.

BIBL: C. Bakhuizen, 'Torcula Graecanica', in M. Gnade (ed.), *Stips Votiva, Papers presented to C.M. Stibbe* (Amsterdam 1991) 6, fig. 1.

#### N53. COPENHAGEN 834.

Prov: unknown.

Complete. Ht. 9.9 cm; diam. 15.5 cm. Black rim, three bands below figure-frieze, no tongues. Torus

foot.

A-B: Herakles leads female monster out of cave.  
BIBL: *CVA* 3, pl. 119.8; Vermeule, *Herakles*, 297, pl. 80.4; Buxton, *Imaginary Greece*, 105, fig. 10b.

**N54. CAMBRIDGE Gr. 180-1910.**

Prov: unknown.

Intact (?). Ht. 16.2 cm; diam. 22.0 cm.

Torus foot, three bands below figure-frieze.

A-B: boar hunt; white heron under handles.

BIBL: *CVA* 1, pl. 17.5; *RA* 1979, 12, fig. 10.

**N55. PULSANO, Guarini coll.**

Prov: Taranto.

Nearly complete. Ht. 16.0 cm; diam. 23.0 cm.

Torus foot.

A-B: four dancers with helmets and krotalai, auloi player to right; goat under handles.

BIBL: B. Fedele et al., *Antichità della collezione Guarini* (Galatina 1984) 45-46, no. 14, pl. XLIII.

**N56. CASUCINI COLL.**

Prov: unknown.

Fragmentary. Ht. 16.0 cm; diam. 20.0 cm. Torus foot.

A-B: deer in front of tree between two facing maenads.

BIBL: *La collezione Casuccini, ceramica attica, ceramica etrusca, ceramica falisca* (Rome 1996) 21, no. 15, fig. 14.

**N57. READING 26.xii.10.**

Prov: unknown.

Complete. Ht. 16.0 cm; diam. 22.0 cm. Torus foot, three bands below frieze.

A-B: procession; eagle under handles.

BIBL: *CVA* 1, pl. 10, no. 11

**N58. FLORENCE.**

Prov: Populonia.

Rim fragment.

(A): Herakles and the boar.

BIBL: *NSe* 1923 II, 132, pl. 1.5; Brommer, *Vasenlisten*<sup>3</sup>, 52, no. 6.

**N59. ATHENS, Acropolis 1288.**

Prov: Athens, Acropolis.

Fragment. Max. w. 6.5 cm.

(A): youth on horse to left.

BIBL: Graef and Langlotz, *Acropolis*, pl. 72; *ABL* 253.8.

**N60. AEGINA**

Prov: Aegina

Rim- and body fragment.

(A): komos with amphora carrier

BIBL: W. Felten, 'Attische schwarzfigurige und rotfigurige Keramik', in H. Walter (ed.), *Alt-Agina* II.1, no. 259, pl. 19.

**N61. AEGINA 107.UF.15**

Prov: Aegina.

Two rim fragments. Max. dim., *a*: 9.2 cm, *b*: 6.9 cm; est. diam. 20.0 cm.

(A): komos or procession

BIBL: M.B. Moore, 'Aegina, Aphaia Thempel VIII, The Attic Black-figured Pottery', *AA* 1986, 90-92, fig. 22.

**N62. TARANTO.**

Prov: Taranto.

A-B: Dionysos with satyrs and meanads.

BIBL: *ABV* 521.1.

**N63. SPINA 55090.**

Prov: Spina

Two fragments. *a*: 10.7 x 3.2 cm; *b*: 12.0 x 7.5 cm.

(A): parts of two male figures, one holding a shield?

BIBL: G.B. Montanari, *La formazione della città in Emilia Romagna* Vol. II, Bologna, Museo Civico, 26 Sept. - 24 Jan. 1982, 189, no. 23, fig. 133.

**N64. ATHENS, Agora P 25982.**

Prov: Athens, Agora.

Rim fragment. Max. dim. 9.6 cm.

(A): owl.

BIBL: *Agora* XXIII, no. 1499, pl. 102.

**SKYPHOS**

(In Six's technique)

**N65. MALIBU 76.AE.127.**

Prov: unknown.

Part of bowl and foot preserved. Torus foot. Ht. 16.0 cm; diam. 23.2 cm; diam. Foot 13.2 cm.

(A): crouching komast holding cup.

BIBL: J. Burnet-Grossman, 'Six's Technique at the Getty', *GVGetty* 5, 17-19, fig. 2.

## POSSIBLY ALSO: SKYPHOI

### N66. ROME, Villa Giulia Castellani 590.

Prov: unknown.

Complete (?). Ht. 22.5 cm; diam. 28.5 cm. Torus foot.

A-B: Struggle for the tripod, with Athena and Artemis (?); White Heron under handles.

BIBL: Mingazzini, *Castellani*, 313, pl. 90.

### N67. UNKNOWN.

Prov: Boeotia.

Complete. Torus foot.

A-B: dancing satyrs, reclining satyr with frontal look under handles.

BIBL: *ArchDelt* 35 (1980) 588, pl. 374.

### N68. ATHENS, Acropolis 1300.

Prov: Athens, Acropolis.

Fragmentary. Restored ht. 16.5 cm; diam. 21.0 cm. A-B: Fight (?).

BIBL: Graef and Langlotz, *Akropolis*, 146, pl. 78.

### N69. ROME, Villa Giulia 47.266.

Prov: Vulci.

Upper part missing. Torus foot.

A-B: hieroskopía, youth and warrior.

BIBL: *MonAnt* 42 (1955) 975, fig. 237a; Van Straten, *Hiera Kala*, 241, no. V254.

## LEKYTHOI

### N70. ADOLPHSECK 11.

Prov: Greece.

White-ground. Intact. Ht. 20.8 cm. Rays on shoulder, inverted echinus foot.

Theseus and the Minotaur.

BIBL: *CVA* 1, pl. 13.1-3; *Para* 259 (near).

### N71. OXFORD 513.

Prov: unknown.

White-ground; severely worn.

Theseus and the Minotaur.

BIBL: *JHS* 24 (1904) pl. 7.2; *ABL* 254,1 (manner of the Theseus Painter).

### N72. AGRIGENTO C. 869.

Prov: Agrigento.

White-ground. Ht. 29.7 cm; diam. 6.0 cm; diam. foot 7 cm. Concave foot.

Herakles and the hydra with Iolaos.

BIBL: *ABL* 254,2 (manner of the Theseus Painter); F. Matz, 'Herakles und Hydra auf attischen Vasenbildern', *Marburger Winckelmannsprogramm*, 1949, pl. I.2; *ABV* 521; *CVA* 1, pl. 75.1-2, 76.1-2; *Beazley Addenda*<sup>2</sup> 130.

### N73. LONDON 78-1.20 (B 542).

Prov: unknown.

Red-ground.

Polyxena at the fountain with Achilles in ambush.

BIBL: *ABL* 254,2; *LIMC* I, s.v. 'Achilleus', no. 229; B. Knittlmayer, *Die attische Demokratie und ihre Helden, Darstellungen des trojanischen Sagenkreises im 6. und frühem 5. Jh. v. Chr.* (Heidelberg 1997) pl. 18.1; *LIMC* VII, s.v. 'Polyxene', no. 7, pl. 346.

### N74. SYRACUSE 20901.

Prov: Gela.

Red-ground.

Two fighting warriors, woman to right.

BIBL: *MonAnt* 17 (1906) 66, fig. 39; *ABL* 254,3 (related to the Theseus Painter).

### N75. TÜBINGEN 4853

Prov: unknown.

Rays on shoulder. Ht. 24.7 cm; diam. 8.1 cm.

Red-ground; concave foot.

Amazons leading horses, amazon in front.

BIBL: *CVA* 3, pl. 47.5-7

## CUP (PREYSS-CUP)

### N76. PARIS, Louvre CA 1924 (lost?).

Prov: Boeotia

I: satyr; A/B: eight warriors riding dolphins, and auloi-player.

BIBL: *AA* 1942, 73, fig. 3; *Para* 259; Green, *Birds*, 109, fig. 19; *Beazley Addenda*<sup>2</sup> 130.

UNPUBLISHED/NOT SEEN BY  
THE AUTHOR:



## SKYPHOS

### N83. TEL AVIV.

Prov: unknown.

"A, Apollo and Giant; Poseidon and Giant; B:  
Athena and Giant."

BIBL: *Para* 262.

## 4. REJECTED ATTRIBUTIONS TO THE THESEUS PAINTER

### SKYPHOI

#### N79. BASLE, Cahn coll. HC 943.

Prov: unknown.

Fragments. Pres. ht. 15.2 cm; pres. w. 30.1 cm; diam. 30 cm.

(A): prothesis/women at fountain (?).

BIBL: *Para* 258; Kreuzer, *Zeichner*, 116-117, no. 125.

#### N80. BASLE, Cahn coll. HC 935, 936, 938, 939, 944.

Prov: unknown.

Five fragments. *a*: ht. 6.2 cm, w. 5.8 cm; *b*: ht. 21.9 cm, w. 9.8 cm; *c*: ht. 3.6 cm, w. 9.3 cm; *d*: ht. 8.9 cm, w. 5.0 cm; *e*: ht. 5.8 cm, w. 8.0 cm.

(A-B?): women at fountain.

BIBL: *Para* 258; Malagardis, *Deux temps*, 73, n. 6, pl. 20.1; Beazley *Addenda*<sup>2</sup> 129; Kreuzer, *Zeichner*, 117-18, no. 126.

#### N81. BASLE, Cahn coll. HC 934, 937, 940, 941, 942.

Prov: unknown.

Five fragments. *a*: ht. 7.4 cm, w. 5.8 cm; *b*: ht. 4.3 cm, w. 5.6 cm; *c*: ht. 9.3 cm, w. 6.3 cm; *d*: ht. 15.4 cm, w. 6.3 cm; *e*: ht. 13.1 cm, w. 9.9 cm; diam. 31.0 cm.

(A-B): women at fountain.

BIBL: *Para* 258; Malagardis, *Deux temps*, 73, n. 6, pl. 20.1; Kreuzer, *Zeichner*, 118-19, no. 127.

#### N82. BASLE, Cahn coll. HC 946, 948-9, 953.

Prov: unknown.

Four fragments. *a*: ht. 7.3 cm, w. 15.1 cm, diam. 30.0 cm; *b*: ht. 7.8 cm; *d*: ht. 3.9 cm, w. 7.0 cm.

(A-B?): prothesis.

BIBL: *Para* 258; Kreuzer, *Zeichner* 119-20, no. 128; Laxander, *Individuum*, Cat. no. PS 106, pl. 58.1.

#### N83. BASLE, Cahn coll. HC 954, 336.

Prov: unknown.

Two fragments. *a*: ht. 5.7 cm, w. 4.9 cm; *b*: ht.

9.3 cm; w. 12.6 cm.

(A): prothesis.

BIBL: *Para* 258; Kreuzer, *Zeichner*, 120, no. 129; Laxander, *Individuum*, Cat. no. PS 108, pl. 58.2.

#### N84. BASLE, Cahn coll. HC 955, 956, 945.

Prov: unknown.

Fragments. *a*: max. ht. 4.5 cm, max. w. 6.6 cm; *b*: max. ht. 9.1 cm, max. w. 9.3 cm; *c*: max. ht. 3.9 cm, max. w. 5.2 cm.

(A): prothesis.

BIBL: *Para* 258; Kreuzer, *Zeichner*, 121, no. 130; Laxander, *Individuum*, Cat. no. PS 109, pl. 57.3.

#### N85. BASLE, Cahn coll. HC 950, 951.

Prov: unknown.

Fragments (2). *a*: max. ht. 10.5 cm, max. w. 6.6 cm; *b*: max. ht. 6.3 cm, w. 9.3 cm; est. diam. 30.5 cm.

(A-B?) prothesis.

BIBL: *Para* 258; Kreuzer, *Zeichner*, 121-22, no. 131; Laxander, *Individuum*, Cat. no. PS 107, pl. 57.1-2.

#### N86. ZIMMERMANN COLL.

Prov: unknown.

Complete (?). Ht. 22.3 cm; diam. 29.5 cm; diam. foot 16.7 cm. Foot in two degrees (torus and disk).

A: Herakles seated on rock, playing kithara, bulls to left and right; B: as A, no kithara, but with club; tree under handle B/A.

BIBL: Galerie G. Puhze, *Kunst der Antike*, 1981, no. 139; W. Hornbostel, *Glanzzeit Athens* (Hamburg 1986) 77 ff., no. 33; LIMC IV, s.v. 'Herakles', no. 1451; AA 1993, 204, n. 16; M. Steinhart, *Attische Wein- und Ölgefäße aus der Sammlung Zimmermann. Töpferkunst und Meisterzeichnung* (Mainz 1996) 81-5, no. 16.

#### N87. ONCE BASLE MARKET.

Prov: unknown.

Complete (?). Ht. 15.2 cm; diam. 21.3-22.7 cm.  
Torus foot.

A-B: fight, between bystanders.

BIBL: *MuM* 56 (1980) 40, no 88; *LIMC* VII, s.v. 'Penthesileia', no. 23; K. Schefold and F. Jung, *Die Sagen von den Argonauten von Theben und Troja in der klassischen und hellenistischen Kunst* (Munich 1989) 242, fig. 218.

**N88. GERMANY, private coll. 107.**

Prov: unknown.

Complete (?). Ht. 37.0 cm; diam. 29.3-7 cm.;  
diam. foot 19.0 cm. Uncommon shape, narrow  
band, torus foot with sharp edges.

A: chariot-race, two chariots, dinoi in field; B:  
three warriors between palmettes. hydria under  
handles.

BIBL: G. Güntner (ed.), *Mythen und Menschen, Griechische Vasenkunst aus einer deutschen Privatsammlung*, Martin von Wagner Museum 1 July - 28 Sept. 1997 52-55, no. 14.

**N89. BASLE, Cahn coll. HC 335.**

Prov: unknown.

Fragment. Max. ht. 9.0 cm; max. w. 11.1 cm.

(A): gigantomachy with Athena.

BIBL: Kreuzer, *Zeichner*, 112-13, no. 118.

**N89bis. BASLE, Cahn coll. HC 339.**

Prov: unknown.

Fragment. Max. dim. 3.7 x 5.8 cm.

(A): Psyche in a fight (?).

BIBL: Kreuzer, *Zeichner*, 105, no. 109.

**N90. ATHENS N.S. A-P 1549, 2069.**

Prov: Athens North-slope.

Fragments.

(A?): Dionysos (twice?).

BIBL: C. Roebuck, 'Pottery from the North Slope of the Acropolis 1937-8', *Hesperia* 9 (1940) 184-85, no. 84, fig. 23.

**N91. BUCHAREST V 8455**

Prov: Histria

Fragment.

(A): Men.

BIBL: P. Alexandrescu, *Histria IV* (Bucharest 1978) no. 346, pl. 39.

**N92. HARVARD 1995.18.31.**

Prov: unknown.

Fragment. Max. dim. 7.8.

(A): frontal body, upper legs, and left hand of

male.

BIBL: A.J. Paul, 'Fragments of Antiquity, Drawing Upon Greek Vases', *Harvard University Art Museums Bulletin* V, no. 2 (Spring 1997) 24, 49, no. 19.

**N93. ELEA**

Prov: Elea.

(A): youth to right.

BIBL: B. Neutsch, 'Elea, ionisches und attisches aus dem archaischen Stadtgebiet', *RM* 86 (1979) pl. 34.2.

**LEKYTHOI**

**N94. LONDON B 648.**

Prov: unknown.

Procession of males and females with bull for sacrifice.

BIBL: *ABL* 267,14; Lehnstaedt, *Prozessionsdarstellungen*, no. K76, pl. 4,3; G.C. Nordquist, 'Instrumental Representations of Greek Cult', *The Iconography of Greek Cult in the Archaic and Classical Periods*, Congress Delphi 1990 (Delphi 1992) 148, n. 20; C. Scheffer, 'Competition, Consumption, and Cult in Archaic Black Figure', *The Iconography of Greek Cult in the Archaic and Classical Periods*, Congress Delphi 1990 (Delphi 1992) 117-41, no. 21A; Brandt, *Musikanten*, Cat. no. Attstf 19.

**N95. MALIBU 86.AE.251.**

Provenance: unknown.

Complete. Ht. 20.8 cm; diam. 7.7 cm; diam. mouth 4.4 cm; diam. foot 5.4 cm. Torus foot. Black-bodied, palmettes on shoulder.

BIBL: *CVA* 5, pl. 263.3-5.

**PELIKE**

**N96. ONCE MARKET.**

Prov: unknown.

Complete (?). Ht. 33.7 cm. Hanging lotus on top of panel, net-bands at the sides.

A: Athena and giant; B: 'hunter, hound at his feet, attendant figure behind'.



BIBL: *Sotheby's London*, 12-13 Dec. 1983, lot no. 387.

## KALPIS

### N97. ONCE GERMAN MARKET

Prov: unknown.

Complete. Ht. 28.6 cm. Hanging lotus on top of shoulder, net-bands at the side of panel.

A: Dionysos seated between maenad and satyr

BIBL: S.F. Ohlig, *Idole und Votive, Frühe Sinnbilder und Objecte aus Religion und Mythos*, Antiken-Kabinet Berndt Gackstätter, Katalog 4 (Frankfurt 2000) no. 78.

## COLUMN-KRATER

### N98. ONCE SWISS MARKET.

Prov: unknown.

White-ground.

(A-B): symposium.

BIBL: Mertens, *AWG*, 81-82, no. 2, pl. 11.2 (attribution to the Theseus Painter by H.A. Cahn).

## OLPAI

(All attributed by C. Fournier-Christol)

### N99. PARIS, Louvre FrCp 150.

Prov: unknown

Fragmentary. Ht. 22.6 cm.

Peleus and Thetis.

BIBL: C. Fournier-Christol, *Catalogue des olpés du Louvre* (Paris 1992) 107, no. 45, 162, no. 45/121, pls. 32, 34; Clark, *Olpai and Oinochoai*, no. 491.

### N100. ONCE BASLE MARKET.

Prov: unknown.

Complete (?).

Warrior.

BIBL: *MuM* 12-17 Febr. 1980, no. 78; C. Fournier-Christol, *Catalogue des olpés du Louvre*

(Paris 1992) 162, no. 119.

### N101. BERLIN St. Mus. 400.

Prov: unknown.

Peleus and Thetis.

BIBL: *Monatshefte* 11, 1918, pl. 10.8; C. Fournier-Christol, *Catalogue des olpés du Louvre* (Paris 1992) 162, no. 120.

## CUP-SKYPHOS

### N102. THERA.

Prov: Thera.

Complete (?).

A-B: Dionysos on a donkey/mule and satyrs with baskets.

BIBL: Hatzidakis, *Cup-skyphoi*, no. 420; *Praktika* 1975.A, 231, pl. 213a.

## LOUTROPHOROI

### N103. ATHENS 1959 NAK 931.

Prov: Athens, Nympheion.

Fragmentary. Ht. 38.1 cm; diam. rim 10.9 cm; diam. foot 7.5 cm.

A-B: procession with Sphinx.

BIBL: Papadopoulos Kanelopoulos, *Hiero*, no. 476, pl. 94

### N104. ATHENS 1957 Aa 263.

Prov: Athens, Nympheion

Fragmentary. Max. ht. 22.3 cm.

(A-B): Sphinxes.

BIBL: Papadopoulos Kanelopoulos, *Hiero*, no. 480, pl. 95.

### N105. ATHENS 1957 Aa 245.

Prov: Athens, Nympheion

Fragment. Max. ht. 12 cm; max. w. 10.0 cm.

(A): chariot, people, horse, deer.

BIBL: Papadopoulos Kanelopoulos, *Hiero*, no. 473, pl. 93.

## DUTCH SUMMARY

### De Theseus-schilder. Stijl, vaasvormen en iconografie

Dit proefschrift is ten dele een schildersmonografie die de specifieke kenmerken van een kunstenaar, in dit geval beter gezegd een ambachtsman, tracht te benoemen. Daarnaast is het echter ook een poging om deze afzonderlijke schilder in en bredere context van o.a. werkplaatsconnecties, en iconografische invloeden en betekenissen te plaatsen. Het boek bevat een tekstdeel waarin een inleiding, dertien afzonderlijke hoofdstukken en een 'summary' zijn opgenomen. De hoofdstukken zijn in twee delen – A en B – onderverdeeld. Het eerste deel behandelt formele aspecten zoals stijl, de verschillende beschilderde vaasvormen, mogelijke verbanden tussen de schilder en afzonderlijke aardewerk-werkplaatsen, ontwikkeling (fasering) en chronologie, en de verspreiding van de vazen die door deze schilder zijn beschilderd. In dit deel komen ook vazen aan de orde die door schildershanden nabij de Theseus-schilder zijn beschilderd. In het tweede deel van dit proefschrift worden de voor de Theseus-schilder specifieke iconografie en mogelijke achtergronden daarvan besproken. Voorts zijn toegevoegd een catalogus met vazen die aan de Theseus-schilder en schilders in zijn nabijheid kunnen worden toegeschreven, 16 tabellen, 82 afbeeldingen, waaronder lijn- en profieltekeningen en een verspreidingskaart, en 65 platen met foto's van vazen van de hand van de Theseus-schilder.

De naam 'Theseus-schilder' is een alias voor deze Atheense vaasschilder, die werkzaam was rond 500 v. Chr. in de zogenaamde zwartfigurige techniek, en die niet van enige naamgevende signatuur bekend is. In 1936 werd deze schilder als afzonderlijk herkenbare schildershand door C.H.E. Haspels geïdentificeerd. Zij was ook verantwoordelijk voor de naam waaronder deze schilder nu bekend staat. De Theseus-schilder is een van de laatste nog redelijk competente Attische vaasschilders die in de zwartfigurige techniek werken.

De stijl van de Theseus-schilder kan als zeer karakteristiek worden omschreven. Vooral de incisies (met een naald gegraveerde lijnen over de in zwarte 'kleiverf' vaak nogal grof geschilderde contouren van figuren, dieren en objecten heen) zijn zeer kenmerkend. De anatomie van menselijke figuren wordt accuraat maar vaak met relatief weinig detail in vloeiende, vaak krullende, lijnen neergezet. In veel gevallen worden afzonderlijke onderdelen zoals sleutelbeen, schoudercontour en markering van de biceps in een ononderbroken lijn weergegeven. Dieren worden in veel gevallen met meer oog voor detail getekend. Ook het tamelijk uitbundig gebruik van 'steunkleuren' is een kenmerkend element van de Theseus-schilder. Het ook bij andere schilders vaak gebruikte rood en wit wordt ook door de Theseus-schilder veelvuldig toegepast. Maar daarnaast wordt door de Theseus-schilder ook veel geel gebruikt. Dit komt bij andere schilders veel minder vaak voor.

Haspels was de eerste die een corpus van werken van de Theseus-schilder samenstelde. In totaal schreef zij 77 vazen aan de Theseus-schilder toe. Toevoegingen (evenals sommige afwijzingen van toegeschreven werken) door andere geleerden hebben ervoor gezorgd dat op dit moment het bekende oeuvre van de Theseus-schilder uit 211 vazen bestaat. In tegenstelling tot de meeste contemporaine laat zwartfigurige vaasschilders zijn schilderijen van de Theseus-schilder bekend van een relatief grote verscheidenheid aan uiteenlopende vaasvormen: skyphoi (verreweg de grootste groep met 126 stuks), lekythoi (25), loutrophoroi (14), pelikai en kyathoi (beide 9 stuks), drinkschalen (6) en een cup-skyphos, olpai en oinochoai (respectievelijk 2 en 6 stuks), alabastra (5), kalpides (4), een bord en drie onbepaalde fragmenten.

De vaasvormen die de Theseus-schilder beschilderde lijken te zijn verbonden aan een ongewoon grote variëteit van niet aan elkaar gerelateerde werkplaatsen. Skyphoi zijn verbonden aan de Krokotos/White Heron werkplaats, lekythoi en een aantal oinochoiai stammen uit de werkplaats waarin ook de Athena-schilder actief was. Andere lekythoi worden met de werkplaats van de Beldam-schilder geassocieerd. De grote pelikai en kalpides van de Theseus-schilder kunnen in verband worden gebracht met de werkplaats van de Nikoxenos- en Eucharides-schilder, twee van de oinochoai kan men verbinden aan de Leagros groep. Een aantal drinkschalen van het zogenaamde C-type komen vooral voor bij schilders van de Haimon Groep, terwijl een aantal andere drinkschalen en een cup-skyphos in nauw verband staan met de

schilder van Nicosia C 975. Andere vaasvormen zijn helemaal niet met specifieke groepen schilders of pottenbakkers werkplaatsen te verbinden, maar behoren ook niet bij bovenstaande groepen.

De door de Theseus-schilder beschilderde vazen zijn dus te verdelen in groepen die uit werkplaatsen stammen die niet aan elkaar gerelateerd lijken te zijn. Dit lijkt in tegenstelling te staan tot wat meestal gebruikelijk was, zeker voor zover het laat zwartfigurig aardewerk betreft. Mogelijke verklaringen kunnen zijn dat de Theseus-schilder werkzaam was als 'freelance' schilder die regelmatig van werkplek wisselde, of hij werkte in een op schilders gerichte werkplaats die zijn potten van elders betrok. Gezien het bovenstaande lijkt het echter niet waarschijnlijk dat de Theseus-schilder zelf als pottenbakker actief was.

Er is een duidelijke ontwikkeling in de stijl van de Theseus-schilder te bespeuren. Hij begint zijn carrière op skyphoi in de Krokotos werkplaats. De beschildering en incisie zijn tamelijk stijf en hebben nog veel karakteristieken van de Krokotos Groep. Dit is de vroege fase. Op latere vazen verschijnt duidelijker de typische stijl van de Theseus-schilder, met de karakteristieke vloeiende en krullende incisies. Deze groep bestaat nog steeds voornamelijk uit skyphoi, maar er zijn ook enkele andere vaasvormen bij. Dit is de 'midden' periode. In de volgende fase, de overgang tussen midden en laat, treedt er een zekere mate van maniërisme in de incisies op. Detaillering (voor zover aanwezig) neemt af, en de incisie wordt soms wat hoekiger. In deze fase is de skyphos nog steeds de dominante vaasvorm, al is het formaat vaak een stuk groter dan in de voorafgaande periodes. In de late fase zet de bovengenoemde stilistische trend zich voort, al is nu het belangrijkste medium de lekythos geworden (weer naast enkele andere vormen) en lijkt de Theseus-schilder geen skyphoi meer te beschilderen. De ontwikkeling eindigt met de zeer late fase die wordt gekenmerkt door een grote neergang in artistieke vaardigheid, met zeer rudimentaire en slordige incisies, en in één geval zelfs helemaal zonder.

Aan deze stilistische ontwikkeling is ook een absolute chronologie te koppelen. Deze valt te destilleren uit vergelijkingen met andere schilders, maar ook door dateringen en vergelijkingen van vondsten in graven e.d. Deze chronologie valt als volgt samen met de stilistische ontwikkeling: vroeg: 515/510-505 v. Chr., midden: 505-495 v. Chr., overgang midden-laat: 495-490 v. Chr., laat: 490-485 v. Chr., zeer laat: 485-480 v. Chr.

Voor zover bekend hebben vazen van de Theseus-schilder een relatief grote geografische verspreiding binnen het Middellandse zeegebied gehad. Toch zijn vooral in 'Grieks' gebied veel van de vazen van de Theseus-schilder gevonden: ten eerste het Griekse vasteland en dan vooral Athene, maar ook in Magna Graecia (het zuiden van Italië) en dan met name Tarente en omgeving. Dit hangt mogelijk samen met de vorm en functie van de vazen (in dit geval vooral de skyphoi) die Grieken blijkbaar meer aanspraken dan bijvoorbeeld de Etrusken.

De schilderijen van de Theseus-schilder laten een grote variëteit aan onderwerpen zien: goden (vooral Athena, Dionysos en Hermes), helden (met name Herakles en Theseus), aan mythologie gerelateerde onderwerpen (althoewel relatief weinig 'narratieve' mythologische scènes, zoals bijvoorbeeld de Trojaanse cyclus) en scènes die met allerlei facetten uit het dagelijks leven in verband kunnen worden gebracht.

Opvallend is, dat relatief veel van de aan de Theseus-schilder toe te schrijven voorstellingen op een of andere manier bijzonder zijn: ze komen niet of zelden voor bij andere schilders, danwel alleen bij schilders in zijn 'naaste' omgeving. De meest sprekende voorbeelden zijn: Herakles die een vrouwelijk monster aan een leiband voorttrekt, een leeuw berijdende amazone of Arimasps tegenover een griffioen-achtig monster, Dionysos in een scheepskar. Vaak is bij dit soort voorstellingen de precieze betekenis lastig te bepalen.

Een tamelijk grote hoeveelheid van de voorstellingen van de Theseus-schilder zijn min of meer 'religieus' getint. Soms zijn deze zeer specifiek zoals rituele processies en offers, of voorstellingen met altaren. In andere gevallen lijkt die connotatie minder voor de hand liggend, zoals bij de komoi van de Theseus-schilder, die soms ook als processies worden geïnterpreteerd. In enkele gevallen kunnen scènes ook verwijzen naar het theater. Een dergelijke toename in cultische en theatrale scènes is trouwens in mindere mate in de hele laat zwartfigurige vaasproductie te bespeuren.

De mogelijke motieven voor dergelijke voorkeuren voor onderwerpen zijn zeer moeilijk te achterhalen. Misschien speelden persoonlijke voorkeuren van de schilder een rol. Ook is het mogelijk dat, in termen van gebruik, de positie van laat zwartfigurig aardewerk een dergelijke voorkeur voor specifieke onderwerpen dicteerde. Een andere factor kan ook van invloed zijn geweest: veel van de



religieus/rituele voorstellingen van de Theseus-schilder komen voor op zijn skyphoi, en er zijn redenen om aan te nemen dat de skyphoi van het type dat de Theseus-schilder beschilderde onder andere mogelijk een rituele of anderszins feestelijke functie hebben gehad. Helaas is een rituele gebruiks-context voor skyphoi van dit type veel minder duidelijk dan bij andere vormen, zoals bijvoorbeeld loutrophoroi met hun funeraire associaties. Desondanks lijkt het op dit moment de enige mogelijkheid om dit fenomeen te verklaren.



## Tables and graphs





	Haspels		ABV		Para		Total		
	Total	lek.	Total	lek.	Total	lek.	Total	Total lek.	% lek.
Gela P.	203	176	35	21	40	33	278	230	82.74
Edinburgh P.	87	56	30	8	22	15	139	79	56.83
Sappho P.	60	50	3	3	11	9	74	69	93.24
Diosphos P.	161	101	34	25	15	10	210	136	64.76
Athena P.	141	111	15	14	24	23	180	148	82.22
Theseus P.	77	14	40	4	40	5	167	23	14.65
Theseus P. currently							211	25	11.85

Table 1. Percentages of lekythoi in the total known production of major black-figure painters, including the Theseus Painter, as based on the numbers in Haspels and Beazley. The Theseus Painter's current statistics are noted at the bottom.

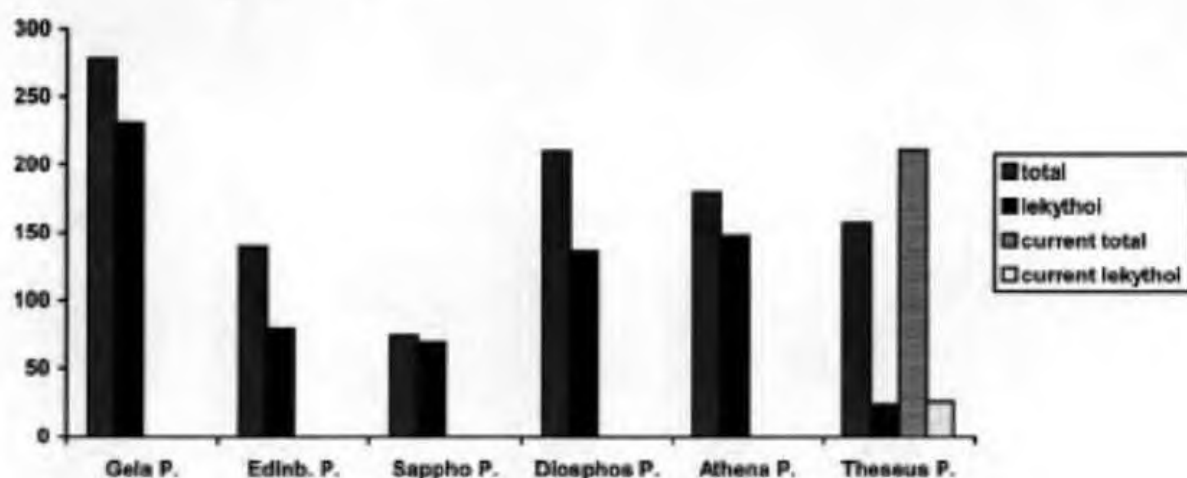


Table 2. Bar graph of the data in Table 1. The two bars on the far right represent the Theseus Painter's current totals for all vases and for lekythoi only.

CAT-No	INV NO	FOOT	PHASE	HT	DIAM	RATIO HT : DIAM.
4	Winchester, College Museum	T1	1	15.3	21.7	1:1.418
33	Naples 81.159	T1	2	16.0	22.5	1:1.406
1	Syracuse 26857	T1	1	16.0	22.5	1:1.406
6	Boston 99.523	T1	1	15.7	22.0	1:1.401
18	London 1926.11.15.1	T1	2	16.4	22.9	1:1.396
13	Taranto 4447	C2	2	15.9	22.1	1:1.390
42	New York 06.1021.49	T1	2	16.2	22.5	1:1.389
54	Copenhagen 6571	T1	2	16.7	23.0	1:1.377
41	Stuttgart KAS 74	T1	2	16.5	22.7	1:1.376
8	London B 79	T1	2	16.5	22.6	1:1.370
14	Taranto 4448	C2	2	16.0	21.9	1:1.369
44	Taranto 4449	C2	2	16.4	22.3	1:1.360
40	Tampa 86.52	T1	2	16.5	22.4	1:1.358
9	Bologna C 44	T1	2	16.3	22.1	1:1.356
20	Dresden ZV 1680	T1	2	18.5	25.0	1:1.351
30	Toledo 63.27	T1	2	16.7	22.5	1:1.347
27	Bari, Cotecchia coll.	T1	2	16.6	22.2	1:1.337
32	New York, White and Levi coll.	T1	2	16.8	22.4	1:1.333
22	Syracuse 53263	C2	2	17.0	22.6	1:1.329
24	Naples 81.154	T1	2	17.0	22.3	1:1.312
7	Mississippi 1977.3.69	T1	2	17.1	22.3	1:1.304
9	London 1902.12.-18.3	C2	2	18.1	23.6	1:1.304
11	Havana, Lagunillas coll.	T1	2	16.9	22.0	1:1.3012
37	once Basle market	T1	2	17.0	22.0	1:1.294
45	Agora P 1544	C2	2	18.8	24.2	1:1.287
35	Greifswald 197	T1	2	17.2	22.0	1:1.279
19	Mt. Holyoke College Art museum 1925 BS	T1	2	17.2	22.0	1:1.279
68	Bonn 1646	T1	3	18.0	23.0	1:1.278
49	Amsterdam 290	T1	2	17.8	22.7	1:1.275
34	once Basle market	C2	2	17.1	21.8	1:1.275
50	Taranto IG 4591	C2	2	17.0	21.5	1:1.265
64	Harvard 60.321	T1	2	17.4	22.0	1:1.264
53	Athens NM 13916	T1	2	17.6	22.2	1:1.261
16	Monopoli, private coll.	C2	2	18.2	22.8	1:1.253
55	Brussels R 327	T1	2	18.0	22.5	1:1.250
70	Conservatori	T1	3	25.0	31.0	1:1.240
38	Lecce 560	T1	2	17.5	21.5	1:1.229
26	once Helgoland, Kropatscheck coll.	C2	2	18.5	22.7	1:1.227
57	Haverford EA-1989-4	T1	2	18.1	22.1	1:1.221
70	St. Petersburg 4498	T1	3	24.5	29.2	1:1.192
80	Athens NM 498	D3	3	17.0	19.7	1:1.159
75	once US Market	T1	3	26.0	28.9	1:1.077
73	Delos 6142	D3	3	30.0	32.0	1:1.067
74	Delos 6138	T1	3	27.5	28.5	1:1.036

Table 3a. Skyphoi of the Theseus Painter: type of foot, height, diameter and, on the far right, ratio of height to diameter of the complete skyphoi. In the right-hand column, for example, the uppermost ratio 1:1.4183 means that the diameter equals 1.4183 times the height. The skyphoi are listed according to the decrease in the proportional width of the diameter. Phases: 1, early; 2, middle; 3, transitional from middle to late.



CAT-NO	INV NO	FOOT	MOUTH	PERIOD	HT	DIAM
125	Armonk, Pinney coll.	Torus	Echinus	3	33.2	-
126	Goulandris coll. 265	Torus	Echinus	3	34	12.6
127	once Philadelphia market	Torus	Echinus	3	31.7	-
128	San Antonio 86.134.54	Torus	Echinus	3	31.2	11.4
129	Kerameikos 5671	Inward curving	Echinus	3	-	-
130	once Lucerne Market	Inward curving	Echinus	3	30	-
131	Cambridge G 3.1955	Inward curving	Echinus	3	36	13
132	Naples Stg 118	Inward curving	Echinus	3	28.4	10.9
133	German private coll.	Concave	Echinus	4	24	-
134	Palermo R 32	Concave	Echinus	4	-	9.5
135	Brussels A 1953	Torus	Echinus	4	24	9
136	Athens NM 515	Concave	Echinus	4	26.2	8.8
137	Syracuse 33501	Concave	Echinus	4	-	-
138	London BM 1904.7-8.5	Disk	Echinus	4	16.5	6.4
139	Athens NM 9684	Concave	Echinus	4	-	-
140	Oxford 1934.372	Concave	Echinus	4	21.1	7
141	Louvre CA 1837	Concave	Echinus	4	-	-
142	Athens NM 9686	Concave	Echinus	4	26.5	8.8
143	Bonn 307	Concave	Echinus	4	26	-
144	Erlangen I 238	Concave	Echinus	4	-	-
145	Berlin 2005	Concave	Echinus	5	-	-
146	Boston 21.277	Concave	Chimney	5	-	-
147	once Paris, Peyrefitte coll.	Concave	Chimney	5	22.5	-
148	London, Embiricos coll.	Concave	Echinus	?	-	-

Table 3b. Lekythoi of the Theseus Painter: type of foot and mouth, and dimensions. Phases: 3, transitional from middle to late; 4, late; 5, very late.

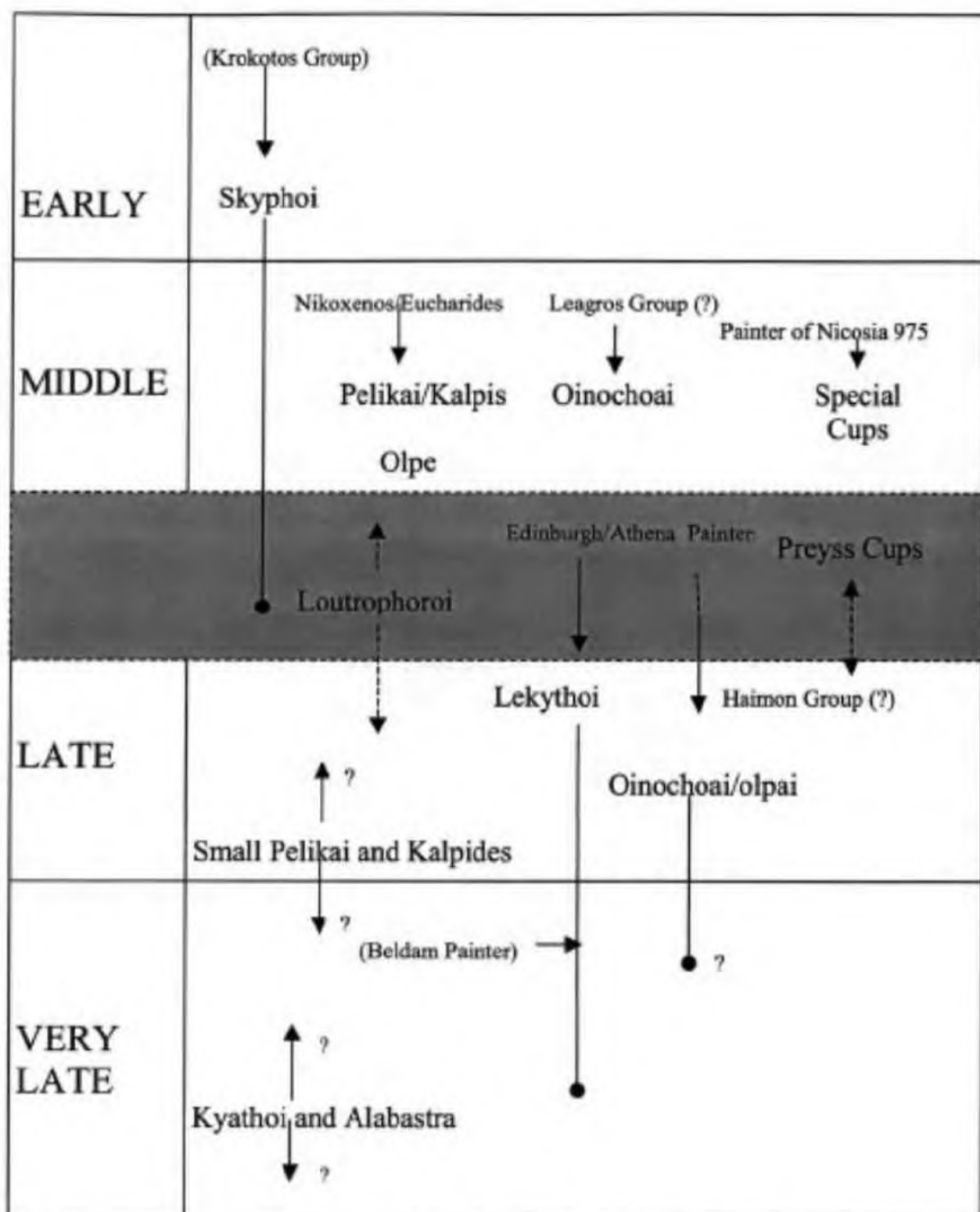


Table 4. Theseus Painter: shape and workshop affiliations.

Table 5a. Changes over time in four incised features of the Theseus Painter's male figures, from left to right, early to late.





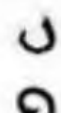






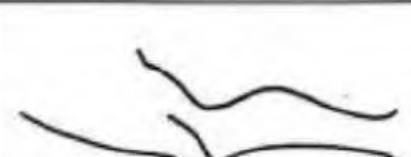
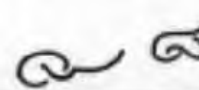
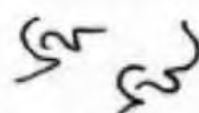
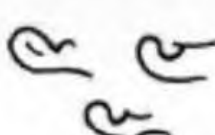
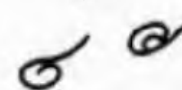

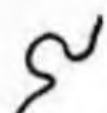






	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	
Eyes								
Legs								
Ears								
Fore-locks								



Table 5b. The features illustrated in Table 5a correlated with the Theseus Painter's five phases (selection of vases). The phases are separated by thickened lines and numbered in the right-hand column: 1, early; 2, middle; 3, transitional; 4, late; 5, very late. Corresponding with Table 5a, the stages of the four incised features are classified under columns A-G across the top. Their occurrences are indicated by shaded blocks: black for eyes, grey for legs, light grey for ears, dark grey for forelocks.

CAT NO	INV NO	SHAPE	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	phase
1	Syracuse 26857	Skyphos								1
2	Acropolis 1281	Skyphos								1
3	New York 17.230.9	Skyphos								1
5	Acropolis 1271	Skyphos								1
4	Winchester College	Skyphos								1
6	Boston 99.523	Skyphos								1
7	Muskhini 1877.3.69	Skyphos								2
8	London B 79	Skyphos								2
9	Bologna C 44	Skyphos								2
10	Guardia Perticara	Skyphos								2
11	Havana, Lagunillas coll.	Skyphos								2
12	Amsterdam 2804	Skyphos								2
13	Taranto 4447	Skyphos								2
14	Taranto 4448	Skyphos								2
15	Acropolis 1306	Skyphos								2
16	Monopoli, private coll.	Skyphos								2
17	London 1926.11.15.1	Skyphos								2
18	London 1902.12.-18.3	Skyphos								2
19	Mt Holyoke 1925 BS II.3	Skyphos								2
20	Dresden ZV 1680	Skyphos								2
22	Syracuse 53263	Skyphos								2
23	Marseilles 7017	Skyphos								2
24	Naples 81.154	Skyphos								2
25	Agora P 1545	Skyphos								2
26	once Helgoland Kropatscheck	Skyphos								2
27	Bari, Cotecchia coll.	Skyphos								2
28	Agora P 1543	Skyphos								2
29	Laon 37996	Skyphos								2
30	Toledo 63.27	Skyphos								2
31	Corinth C-70-33	Skyphos								2
32	New York, White and Levi	Skyphos								2
33	Naples 81159	Skyphos								2
34	once Basle market	Skyphos								2
37	once Basle market	Skyphos								2
38	Lecce 560	Skyphos								2
39	Basle, Cahn coll. HC 1405	Skyphos								2
40	Tampa 86.52	Skyphos								2
41	Stuttgart KAS 74	Skyphos								2
42	New York 06.1021.49	Skyphos								2
43	Amsterdam 2159	Skyphos								2
44	Taranto 4449	Skyphos								2
45	Agora P 1544	Skyphos								2
46	Agora P 1548	Skyphos								2
47	Agora P 1549	Skyphos								2
48	Agora P 1547	Skyphos								2
49	Amsterdam 290	Skyphos								2
50	Taranto IG 4591	Skyphos								2
51	Basle, Cahn coll. HC 1469	Skyphos								2
52	Pisa P 695	Skyphos								2

CAT NO	INV NO	SHAPE	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	phase
53	Athens NM 13916	Skyphos								2
54	Copenhagen 6571	Skyphos								2
55	Brussels R 327	Skyphos								2
56	Agora P 1546	Skyphos								2
57	Haverford College 1969-4	Skyphos								2
58	Amsterdam 2178	Skyphos								2
59	Acropolis 1276	Skyphos								2
60	Agora P 23174	Skyphos								2
61	San Antonio 86.134.51	Skyphos								2
63	Corinth C 37-2323	Skyphos								2
64	Harvard 60.321	Skyphos								2
65	Thasos	Skyphos								2
66	Acropolis 1282	Skyphos								2
67	Malibu 86.AE.152	Skyphos								2
150	Malibu 71.AE.297	Pelike								2
151	Columbia 81.2	Pelike								2
152	San Antonio 86.134.157	Pelike								2
159	London BM B 346	Hydria								2
163	Athens NM 13262	Oipe								2
165	Louvre F 342	Oinochoe								2
166	London B 513	Oinochoe								2
171	Malibu 96.AE.96	Cup								2
172	Agora P 1384	Cup								2
165	Agora P 1383	Cup-skyphos								2
68	Bonn 1546	Skyphos								3
69	Basle Cahn Coll. HC ?	Skyphos								3
70	Conservatori	Skyphos								3
71	St. Petersburg 4498	Skyphos								3
72	Delos 6140	Skyphos								3
73	Delos 6142	Skyphos								3
74	Delos B 6136	Skyphos								3
75	once US Market	Skyphos								3
76	Acropolis 1280	Skyphos								3
77	Acropolis 1290	Skyphos								3
78	Kanellopoulos 842	Skyphos								3
79	Salemo	Skyphos								3
80	Athens NM 498	Skyphos								3
81	Corinth C 69-57	Skyphos								3
125	Ammonk, Pinney coll.	Lekythos								3
126	Goulondria coll. 265	Lekythos								3
127	once Philadelphia market	Lekythos								3
128	Keramikos 5671	Lekythos								3
129	San Antonio 86.134.54	Lekythos								3
130	once Lucerne Market	Lekythos								3
131	Cambridge G.3.1955	Lekythos								3
132	Naples Stg 118	Lekythos								3
173	London B 446	Cup								3
174	Taranto 6515	Cup								3
175	Salemo 158a	Cup								3
178	Oxford 1930.620	Loutrophoros								3
179	Dresden ZV 2006	Loutrophoros								3
180	Keramikos	Loutrophoros								3
181	Basle, Cahn coll HC 382	Loutrophoros								3
133	German private coll.	Lekythos								4
134	Palermo R 32	Lekythos								4
135	Brussels A 1953	Lekythos								4
136	Athens NM 515	Lekythos								4
137	Syracuse 33501	Lekythos								4

CAT NO	INV NO	SHAPE	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	phase
136	London 1904.7-8.5	Lekythos								4
141	Louvre CA 1837	Lekythos								4
142	Athens NM 9686	Lekythos								4
143	Bonn 307	Lekythos								4
145	Berlin 2005	Lekythos								4
153	Port Sunlight 5019	Pelike								4
154	Munich 1678	Pelike								4
155	Naples 81082	Pelike								4
156	Cab. des Médailles 250	Pelike								4
161	Uppsala	Hydria								4
162	Utrecht 29	Hydria								4
164	Berlin 3230	Oipe								4
167	Petit Palais 313	Oinochoe								4
168	once, Brussels, Theodor	Oinochoe								4
169	Adolphseck 13	Oinochoe								4
146	Boston 21 277	Lekythos								5
147	once Paris, Peyrefitte coll.	Lekythos								5
193	Malibu 86.AE.147	kyathos								5
192	Malibu 86.AE.146	kyathos								5
194	Philadelphia L-64-540	kyathos								5
195	Erfangen I 522	kyathos								5
196	Heidelberg S 53	kyathos								5
197	Omaha 1936.484	kyathos								5
198	once Basle market	Kyathos								5
201	Havana, Lagunillas coll	Alabastron								5
202	once Basle market	Alabastron								5
203	once Basle market	Alabastron								5
204	Palermo 660	Alabastron								5



Table 6a. Provenances of the Theseus Painter's pottery: Cyrene, Italy, Greece. Numbers of vases per site.

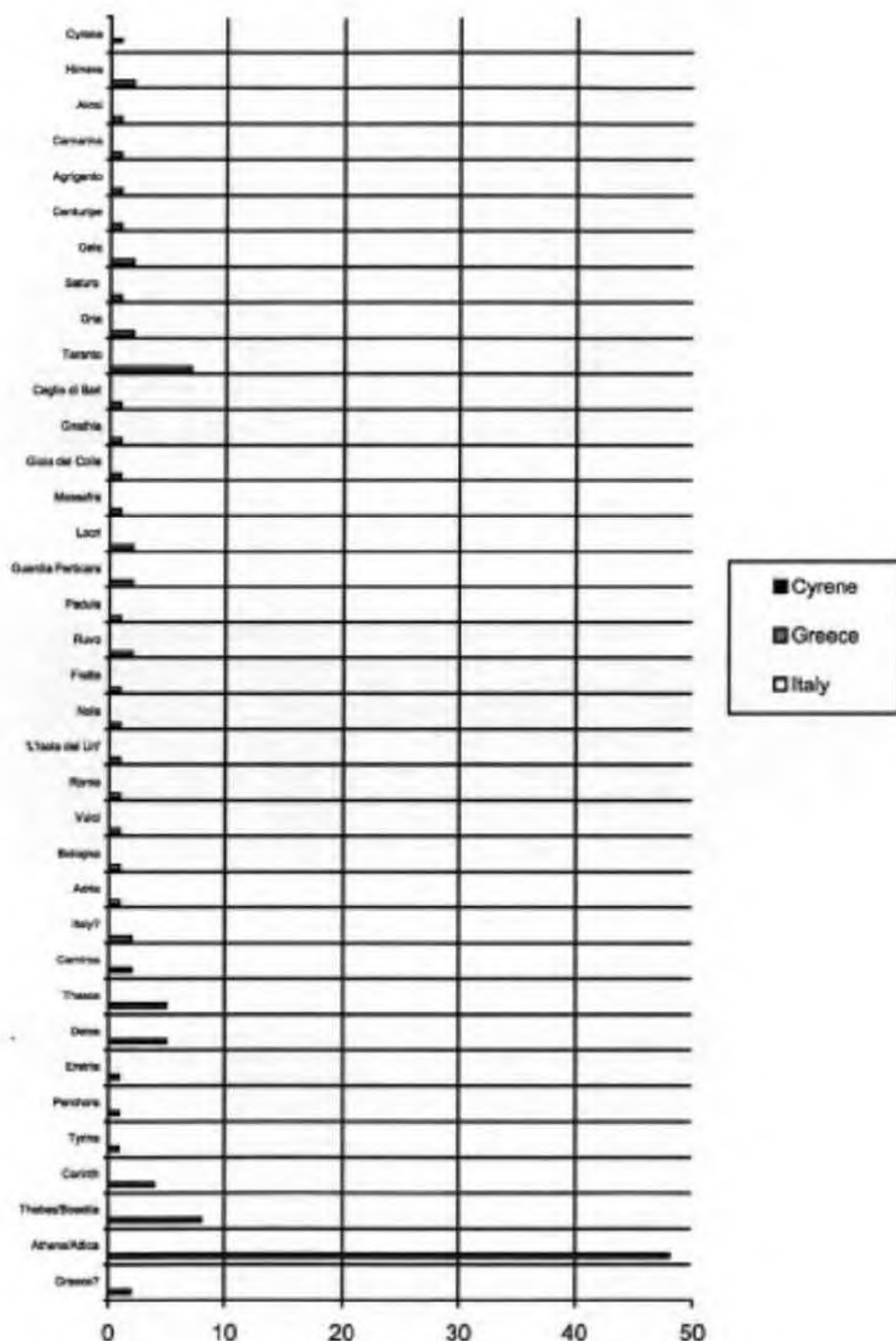


Table 6b. Provenances of the Theseus Painter's pottery: numbers of skyphoi and of all other shapes from the different find-places (alphabetically arranged).

Provenance	Number of skyphoi	Number of other shapes	Total
Akrai	1		1
Adria	1		1
Agrigento		1	1
Athens, various	5	11	16
Acropolis	14	2	16
Agora	13	2	15
'Attica'		1	1
Boeotia	4		4
Bologna	1		1
Camarina	1		1
Camiros		2	2
Ceglie di Bari		1	1
Centuripe	1		1
Corinth	4		4
Cyrene	1		1
Delos	5		5
Eretria		1	1
Fratte		1	1
Gela		2	2
Gnathia	1		1
'Greece'	1	1	2
Guardia Perticara	2		2
Himera	2		2
'L'Isola del Liri'	1		1
'Italy'		1	1
'Italy (southern)'		1	1
Locri	2		2
Massafra	1		1
Monte Sannace	1		1
Nola		1	1
Oria	2		2
Padula	1		1
Perachora	1		1
Rome	1		1
Ruvo	2		2
Saturo	1		1
Tachy Potniai	1		1
Taranto	7		7
Thasos	5		5
Thebes	1	2	3
Tyrrins	1		1
Vari		1	1
Veredemmia	1		1
Vulci		1	1

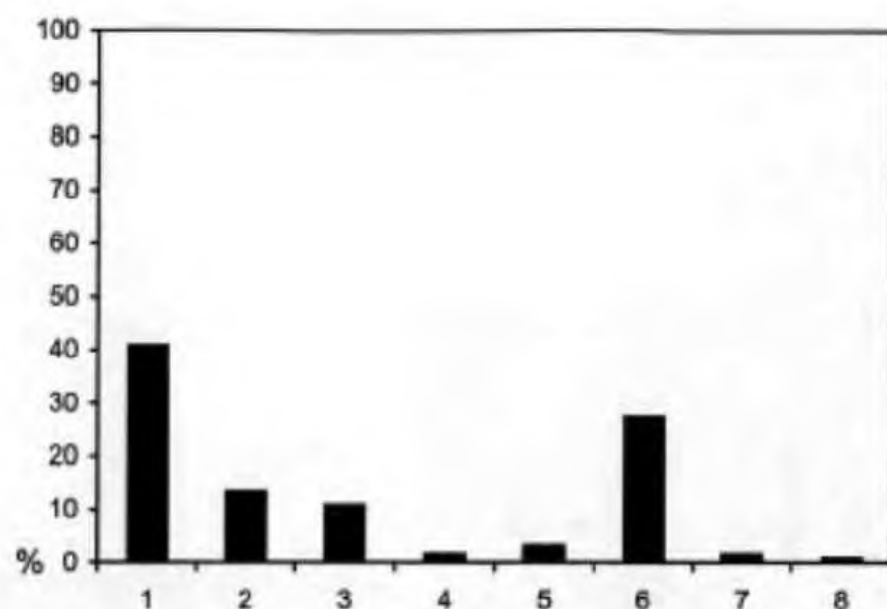


Table 7. Provenances of the Theseus Painter's pottery: percentages at the find-places. 1, Athens/Attica; 2, elsewhere in mainland Greece; 3, other Greek areas (Delos, Rhodes, Thasos); 4, Greece, unspecified; 5, northern and central Italy; 6, southern Italy; 7, Italy, unspecified; 8, others.

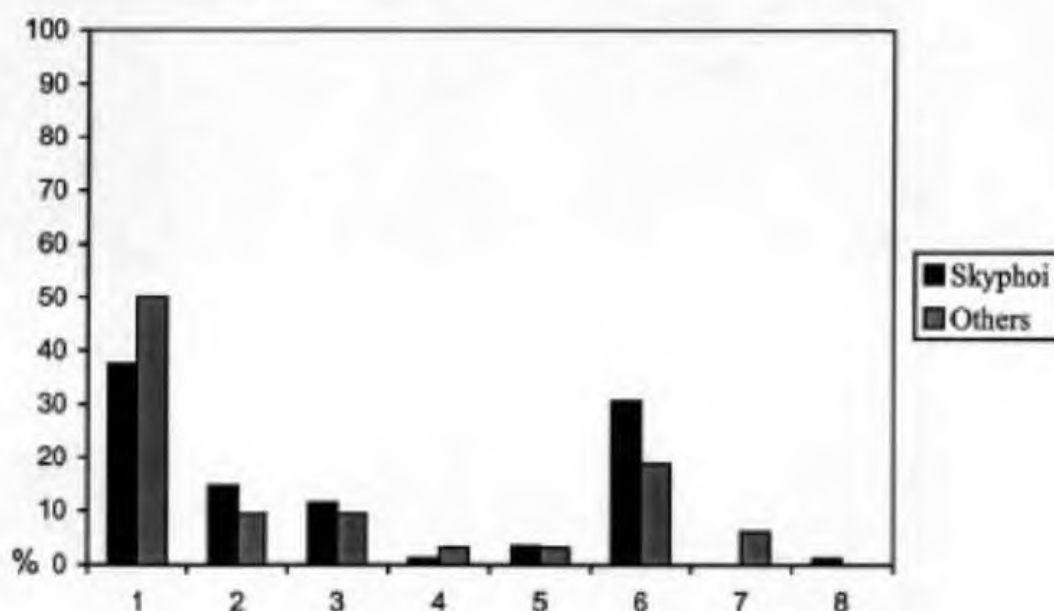


Table 8. Provenances of the Theseus Painter's skyphoi and other shapes: percentages at the find-places. 1, Athens/Attica; 2, elsewhere in mainland Greece; 3, other Greek areas (Delos, Rhodes, Thasos); 4, Greece, unspecified; 5, northern and central Italy; 6, southern Italy; 7, Italy, unspecified; 8, others.



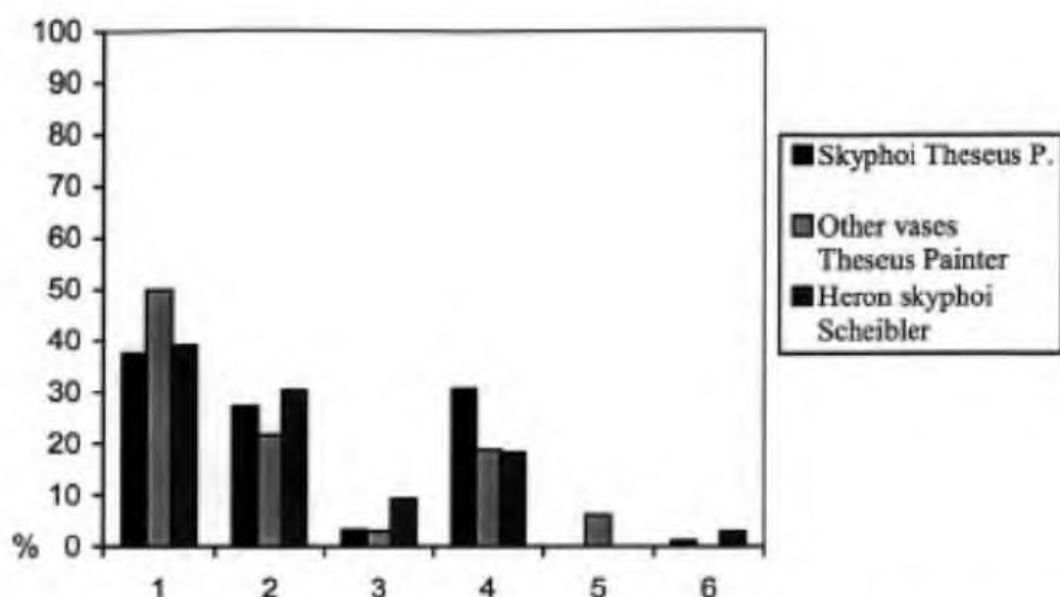


Table 9. Provenances of the Theseus Painter's skyphoi and other shapes: percentages at the find-places and Scheibler's numbers for the 'White Heron skyphoi'. 1, Athens/Attica; 2, other Greek areas (including Greece unspecified); 3, northern and central Italy; 4, southern Italy (Sicily included for the Theseus Painter); 5, Italy, unspecified; 6, others.

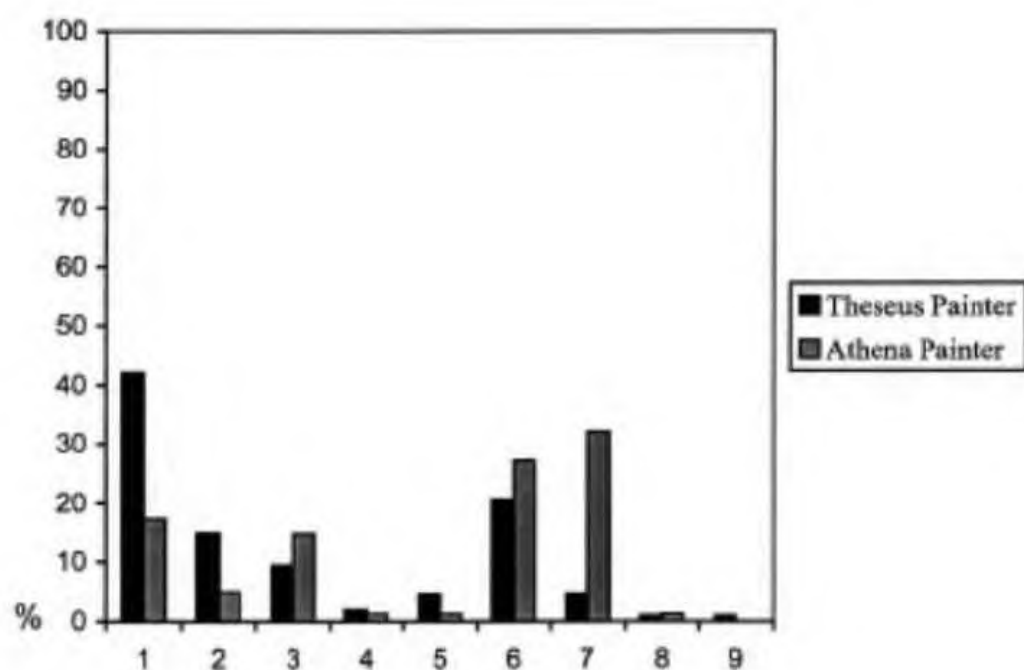


Table 10. Provenances of the pottery of the Theseus Painter and the Athena Painter (roughly): percentages at different find-places. 1, Athens/Attica; 2, elsewhere in mainland Greece; 3, other Greek areas (Delos, Thasos and Rhodos for the Theseus Painter); 4, Greece, unspecified; 5, northern and central Italy; 6, southern Italy; 7, Sicily; 8, Italy, unspecified; 9, others. Sicily shows the most significant difference in the distribution of the work of these painters.

Table 11 a. Provenances and contexts of the Theseus Painter's pottery, insofar as known or suspected, listed alphabetically according to find-place. Only 116 of the Theseus Painter's 211 vases and fragments have any indication of provenance. Sometimes the provenance is very general, like Greece or Boeotia; quite often it is much more specific, like the Athenian Acropolis or the Delian Heraion. However, the specific information about the individual contexts is extremely scarce, which limits the provenances' documentary usefulness. Nevertheless some conclusions can be drawn.

CAT- NUMBER	INV NO	SHAPE	PROVENANCE	CONTEXT
8	London B 79	Skyphos	Akrai	?
101	Adria	Skyphos	Adria	Settlement?
134	Palermo R 32	Lekythos	Agrigento	?
123	Athens	Skyphos	Athens	-
124	Athens	Skyphos	Athens	-
80	Athens NM 498	Skyphos	Athens	-
191	Athens	Loutrophoros	Athens	-
93	Athens NAK 1959 NAK 740	Skyphos	Athens	-
4	Winchester College Museum	Skyphos	Athens	-
207	Athens BSA A 380	Fr.	Athens	-
7	Mississippi 1977.3.69	Skyphos	Athens ?	-
5	Acropolis 1271	Skyphos	Athens, Acropolis	Sanctuary
209	Acropolis 843	Fr.	Athens, Acropolis	Sanctuary
94	Acropolis 1295	Skyphos	Athens, Acropolis	Sanctuary
208	Acropolis 847	Fr.	Athens, Acropolis	Sanctuary
2	Acropolis 1281	Skyphos	Athens, Acropolis	Sanctuary
113	Acropolis 1286	Skyphos	Athens, Acropolis	Sanctuary
66	Acropolis 1282	Skyphos	Athens, Acropolis	Sanctuary
88	Acropolis 1296	Skyphos	Athens, Acropolis	Sanctuary
85	Acropolis 1307	Skyphos	Athens, Acropolis	Sanctuary
83	Acropolis 1312	Skyphos	Athens, Acropolis	Sanctuary
76	Acropolis 1280	Skyphos	Athens, Acropolis	Sanctuary
15	Acropolis 1306	Skyphos	Athens, Acropolis	Sanctuary
77	Acropolis 1290	Skyphos	Athens, Acropolis	Sanctuary
82	Acropolis 1265	Skyphos	Athens, Acropolis	Sanctuary
59	Acropolis 1276	Skyphos	Athens, Acropolis	Sanctuary
84	Acropolis 1311	Skyphos	Athens, Acropolis	Sanctuary
177	Agora P 1383	Cup-skyphos	Athens, Agora	Settlement?
172	Agora P 1384	Cup	Athens, Agora	Settlement?
21	Agora P 1550-1	Skyphos	Athens, Agora	Settlement?
25	Agora P 1545	Skyphos	Athens, Agora	Settlement?
28	Agora P 1543	Skyphos	Athens, Agora	Settlement?
96	Agora P 13373	Skyphos	Athens, Agora	Settlement?
45	Agora P 1544	Skyphos	Athens, Agora	Settlement?
46	Agora P 1548	Skyphos	Athens, Agora	Settlement?
47	Agora P 1549	Skyphos	Athens, Agora	Settlement?
60	Agora P 23174	Skyphos	Athens, Agora	Settlement?
48	Agora P 1547	Skyphos	Athens, Agora	Settlement?
95	Agora P 9273	Skyphos	Athens, Agora	Settlement?
104	Agora P 259913	Skyphos	Athens, Agora	Settlement?
106	Agora P 6177	Skyphos	Athens, Agora	Settlement?
56	Agora P 1546	Skyphos	Athens, Agora	Settlement?
129	Athens, Kerameikos	Lekythos	Athens, Kerameikos	Funerary (?)
179	Athens, Kerameikos	Loutrophoros	Athens, Kerameikos	Funerary (?)
188	Athens NA 1957Aa 2241	Loutrophoros	Athens NA	Sanctuary (?)

CAT- NUMBER	INV NO	SHAPE	PROVENANCE	CONTEXT
186	Athens NA 1957 Aa 229	Loutrophoros	Athens NA	Sanctuary (?)
190	Athens NA 1957 Aa 2258	Loutrophoros	Athens NA	Sanctuary (?)
187	Athens NA 1957 Aa 2237	Loutrophoros	Athens NA	Sanctuary (?)
189	Athens NA 1957 Aa 2251	Loutrophoros	Athens NA	Sanctuary (?)
182	Athens 1957 Aa 193	Loutrophoros	Athens NA	Sanctuary
178	Dresden ZV 2006	Loutrophoros	Attica	-
29	Laon 37996	Skyphos	Boeotia	-
115	Berlin 4528	Skyphos	Boeotia	-
35	Greifswald 197	Skyphos	Boeotia	-
18	London 1902.12.-18.3	Skyphos	Boeotia	-
9	Bologna C 44	Skyphos	Bologna	Funerary
1	Syracuse 26857	Skyphos	Camarina	?
173	London B 446	Cup	Camiros	?
159	London B 346	Hydria	Camiros	?
174	Taranto 6515	Cup	Ceglie di Bari	?
22	Syracuse 53263	Skyphos	Centuripe	Funerary
97	Corinth KP 2773	Skyphos	Corinth	?
31	Corinth C-70-33	Skyphos	Corinth	Sanctuary (?)
81	Corinth C 69-57	Skyphos	Corinth	Sanctuary (?)
63	Corinth C 37-2323	Skyphos	Corinth	Settlement?
100	Cyrene 278.12-14	Skyphos	Cyrene	Sanctuary
111	Delos	Skyphos	Delos	-
73	Delos B 6142	Skyphos	Delos (Heraion)	Sanctuary
72	Delos 6140	Skyphos	Delos (Heraion)	Sanctuary
74	Delos B 6138	Skyphos	Delos (Heraion)	Sanctuary
86	Delos B 6667	Skyphos	Delos, (Heraion)	Sanctuary
143	Bonn 307	Lekythos	Eretria	-
175	Salerno 158a	Cup	Fratte	Funerary
137	Syracuse 33501	Lekythos	Gela	Funerary
169	Adolphseck 13	Oinochoe	Gela ?	-
16	Monopoli, private coll.	Skyphos	Gnathia	Funerary (?)
20	Dresden ZV 1680	Skyphos	Greece	-
201	Havana, Lagunillas coll	Alabastron	Greece	-
10	Guardia Perticara	Skyphos	Guardia Perticara	Funerary
36	Guardia Perticara	Skyphos	Guardia Perticara	Funerary
62	Himera	Skyphos	Himera	-
107	Himera	Skyphos	Himera	-
164	Berlin 3230	Oipe	Italy	-
154	Munich 1678	Pelike	Italy (S)	-
54	Copenhagen 6571	Skyphos	l'Isola del Liri	?
98	Locri	Skyphos	Locri	-
120	Reggio	Skyphos	Locri	Funerary (?)
38	Lecce 560	Skyphos	Massafra	Funerary (?)
92	Gloia del Colle	Skyphos	Monte Sannace	-
156	Naples 81082	Pelike	Nola	Funerary (?)
21 bis	Oria	Skyphos	Oria	-
81 bis	Oria	Skyphos	Oria	-
79	Salerno	Skyphos	Padula	?
99	Athens P 3725	Skyphos	Perachora	?
70	Conservatori	Skyphos	Rome (Tiber?)	-
24	Naples 81154	Skyphos	Ruvo	Funerary (?)
33	Naples 81159	Skyphos	Ruvo	Funerary (?)



CAT-NUMBER	INV NO	SHAPE	PROVENANCE	CONTEXT
80	Satyrion	Skyphos	Saturo	?
121	Thebes	Skyphos	Tachy Potrial	?
13	Taranto 4447	Skyphos	Taranto	Funerary
14	Taranto 4448	Skyphos	Taranto	Funerary
44	Taranto 4449	Skyphos	Taranto	Funerary
50	Taranto 4591	Skyphos	Taranto	Funerary
58	Amsterdam 2178	Skyphos	Taranto	Funerary (?)
43	Amsterdam 2159	Skyphos	Taranto	Funerary (?)
52	Pisa P 695	Skyphos	Taranto	Funerary (?)
89	Thasos 1117	Skyphos	Thasos	-
87	Thasos 1167	Skyphos	Thasos	-
103	Thasos 1243	Skyphos	Thasos	-
105	Thasos 889	Skyphos	Thasos	-
65	Thasos	Skyphos	Thasos (Artemision)	Sanctuary
49	Amsterdam 290	Skyphos	Thebes	Funerary (?)
138	London BM 1904.7-8.5	Lekythos	Thebes	Funerary (?)
180	Oxford 1930.620	Loutrophoros	Thebes?	Funerary (?)
91	Navplion	Skyphos	Tyrins	-
185	Athens	Loutrophoros	Vari	Funerary (?)
64	Harvard 1960.321	Skyphos	Veredemmia	Funerary (?)
165	London B 513	Oinochoe	Vulci	Funerary (?)

Table 11 b. Three general contexts in which the Theseus Painter's skyphoi and other shapes have been found: funerary, sanctuary, settlement (absolute numbers).

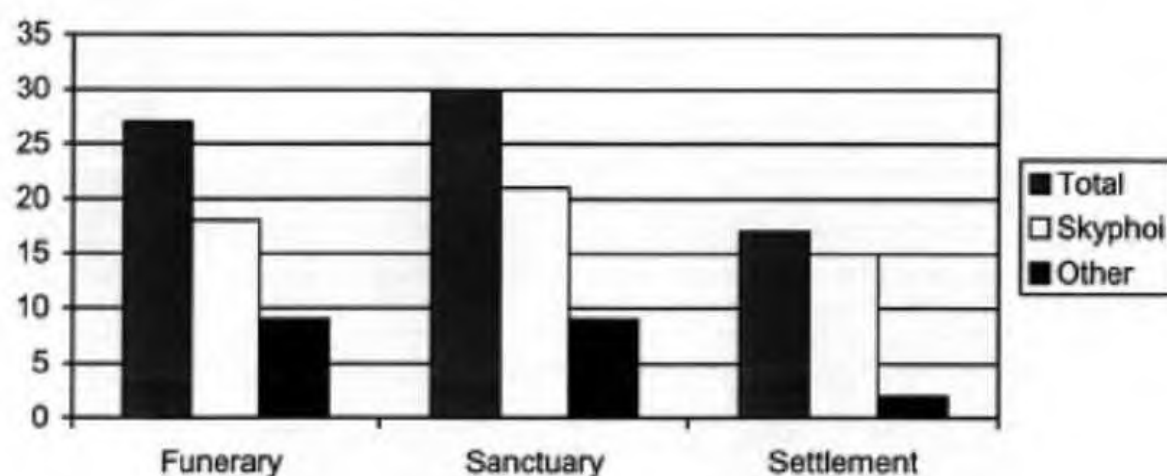


Table 12. Theseus Painter's subjects (arranged alphabetically, not broadly thematically as in the chapters on iconography).

Each single representation of a subject is individually listed below, whereas in the text a subject which appears on either side of the same vase, like many skyphoi, is considered once only. Therefore the subjects number 291 below, whereas the general catalogue comprises 211 entries. The table shows that many of the Theseus Painter's unusual subjects are met on his skyphoi. Furthermore, some individual subjects seem to be narrowly linked to specific shapes. For example, prothesis scenes on loutrophoroi are hardly remarkable. Other subjects, however, may not be obviously associated with the shape, like the various scenes of meat-handling or butchering seen on the majority of the cups. Another instance is the Apollo of large kalpides. The right-hand column notes the Theseus Painter's chronological phases: 1, early; 2, middle; 3, transitional from middle to late; 4, late; 5, very late; x, unknown. The phases of several loutrophoroi are given as 2/3 because I am uncertain whether they belong to the painter's middle or transitional phase.

NO	CAT NO	SUBJECT	INV NO	SHAPE	SIDE	PHASE
1	6	Amazon or Arimasps and griffin	Boston 99.523	Skyphos	A	1
2	10	Amazon or Arimasps and griffin	Guardia Perticara	Skyphos	A	2
3	71	Apollo and muses	St. Petersburg 4498	Skyphos	A	3
4	116	Apollo and muses	Berlin?	Skyphos	A-B?	x
5	159	Apollo and muses	London BM B 346	Kalpis	A	2
6	160	Apollo and muses	Madrid 10930	Kalpis	A	4
7	125	Apollo, Artemis Leto and Tyti	Armonk, Pinney coll.	Lekythos	R	3
8	209	Apollo	Acropolis 843	Fr.	A	x
9	21,1	Athena	Oria OR 502-645	Skyphos	A	2
10	83	Athena and owl	Acropolis 1312	Skyphos	A	x
11	85	Athena in a procession	Acropolis 1307	Skyphos	A	x
12	73	Athena in a sanctuary (?)	Delos B 6142	Skyphos	A	3
13	73	Athena in a sanctuary (?)	Delos B 6142	Skyphos	B	3
14	82	Athena, owl, snake, cock and column	Acropolis 1265	Skyphos	A	x
15	208	Athletes?	Acropolis 847	Fr.	A	x
16	132	Autolepny and dog between man	Naples stg 118	Lekythos	R	3
17	113	Bird on white zigzag	The Hague 2135	Skyphos	A	x
18	84	Birds on an altar?	Acropolis 1311	Skyphos	A	U
19	157	Boys running	Louvre F 391	Pelike	A	x
20	157	Boys running	Louvre F 391	Pelike	B	3
21	171	Butcher? Man cutting up a tuna	Malibu 96.AE.96	Cup	A	2
22	171	Butcher? Man carrying a tuna	Malibu 96.AE.96	Cup	B	2
23	172	Butcher? Man holding meat?	Agora P 1383	Cup	A	2
24	175	Butcher? Youth carrying a leg of an ox	Salerno 158A	Cup	I	3
25	131	Chariot, horses and men	Cambridge G.3.1955	Lekythos	R	3
26	148	Concert?	once Athens market	Lekythos	R	x
27	197	Dionysos (?) mounting a chariot	Omaha 1936.484	Kyathos	R	5
28	153	Dionysos and Ariadne seated?	Port Sunlight 5019	Pelike	B	2
28,1	80	Dionysos' image, satyr and maenad dancing	Athens NM 498	Skyphos	A	x
29	88	Dionysos and female seamonster	Bonn 1846	Skyphos	A	3
30	88	Dionysos and female seamonster	Bonn 1846	Skyphos	B	3
31	69	Dionysos and female seamonster	Basle, Cahn coll?	Skyphos	A	3
32	115	Dionysos and female seamonster	Berlin 4528	Skyphos	A-B?	x
34	134	Dionysos and satyrs	Palermo, Collisani coll.	Lekythos	R	4
35	7	Dionysos in a donkey cart	Mississippi 1977.3.69	Skyphos	A	2
36	7	Dionysos in a donkey cart	Mississippi 1977.3.69	Skyphos	B	2
37	114	Dionysos in a donkeycart	Acropolis 1286	Skyphos	A-B?	x
38	2	Dionysos in a ship-cart	Ath. Acropolis 1281	Skyphos	A	1
39	8	Dionysos in a ship-cart	London B 79	Skyphos	A	2
40	166	Dionysos on a donkey and satyrs	London BM B 513	Oinochoe	A	2

NO	CAT NO	SUBJECT	INV NO	SHAPE	SIDE	PHASE
41	108	Dionysos with satyr and Hermes	once Basle market	Skyphos	A-B?	x
42	153	Dionysos/Hephaistos on a donkey	Port Sunlight 5019	Pelike	A	2
43	129	Dolphinriders and autosplayer	Kerameikos 5761	Lekythos	R	3
44	198	Dionysos with satyrs and maenads	once Basle Market	Kyathos	R	5
45	54	Ephedrismos	Copenhagen 6571	Skyphos	A	2
46	54	Ephedrismos	Copenhagen 6571	Skyphos	B	2
47	55	Ephedrismos	Brussels R 327	Skyphos	A	2
48	55	Ephedrismos	Brussels R 327	Skyphos	B	2
49	56	Ephedrismos	Agora P 1546	Skyphos	A	2
50	56	Ephedrismos	Agora P 1546	Skyphos	B	2
51	57	Ephedrismos	Haverford EA 1989-4	Skyphos	A	2
52	57	Ephedrismos	Haverford EA 1989-4	Skyphos	B	2
53	58	Ephedrismos	Amsterdam 2178	Skyphos	A	2
54	58	Ephedrismos	Amsterdam 2178	Skyphos	B	2
55	59	Ephedrismos (?)	Acropolis 1276	Skyphos	A	2
56	60	Ephedrismos	Agora P 23174	Skyphos	A	2
57	61	Ephedrismos (?)	San Antonio 86.134.51	Skyphos	A	2
58	62	Ephedrismos (?)	Himera H 72.679	Skyphos	A	2
59	63	Ephedrismos (?)	Corinth C 37-2323	Skyphos	A	2
60	105	Female figure to left, white heron	Thasos 889	Skyphos	A	x
61	119	Fight?	Basle, Cahn coll.?	Skyphos	A	x
62	149	Fight?	London, Embiricos coll.	Lekythos	R	x
63	79	Forge?	Salerno	Skyphos	A	x
64	79	Forge?	Salerno	Skyphos	B	x
65	101	Goat	Adria	Skyphos	A	x
66	102	Goat	Harvard 1995.18.30	Skyphos	A	x
67	107	Goat	Himera	Skyphos	A	x
68	206	Goat	Chicago 967.115.256	Plate	I	2
69	106	Goat and knee of a man	Agora P 6177	Skyphos	A	x
70	126	Hephaistos, and giants	Athens Goulandris coll.	Lekythos	R	3
70,1	90	Herakles	Satyrion	Skyphos	A	x
71	176	Herakles	Winchester college	Cup	I	x
72	23	Herakles and a seamonster	Marseilles 7017	Skyphos	A	2
73	23	Herakles and a seamonster	Marseilles 7017	Skyphos	B	2
74	14	Herakles and Alkyoneus	Taranto 4448	Skyphos	A	2
75	109	Herakles and Alkyoneus	once Athens market	Skyphos	A?	x
76	135	Herakles and Alkyoneus	Brussels A 1953	Lekythos	R	4
77	74	Herakles and Ares (?) reclining, shaking hands	Delos B 6138	Skyphos	B	3
78	92	Herakles and Athena?	Gloia del Colle MG 308-315	Skyphos	A	x
79	173	Herakles and Dionysos reclining	London B 446	Cup	A	3
80	13	Herakles and Helios	Taranto 4447	Skyphos	A	2
81	13	Herakles and Helios	Taranto 4447	Skyphos	B	2
82	25	Herakles and Hermes reclining	Agora P 1545	Skyphos	A	2
83	25	Herakles and Hermes reclining	Agora P 1545	Skyphos	B	2
84	26	Herakles and Hermes reclining	once Helgoland, Kropatscheck	Skyphos	A	2
85	26	Herakles and Hermes reclining	once Helgoland, Kropatscheck	Skyphos	B	2
86	27	Herakles and Hermes reclining	Bari, Catecchia coll.	Skyphos	A	2
87	27	Herakles and Hermes reclining	Bari, Catecchia coll.	Skyphos	B	2
88	28	Herakles and Hermes reclining	Agora P 1543	Skyphos	A	2
89	75	Herakles and Hermes reclining	once US market	Skyphos	A	3
90	75	Herakles and Hermes reclining	once US market	Skyphos	B	3
91	173	Herakles and Hermes reclining	London BM B 446	Cup	B	3
92	127	Herakles and Hermes reclining and Pholos	once Philadelphia market	Lekythos	R	3
93	74	Herakles and Hermes reclining, shaking hands	Delos B 6138	Skyphos	A	3
94	91	Herakles and satyr playing autos	Nauplion	Skyphos	A	x



NO	CAT NO	SUBJECT	INV NO	SHAPE	SIDE	PHASE
95	88	Herakles and the birds?	Acropolis 1298	Skyphos	A	x
96	89	Herakles and the deer	Thasos 1117	Skyphos	A	x
97	11	Herakles and the lion	Havana, Lagunillas coll.	Skyphos	B	2
98	11	Herakles and the lion	Havana, Lagunillas coll.	Skyphos	A	2
99	147	Herakles and the lion	once Paris, Peyrefitte coll.	Lekythos	R	5
100	17	Herakles fighting amazons	London B 1926.11-15.1	Skyphos	A	2
101	17	Herakles fighting amazons	London B 1926.11-15.1	Skyphos	B	2
102	15	Herakles leading a female monster	Acropolis 1306	Skyphos	A	2
103	16	Herakles leading a female monster	Monopoli, private coll.	Skyphos	A	2
104	12	Herakles leading Kerberos	Amsterdam 2604	Skyphos	A	2
105	12	Herakles leading kerberos	Amsterdam 2604	Skyphos	B	2
106	22	Herakles mousikos	Syracuse 53263	Skyphos	A	2
107	22	Herakles mousikos	Syracuse 53263	Skyphos	B	2
108	24	Herakles reclining with satyr	Naples 81154	Skyphos	A	2
109	24	Herakles reclining with satyr	Naples 81154	Skyphos	B	2
110	193	Herakles reclining with satyrs	Malibu 86.AE.147	Kyathos	R	5
111	18	Herakles regaled by Athena, satyr	London 1902.12-18.3	Skyphos	A	2
112	18	Herakles regaled by Athena, satyr	London 1902.12-18.3	Skyphos	B	2
113	19	Herakles regaled by Athena, Hermes	Mt. Holyoke 1925.BS.II.3	Skyphos	A	2
114	19	Herakles regaled by Athena, Hermes	Mt. Holyoke 1925.BS.II.3	Skyphos	B	2
115	20	Herakles regaled by Athena, Hermes	Dresden ZV 1680	Skyphos	A	2
116	20	Herakles regaled by Athena, Hermes	Dresden ZV 1680	Skyphos	B	2
117	21	Herakles regaled by Athena?	Agora 1550-1	Skyphos	A	2
118	117	Herakles regaled by Athena	Basle (Kampli)	Skyphos	A-B?	x
119	72	Herakles shaking hands with Athena in a sanctuary	Delos B 6140	Skyphos	A	3
120	174	Herakles' statue	Taranto 6515	Cup	I	2
121	146	Herakles, Athena and Hermes	Boston 21.277	Lekythos	R	5
122	14	Hermes and cattle	Taranto 4448	Skyphos	B	2
123	109	Hermes and cattle	once Athens Market	Skyphos	B?	4
124	72	Hermes and Iris	Delos B 6140	Skyphos	B	3
125	86	Hermes on a goat?	Delos 6667	Skyphos	A	x
126	9	Hermes reclining with satyr and goats	Bologna C 44	Skyphos	A	2
127	9	Hermes reclining with satyr and goats	Bologna C 44	Skyphos	B	2
128	70	Hermes riding a goat	Conservatori	Skyphos	A	3
129	70	Hermes riding a ram	Conservatori	Skyphos	B	3
130	87	Hermes?	Thasos 1167	Skyphos	A	x
130,1	71	Hermes and 'nymphs	St. Petersburg 4498	Skyphos	B	3
131	33	Heroes at a mound	Naples 81159	Skyphos	A	2
132	33	Heroes at a mound	Naples 81159	Skyphos	B	2
133	34	Heroes at a mound	once Basle market	Skyphos	A	2
134	34	Heroes at a mound	once Basle market	Skyphos	B	2
134,1	200	Heroes at a mound	once Paris market	Kyathos	R	5
136	15	Hunt/sacrifice	Acropolis 1306	Skyphos	B	2
137	16	Hunt/sacrifice	Monopoli	Skyphos	B	2
138	177	Komast	Agora P 1384	Cup-skyphos	A	2
139	177	Komast	Agora P 1384	Cup-skyphos	B	2
140	45	Komos	Agora P 1544	Skyphos	A	2
141	45	Komos	Agora P 1544	Skyphos	B	2
142	46	Komos	Agora P 1548	Skyphos	A	2
144	47	Komos	Agora P 1549	Skyphos	A	2
145	48	Komos	Agora P 1547	Skyphos	A	2
146	49	Komos	Amsterdam 290	Skyphos	A	2
147	49	Komos	Amsterdam 290	Skyphos	B	2
148	50	Komos	Taranto 4591	Skyphos	A	2
149	50	Komos	Taranto 4591	Skyphos	B	2
150	51	Komos	Basle HC 1469	Skyphos	A	2

NO	CAT NO	SUBJECT	INV NO	SHAPE	SIDE	PHASE
151	52	Komos	Pisa P 695	Skyphos	A	2
152	142	Komos	Athens 9686	Lekythos	R	4
153	194	Komos	Philadelphia L-64-540	Kyathos	R	5
154	196	Komos	Heidelberg S 53	Kyathos	R	5
155	195	Komos	Erlangen I 522	Kyathos	R	5
156	156	Komos, youths with aulos	Naples 81082	Pelike	A	4
157	156	Komos, female fluteplayer, youth with amphora	Naples 81082	Pelike	B	4
158	96	Komos?	Agora P 13373	Skyphos	A	x
159	120	Komos?	Reggio	Skyphos	A	x
160	44	Komos? Dancers and flute player	Taranto 4449	Skyphos	A	2
161	44	Komos? Dancers and flute player	Taranto 4449	Skyphos	B	2
162	6	Lion in ambush and oxen	Boston 99.523	Skyphos	B	1
163	10	Lion in ambush and oxen	Guardia Perticara	Skyphos	B	2
164	4	Maenads on goats	Winchester, Coll. Museum	Skyphos	A	1
165	4	Maenads on goats	Winchester Coll. Museum	Skyphos	B	1
166	67	Man	Malibu 86.AE.152	Skyphos	A	2
167	104	Man	Agora P 25913	Skyphos	A	x
168	124	Man	Athens (?)	Skyphos	A	x
169	207	Man	Athens BSA A 380	Fr.	A	x
170	164	Man beating a boy	Berlin 3230	Olpe	A	4
171	158	Man embracing boy	London, Winslow coll.	Neck-pelike	A-B	x
172	97	Man or youth	Corinth KP 2773	Skyphos	A	x
173	103	Man or youth (lower body)	Thasos 1243	Skyphos	A	x
174	81	Man to right	Corinth C 69-57	Skyphos	A	3
175	81,1	Man to left	Oria OR 662.R	Skyphos	A	3
176	162	Man, youth, woman	Utrecht 29	Kalpis	A	4
177	99	Men and goats	Athens P 3728	Skyphos	A	x
178	98	Men and/or Youths	Locri	Skyphos	A	x
179	178	Men mourning	Dresden ZV 2006	Loutrophoros	A	2/3
180	179	Men mourning	Athens Kerameikos	Loutrophoros	A	2/3
181	180	Men mourning	Oxford 1930.620	Loutrophoros	A	2/3
182	183	Men mourning	once Athens market	Loutrophoros	A	x
183	155	Men riding donkeys	Cab. des Médailles 250	Pelike	A	4
184	155	Men riding donkeys	Cab. des Médailles 250	Pelike	B	4
185	53	Men standing around an amphora	Athens NM 13916	Skyphos	A	2
186	53	Men standing around an amphora	Athens NM 13916	Skyphosv	B	2
187	3	Nereus on a sea horse	New York 17.230.9	Skyphos	A	1
188	3	Nereus on a sea horse	New York 17.230.9	Skyphos	B	1
189	32	Odysseus and companions escaping	New York, White and Levi	Skyphos	A	2
190	32	Odysseus and companions escaping	New York, White and Levi	Skyphos	B	2
191	165	Odysseus blinding Polyphemos	Louvre F 342	Oinochoe	A	2
192	141	Odysseus escaping	Oxford 1934.372	Lekythos	R	4
193	121	Olpe	Thebes	Skyphos	A-B?	x
194	36	Ostrich riders	Guardia Perticara 15223	Skyphos	A	2
195	36	Ostrich riders	Guardia Perticara 15223	Skyphos	B	2
196	43	Palaestra	Amsterdam 2159	Skyphos	A	2
197	43	Palaestra	Amsterdam 2159	Skyphos	B	2
198	202	Palaestra	once Basle market	Alabastron	R	5
199	203	Palaestra	once Basle market	Alabastron	R	5
200	204	Palaestra	Palermo 660	Alabastron	R	5
201	205	Palaestra	once Philadelphia market	Alabastron	R	x
201,1	42	Palaestra? Boxers and trainer	New York 06.1021.49	Skyphos	B	2
202	42	Palaestra? Wrestlers and trainer	New York 06.1021.49	Skyphos	A	2
203	145	Paris' judgement	Berlin 2005	Lekythos	R	4/5
204	137	Peleus and Thetis	Syracuse 33501	Lekythos	R	4
205	138	Peleus and Thetis	London 1904.7-8.5	Lekythos	R	4

NO	CAT NO	SUBJECT	INV NO	SHAPE	SIDE	PHASE
206	199	Peleus and Thetis	once Philadelphia market	Kyathos	R	5
207	112	People	Cambridge AG 320	Skyphos	A	x
208	66	People and mule pulling something by a rope	Acropolis 1882	Skyphos	A	2
209	192	Perseus and Gorgons	Malibu 86.AE.146	Kyathos	R	5
210	139	Polyxena at the fountain, Achilles in ambush	Athens NM 9684	Lekythos	R	4
211	64	pottery workshop/harvest feast	Harvard 1960.321	Skyphos	A	2
212	64	pottery workshop/harvest feast	Harvard 1960.321	Skyphos	B	2
213	65	pottery workshop/harvest feast	Thasos	Skyphos	A	2
214	65	pottery workshop/harvest feast	Thasos	Skyphos	B	2
215	8	Procession	London B 79	Skyphos	B	2
216	40	Procession	Tampa 86.52	Skyphos	A	2
217	40	Procession	Tampa 86.52	Skyphos	B	2
218	41	Procession	Stuttgart KAS 74	Skyphos	A	2
219	41	Procession	Stuttgart KAS 74	Skyphos	B	2
220	182	Procession	Athens 1957 Aa 193	Loutrophoros	A	2/3
221	182	Procession	Athens 1957 Aa 193	Loutrophoros	B	2/3
222	184	Procession	Athens?	Loutrophoros	A	x
223	140	Procession (sacrificial?) towards a temple?	Louvre CA 1837	Lekythos	R	4
224	94	Procession towards a temple?	Acropolis 1295	Skyphos	A	4
225	80	Procession/komos	Athens NM 498	Skyphos	B	x
226	186	Procession?	Athens NA 1957 Aa 229	Loutrophoros	A	x
227	187	Procession?	Athens NA 1957 Aa 2237	Loutrophoros	A	x
228	188	Procession?	Athens NA 1957 Aa 2241	Loutrophoros	A	x
229	189	Procession?	Athens NA 1957 Aa 2251	Loutrophoros	A	x
230	190	Procession?	Athens NA 1957 Aa 2258	Loutrophoros	A	x
231	191	Procession?	Athens	Loutrophoros	A	x
232	181	Prothesis	Basle, Cahn coll. HC 382	Loutrophoros	A	2/3
233	201	Prothesis	Havana, Lagunillas coll.	Alabastron	R	5
234	185	Prothesis/mourers	New York, Love coll.	Loutrophoros	A	x
235	143	Pyrrhic dance	Bonn 307	Lekythos	R	4
236	152	Pyrrhic dance	San Antonio 86.134.157	Pelike	A	2
237	152	Pyrrhic dance	San Antonio 86.134.157	Pelike	B	2
238	168	Pyrrhic dance	once Brussels, Theodor coll.	Oinochoe	A	4
238,1	95	Sacrifice at an altar	Agora P 9273	Skyphos	A	x
239	173	Satyr and deer	London B 446	Cup	I	3
241	1	Satyr playing aulos between maenads	Syracuse 26857	Skyphos	A	1
242	1	Satyr playing trumpet between maenads	Syracuse 26857	Skyphos	B	1
243	93	Satyr, white heron and goat	Athens NAK 1959/1960.211	Skyphos	A	x
244	38	satyrs and deer	Lecce 560	Skyphos	A	2
245	38	satyrs and deer	Lecce 560	Skyphos	B	2
245,1	39	satyrs and deer?	Basle HC 1405	Skyphos	A	2
246	111	Satyr and goats	Delos	Skyphos	A	x
247	133	Satyrs and goats	once German private coll.	Lekythos	R	4
248	78	Satyrs dancing and hares	Kanellopoulos 842	Skyphos	A	3
249	78	Satyrs dancing and deer	Kanellopoulos 842	Skyphos	B	3
250	37	Satyrs making music	once Basle market	Skyphos	A	2
251	37	Satyrs making music	once Basle market	Skyphos	B	2
252	110	Satyrs making music	Eleusis 314	Skyphos	A-B?	x
253	118	Satyrs making music	Louvre Cp 108.56	Skyphos	A-B?	x
254	150	Satyrs making music, and goats	Malibu 71.AE.297	Pelike	A	2
255	150	Satyrs making music, and goats	Malibu 71.AE.297	Pelike	B	2
256	77	Satyrs making wine, with Dionysos and goddess?	Acropolis 1290	Skyphos	A?	3
257	35	Sirens making music	Greifswald 197	Skyphos	A	2
258	35	Sirens making music	Greifswald 197	Skyphos	B	2
259	128	Sirens making music	San Antonio 86.134.54	Lekythos	R	3
260	174	Symposium	Taranto 6515	Cup	A	3



NO	CAT NO	SUBJECT	INV NO	SHAPE	SIDE	PHASE
261	174	Symposium	Taranto 6515	Cup	B	3
262	176	Symposium	Winchester Coll. Museum	Cup	A	x
263	176	Symposium	Winchester Coll. Museum	Cup	B	x
264	76	Theseus and Athena shaking hands	Acropolis 1280	Skyphos	A	3
265	29	Theseus and Prokrustes	Laon 37996	Skyphos	A	2
266	30	Theseus and Prokrustes	Toledo 63.27	Skyphos	A	2
267	136	Theseus and Procrustes	Athens NM 515	Lekythos	R	4
268	31	Theseus and Prokrustes?	Corinth 70-33	Skyphos	A	2
269	76	Theseus and Sinis	Acropolis 1280	Skyphos	B	3
270	136	Theseus and Sinis	Athens NM 515	Lekythos	R	4
271	29	Theseus and skiron	Laon 37996	Skyphos	B	2
272	30	Theseus and skiron	Toledo 63.27	Skyphos	B	2
273	76	Theseus and Skiron	Acropolis 1280	Skyphos	B	3
274	167	Theseus and the bull	Petit Palais 313	Oinochoe	A	4
275	170	Thracian rider, and old man seated	once New York market	Oinochoe	A	x
276	144	Triptolemos and Demeter	Erlangen I 238	Lekythos	R	4
277	130	Warriors, horses and Scythian archer	once Lucerne market	Lekythos	R	3
278	5	Washermen	Acropolis 1271	Skyphos	A	1
279	151	Woman playing aulos, bystander	Columbia 61.2	Peilike	B	2
280	122	Youth	Villa Giulia	Skyphos	A	x
281	123	Youth	Athens?	Skyphos	A	x
282	163	Youth	Athens NM 13262	Olpe	A	2
283	100	Youth and goat	Cyrene 378.13	Skyphos	A	x
284	151	Youth playing lyre, goat, bystander	Columbia 61.2	Peilike	A	2
285	161	Youth with sheep and bull at an altar	Uppsala 352	Kalpis	A	4
286	154	Youths around a krater	Munich 1678	Peilike	A	4
287	154	Youths around a krater	Munich 1678	Peilike	B	4
288	169	Youths dancing with 'bust-hemets'	Adolphseck	Oinochoe	A	4

Table 13. Theseus Painter's subjects compared to those of other late black-figure painters.

A Athena Painter (ABL, Beazley and additional finds)

E Edinburgh Painter (ABL and Beazley)

G Gela Painter (ABL and Beazley)

S Sappho Painter (ABL and Beazley)

D Diosphos Painter (ABL and Beazley)

SUBJECTS	A	E	G	S	D
Amazon or Arimasps fighting griffin					
Apollo and muses			x		
Apollo and Artemis, Tityos and Leto					
Athena with owls	x				
Athena in her sanctuary (?)					
Autol player and man					
Boys running					
Boys with spears					
Butcher (?)					
Butcher (?) Man with tuna					
Chariot		x			
Concert?			x		
Dionysos mounting a chariot		x	x		
Dionysos and Ariadne (?)					
Dionysos and female sea monster					
Dionysos' image, satyr and maenad dancing			x		
Dionysos in a donkey/mule cart			x		
Dionysos in ship-cart					
Dionysos/Hephaistos on a donkey/mule	x		x	x	
Dionysos reclining with satyrs			x		
Dionysos, satyr, Hermes?					
Dionysos, satyrs, maenads	x	x			
Dolphin riders	x				
Ephedrimos		(x)			
Fight	x	x		x	x
Forge?					
Hephaistos and giants					
Herakles and a sea monster				x	x
Herakles and Alkyoneus				x	
Herakles and Ares (?) reclining					
Herakles and Dionysos reclining				(x)	
Herakles and Helios				x	
Herakles and Hermes reclining					
Herakles (and Hermes reclining) and Pholoe			x		
Herakles and the Birds (?)	x				
Herakles and the Deer					
Herakles and the Lion	x	x		x	x
Herakles in amazonomachy	x	x		x	
Herakles leading female monster	x				
Herakles and Kerberos		x			
Herakles 'Mousikos'					
Herakles reclining with satyrs					
Herakles regaled by Athena					
Herakles shaking hands with Athena					
Herakles as statue (?)					
Herakles, Athena and Hermes		x			
Herakles (tondo)					
Hermes and cattle					
Hermes and Iris (?)					
Hermes and nymphs					
Hermes reclining on a goat		x			
Hermes reclining on a ram					
Hermes reclining with goats and satyr					

SUBJECTS	A	E	G	S	D
Heroes seated at a mount	X				
Komos (procession)	x		x		
Lion hunting oxen					
Maenads on goats					
Man beating boy with sandal					
Man courting boy (?)					
Man, youth, woman: 'Frauengemach'					
Men on mules					
Men mourning					
Men standing around a krater					
Nereus/Poseidon on a seahorse	x				
Odysseus and Polyphemos					
Odysseus escaping				x	x
Oil press					
Ostrich riders					
Palaestra	x	x	x		x
Paris, judgement	x	x			x
Peleus and Thetis	x			x	x
Perseus and Gorgons					
People pulling something with a thick rope					
Polyxena at the fountain	x	x		x	
Pottery workshop/harvest feast					
Procession/sacrifice		(x)	x		
Prothesis				x	
Pyrrhic dance	x				
Satyr on rock, numbering the flock	x				
Satyrs and deer					
Satyrs and hare					
Satyrs making music	x		x		
Satyrs making wine			x		
Satyr(s) and goats	x				
Sirens making music, bystanders	x				
Symposion			x		
Theseus and Athena at the labyrinth					
Theseus and Prokrustes					x
Theseus and Sinis					
Theseus and Skiron					
Theseus and the Bull	x	x			x
Thracian rider, old man seated					
Triptolemos		x	x		
Warriors and horses					
'Washermen'					
Woman playing aulos, bystanders					
Youths around a krater					
Youths dancing with bust-helmets					



Table 14. Mingazzini's "White Heron Painter".

The skyphoi Mingazzini assigned to this painter have proved to be by various hands. Evidently stylistic analysis played little or no part in his appraisal, the white herons below the handles presumably being decisive. Nevertheless, many of the 65 skyphoi in his list (pp. 314-16) are indeed attributable to the Theseus Painter: nos.1, 3-4, 8-10, 14, 16, 18A-20, 23-24, 34, N-O, Q, U, Y-Z, ZC-ZD. The remaining skyphoi can be given to a wide range of painters and groups: Painter of the Nicosia Olpe (315.28), Krokotos Painter (314.13, 314.25), Krokotos Group (315.33, 316.V), Krokotos Group or Sub-Krokotos Group (314.12, 316.W-X), Hydra Painter (Sub-Krokotos Group, 314.5), Painter of Philadelphia 5481 (314.5, 314.7, 314.17, 315.M), Heron Group (314.11-12, 316.ZE), near the Theseus Painter (314.2), near the CHC Group (314.15). Mingazzini listed the small fragment

Tübingen 314.11A (see above chapter IX.3) depicting a procession with Dionysos in a ship-cart which may remind one of the Theseus Painter's skyphoi with the same subject. The CVA Tübingen 3 (with pl. 6.4) however, states that the fragment belongs to a closed shape, thus not a skyphos. Lastly, several skyphoi in Mingazzini's list cannot be traced by me because he referred to them not by inventory number but by publication, nor did he give any indications of the their subjects.

Mingazzini	Descr./Inv. no./Publ.	Attribution/Publ.
314.1	Acropolis 1280	Theseus Painter Cat no. 76
314.2	AA 1914, 34, fig. 1-2	St. Petersburg B 404, Gorbunova <i>Ermitazhe</i> , 52, no. 32 'weird Theseus skyphos'
314.3	JHS 1911, 5, fig. 4-5	London BM 1902.12-18.3, Theseus Painter Cat no. 18
314.4	AA 1900, 111, fig. 13	Dresden ZV 1680, Theseus Painter Cat no. 20
314.5	Athens C.C. 791	Athens 635, CVA 4, pl. 36, Painter of Philadelphia 5481?
314.6	Athens C.C. 792	Athens 416, CVA 4, pl. 32, 34 Hydra Painter
314.7	AJA 1901, 174-5, fig. 1-2	AJA 1922, 174-5, fig. 1-2, name vase Philadelphia 5481
314.8	Pellegrini, <i>Necr. Felsinea</i> 129; Zannoni, pl. 76	Bologna 129, Theseus Painter Cat no. 9
314.9	Acropolis 1281	Theseus Painter Cat no. 2
314.10	London BM B 79	Theseus Painter Cat no. 8
314.11	Pellegrini, <i>Necr. Felsinea</i> , 130, fig. 23	Bologna 130, Heron Group
314.11A	Watzinger D 53, pl. 13	CVA Tübingen 3, pl. 6.4, closed shape, ship-cart of Dionysos
314.12	Athens N.C. 928	Athens 12584, CVA 4, pl. 38 Krokotos/ Sub-krokotos Group
314.13	De Ridder, I 343	Cab. Méd. 343, Krokotos Painter
314.14	Acropolis 1314	<b>Cat. no. N47</b>
314.15	Athens N.C. 923	Athens 12267, CVA 4, pl. 58, near the CHC Group
314.16	Athens C.C. 820 <sup>12a</sup>	Athens 498 = Theseus Painter Cat no. 80
314.17	Heinemann, <i>Land. El.</i> 75, fig. 13	Gorbunova, <i>Ermitazhe</i> , 149-50, no. 119, Painter of Philadelphia 5481
314.18	JHS 19 (1899) 227, fig. 7-8	Naples 81159, Theseus Painter Cat no. 33
314.18A	Acropolis 1265	Theseus Painter Cat no. 82
314.18B	Acropolis 1307	Theseus Painter Cat no. 85
314.19	Acropolis 1306	Theseus Painter Cat no. 15
314.20	CVA Copenhagen 1, pl. 119.9	CVA 3, pl. 119.9, 6571, Theseus Painter Cat no. 54
314.21	AA 1895, 34, n. 22, fig. 8-9	Berlin 3283, White Heron Group (?)
314.22	Robinson 372	-
314.23	Tillyard, <i>Hope</i> , pl. 7	N.Y. 17.230.9, Theseus Painter Cat no. 3
314.24	Hambridge, <i>Dynamic Symmetry</i> 104, pl.	N.Y. 06.1021.49, Theseus Painter Cat no. 42
314.25	Heinemann, <i>Land. El.</i> 76, fig. 14	St. Petersburg B 402, Gorbunova <i>Ermitazhe</i> , 52-53, no. 33, Krokotos Painter
315.26	Sammlung Margartits, <i>Rep. Boston Museum</i> 1899, 68, n. 22	-
315.27	<i>Reports</i> 64-8; Coolidge 11913, 11915, 11933	-
315.28	Athens C.C. 793	Athens 363, CVA 4, pl. 27, Painter of the Nicosia Olpe
315.29	Poulsen, <i>Vases Grecs récemment acquis</i>	-

Mingazzini	Descr./Inv. no./Publ.	Attribution/Publ.
	<i>du musée de Copenhagen</i> n. 12, fig 21	
315.30	<i>Reports</i> 68, n. 23 = Forman coll. 323	-
315.31	Forman Coll. 324	-
315.32	Sammlung Margaritis XXXIII	-
315.33	BSA 14, 277, pl. 11.1	Thebes, Krokotos Group
315.34	<i>Dedalo</i> 1922, 621, Theseus Painter	Taranto 4591, Theseus Painter Cat no. 50
315.A	Louvre F 409 (amazoni)	-
315.B	Louvre F 408 (menadi)	-
315.C	Louvre F 410 (cavalcata di struzzi)	-
315.D	Louvre F 411 (tritone)	-
315.E	Louvre? (Dionysos recumberante)	-
315.F-G	"due esemplari dalla necropoli di Eleus preso i Dardanelli"	-
315.H	<i>Mon. Grecs.</i> 1893-4, pl. 14 (Locri)	-
315.I	Louvre	-
315.K	Bonn, Akad. Kunstmuseum	-
315.L	Heidelberg 34	-
315.M	Athens C.C. 795	Athens 362, CVA 4, pl. 35, Painter of Philadelphia 5481
315.N	Taranto 7029	Taranto 4447, Theseus Painter Cat no. 13
315.O	Berlin 4258	Theseus Painter Cat no. 115
315.P	Winnefeld 198 (Herakles, tritone, Nereidi)	-
315.Q	Heydemann 2468	Naples 81154, Theseus Painter Cat no. 24
315.R-S	Furtwängler 2086-87	-
315.T	Stoccarda	-
315.U	Lecce, CVA III, pl. 3, fig. 1-2	Lecce 560, Theseus Painter Cat no. 38
316.V	<i>Ure Sixth and Fifth</i> 71.172	Krokotos Group
316.W	<i>Ure Sixth and Fifth</i> 18.95	Sub-krokotos Group
316.X	<i>Ure Sixth and Fifth</i> 18.99	Sub-krokotos Group
316.Y	Taranto 7030	Taranto 4448, Theseus Painter Cat no. 14
316.Z	Taranto 7031 "danzatori"	Possibly Taranto 4449, Theseus Painter Cat no. 44
316.ZA	Taranto "Dionysos fra sat. & men."	-
316.ZB	Taranto "komos"	-
316.ZC-ZD	Delos 597	Delos 6140, Theseus Painter Cat no. 72
316.ZE	Copenhagen, CVA III, 4, pl. 118.8	CVA 3, pl. 119.8? 'Heron skyphos'
316.ZF	Villa Giulia, CVA 3, pl. 58.5	is pl. 48.5, Cat. no. N42, Painter of Rodin 1000

Table 15. Attributions to the Theseus Painter.

Most of the attributions to the Theseus Painter were made by Haspels and Beazley. Nevertheless, a substantial number of them dates from after the appearance of *Para* in 1971. The following list includes only the attributions which are in my view acceptable; the rejected ones are mentioned in the text and the catalogue.

CAT-NUMBER	INV NO	SHAPE	ATTRIBUTION
1	Syracuse 26857	Skyphos	A.D. Ure
2	Acropolis 1281	Skyphos	Haspels
3	New York 17.230.9	Skyphos	Haspels
4	Winchester College Museum	Skyphos	Haspels
5	Acropolis 1271	Skyphos	Borgers
6	Boston 99.523	Skyphos	Haspels
7	Mississippi 1977.3.69	Skyphos	Haspels
8	London B 79	Skyphos	Haspels
9	Bologna C 44	Skyphos	Haspels
10	Guardia Perticara	Skyphos	Borgers?
11	Havana, Lagunillas coll.	Skyphos	Beazley
12	Amsterdam 2604	Skyphos	Borgers
13	Taranto 4447	Skyphos	Haspels
14	Taranto 4448	Skyphos	Haspels
15	Acropolis 1306	Skyphos	Haspels
16	Monopoli, private coll.	Skyphos	M. Reho-Bumbalova
17	London 1926.11.15.1	Skyphos	Haspels
18	London 1902.12.-18.3	Skyphos	Haspels
19	Mt. Holyoke College Art museum 1925 BS II.3	Skyphos	Beazley
20	Dresden ZV 1680	Skyphos	Haspels
21	Agora P 1550-1	Skyphos	Beazley
21bis	Oria OR 502-645	Skyphos	Borgers
22	Syracuse 53263	Skyphos	Beazley
23	Marseilles 7017	Skyphos	G. Ahlberg-Cornell
24	Naples 81.154	Skyphos	Haspels
25	Agora P 1545	Skyphos	Haspels
26	once Helgoland, Kropatscheck	Skyphos	H.A. Cahn
27	Bari, Cotecchia coll.	Skyphos	R. Moreno-Cassano
28	Agora P 1543	Skyphos	Haspels
29	Laon 37996	Skyphos	Haspels
30	Toledo 63.27	Skyphos	Cahn?
31	Corinth C-70-33	Skyphos	A.B. Brownlee
32	New York White and Levi coll.	Skyphos	D. von Bothmer
33	Naples 81.159	Skyphos	Haspels
34	once Basle market	Skyphos	H.A. Cahn
35	Greifswald 197	Skyphos	Haspels
36	Guardia Perticara 15223	Skyphos	Borgers?
37	once Basle market	Skyphos	H.A. Cahn
38	Lecce 560	Skyphos	Haspels
39	Basle, Cahn coll. HC 1405	Skyphos	B. Kreuzer
40	Tampa 86.52	Skyphos	Beazley
41	Stuttgart KAS 74	Skyphos	Beazley
42	New York 06.1021.49	Skyphos	Haspels
43	Amsterdam 2159	Skyphos	J.M. Hemeleijk
44	Taranto 4449	Skyphos	Haspels?
45	Agora P 1544	Skyphos	Haspels
46	Agora P 1548	Skyphos	Haspels
47	Agora P 1549	Skyphos	Haspels
48	Agora P 1547	Skyphos	Haspels



CAT- NUMBER	INV NO	SHAPE	ATtribution
49	Amsterdam 290	Skyphos	Borgers
50	Taranto IG 4591	Skyphos	Haspels
51	Basle, Cahn coll. HC 1469	Skyphos	Beazley
52	Pisa P 695	Skyphos	C. Tronchetti
53	Athens NM 13916	Skyphos	M. Pipili/A.N. Malagardis
54	Copenhagen 6571	Skyphos	Haspels
55	Brussels R 327	Skyphos	Haspels
56	Agora P 1546	Skyphos	Haspels
57	Haverford College EA-1989-4	Skyphos	R. Hecht
58	Amsterdam 2178	Skyphos	Haspels
59	Acropolis 1276	Skyphos	Haspels
60	Agora P 23174	Skyphos	Beazley
61	San Antonio 86.134.51	Skyphos	Various scholars
62	Himera H72.679	Skyphos	Borgers
63	Corinth C 37-2323	Skyphos	A.B. Brownlee
64	Harvard 60.321	Skyphos	Robinson?
65	Thasos	Skyphos	J.J. Maffre
66	Acropolis 1282	Skyphos	Haspels
67	Malibu 86.AE.152	Skyphos	A.J. Clark
68	Bonn 1646	Skyphos	Haspels
69	Basle Cahn Coll. HC ?	Skyphos	Borgers
70	Conservatori	Skyphos	Beazley
71	St. Petersburg 4498	Skyphos	Beazley
72	Delos 6140	Skyphos	Haspels
73	Delos 6142	Skyphos	Haspels
74	Delos B 6138	Skyphos	Haspels
75	once US Market	Skyphos	Beazley
76	Acropolis 1280	Skyphos	Haspels
77	Acropolis 1290	Skyphos	Borgers
78	Kanellopoulos 842	Skyphos	Borgers
79	Salemo	Skyphos	Beazley
80	Athens NM 496	Skyphos	Haspels
81	Corinth C 69-57	Skyphos	A.B. Brownlee
81	Oria OR 662.R	Skyphos	G. Semerano
82	Acropolis 1265	Skyphos	Haspels
83	Acropolis 1312	Skyphos	Haspels
84	Acropolis 1311	Skyphos	Haspels
85	Acropolis 1307	Skyphos	Haspels
86	Delos 596	Skyphos	Haspels
87	Thasos 1167	Skyphos	Beazley
88	Thasos 1117	Skyphos	Haspels
89	Acropolis 1298	Skyphos	Haspels
90	Satyrion	Skyphos	Borgers
91	Navplion	Skyphos	Borgers?
92	Giola del Colle MG 308-315	Skyphos	A. Ciancio
93	Athens 1959 NAK 740/1960 NAK 211	Skyphos	G. Papadopoulos-Kanellopoulos
94	Acropolis 1295	Skyphos	Borgers
95	Agora P 9273	Skyphos	Beazley
96	Agora P 13373	Skyphos	Beazley
97	Corinth KP 2773	Skyphos	Borgers?
98	Locri, Scaglione coll.	Skyphos	Borgers?
99	Athens P 3725	Skyphos	Beazley
100	Cyrene 278.12-14	Skyphos	M.B. Moore
101	Adria	Skyphos	S. Bonomi
102	Harvard 1995.18.30	Skyphos	Borgers
103	Thasos 1243	Skyphos	Beazley
104	Agora P 25913	Skyphos	Beazley

CAT- NUMBER	INV NO	SHAPE	ATTRIBUTION
105	Thasos 889	Skyphos	Borgers?
106	Agora P 6177	Skyphos	Beazley/Borgers
107	Himera	Skyphos	Borgers
108	once Basle Market	Skyphos	Beazley
109	once Athens market	Skyphos	Haspels
110	Eleusis 314	Skyphos	Haspels
111	Delos	Skyphos	Haspels
112	Cambridge AG 320	Skyphos	Beazley
113	The Hague 2135	Skyphos	Haspels
114	Acropolis 1288	Skyphos	Haspels
115	Berlin 4528	Skyphos	Haspels
116	Berlin	Skyphos	Beazley
117	Basle Kambli coll. ?	Skyphos	Haspels
118	Louvre Cp 108.56	Skyphos	Beazley
119	Basle Cahn coll.	Skyphos	Beazley
120	Reggio	Skyphos	Beazley
121	Thebes	Skyphos	Haspels
122	Villa Giulia	Skyphos	Beazley
123	Athens	Skyphos	Beazley
124	Athens	Skyphos	Beazley
125	Armonk, Pinney coll.	Lekythos	Beazley
126	Goulandris coll. 265	Lekythos	Beazley
127	once Philadelphia market	Lekythos	Beazley
128	San Antonio 86.134.54	Lekythos	H. Mommsen
129	Kerameikos 5671	Lekythos	Beazley
130	once Lucerne Market	Lekythos	Beazley
131	Cambridge G.3.1955	Lekythos	Haspels
132	Naples Stg 118	Lekythos	Haspels
133	Germany, private coll.	Lekythos	Beazley
134	Palermo	Lekythos	A. Frölich
135	Brussels A 1953	Lekythos	Haspels
136	Athens NM 515	Lekythos	Haspels
137	Syracuse 33501	Lekythos	Haspels
138	London BM 1904.7-8.5	Lekythos	Haspels
139	Athens NM 9684	Lekythos	Haspels
140	Oxford 1934.372	Lekythos	Haspels
141	Louvre CA 1837	Lekythos	Haspels
142	Athens NM 9686	Lekythos	Haspels
143	Bonn 307	Lekythos	Haspels
144	Erlangen I 238	Lekythos	Haspels
145	Berlin F 2005	Lekythos	Haspels
146	Boston 21.277	Lekythos	Beazley
147	once Paris, Peyrefitte coll.	Lekythos	Beazley
148	once Athens Market	Lekythos	Haspels
149	London Embiricos coll.	Lekythos	Beazley
150	Malibu 71.AE.297	Pelike	Beazley
151	Columbia 61.2	Pelike	Beazley
152	San Antonio 86.134.157	Pelike	Beazley
153	Port Sunlight 5019	Pelike	M. Robertson
154	Munich 1678	Pelike	Beazley
155	Naples 81082	Pelike	Beazley
156	Cab. des Médailles. 250	Pelike	Beazley
157	Louvre F 391	Pelike	Beazley
158	London, Winslow coll.	Pelike (neck)	Beazley
159	London B 346	Hydria	Haspels
160	Madrid 10930	Hydria	Haspels
161	Uppsala	Hydria	Beazley

CAT- NUMBER	INV NO	SHAPE	ATtribution
162	Utrecht 29	Hydria	Beazley
163	Athens NM 13262	Olpe	Haspels
164	Berlin 3230	Olpe	Beazley
165	Louvre F 342	Oinochoe	Haspels
166	London B 513	Oinochoe	Haspels
167	Petit Palais 313	Oinochoe	Beazley
168	once Brussels, Theodor coll.	Oinochoe	P. Heese
169	Adolphseck 13	Oinochoe	Beazley
170	once New York market	Oinochoe	A.J. Clark
171	Malibu 96.AE.96	Cup	Borgers
172	Agora P 1384	Cup	Borgers
173	London B 446	Cup	Beazley
174	Taranto 6515	Cup	Beazley
175	Salerno 158a	Cup	Beazley
176	Winchester, College Museum	Cup	Haspels
177	Agora P 1383	Cup-skyphos	Beazley
178	Oxford 1930.620	Loutrophoros	Haspels
179	Dresden ZV 2006	Loutrophoros	Beazley
180	Kerameikos	Loutrophoros	Beazley
181	Basle, Cahn coll. HC 382	Loutrophoros	B. Kreuzer
182	Athens 1957 Aa 193	Loutrophoros	G. Papadopoulos-Kanellopoulos
183	Athens	Loutrophoros	Beazley
184	New York Love coll.	Loutrophoros	Beazley
185	Athens NA 1957 Aa 229	Loutrophoros	Beazley
186	Athens NA 1957 Aa 2237	Loutrophoros	Beazley
187	Athens NA 1957Aa 2241	Loutrophoros	Beazley
188	Athens NA 1957 Aa 2251	Loutrophoros	Beazley
189	Athens NA 1957 Aa 2258	Loutrophoros	Beazley
190	Athens	Loutrophoros	Beazley
191	once Athens Market	Loutrophoros	Haspels
192	Malibu 86.AE.147	Kyathos	M.M. Elsmann
193	Malibu 86.AE.146	Kyathos	M.M. Elsmann
194	Philadelphia L-64-540	Kyathos	Beazley
195	Erlangen I 522	Kyathos	Beazley
196	Heidelberg S 53	Kyathos	Beazley
197	Omaha 1936.484	Kyathos	Beazley
198	once Basle market	Kyathos	Elsman
199	once Philadelphia market	Kyathos	Elsman
200	once Paris market	Kyathos	Beazley
201	Havana, Lagunillas coll	Alabastron	Beazley
202	once Basle market	Alabastron	Beazley
203	once Basle market	Alabastron	H.A. Cahn?
204	Palermo 660	Alabastron	J. de la Genière
205	once Philadelphia market	Alabastron	Beazley
206	Chicago 1967.115.256	Plate	L. Hanerfeld/Borgers
207	Acropolis 847	Fr.	Beazley
208	Acropolis 843	Fr.	Beazley
209	Athens BSA A 380	Fr.	Beazley



Table 16. Pottery found in the 'Rectangular Rock-cut Shaft' in the Athenian Agora. These black- and red-figured vases, as reported by Vanderpool (*Shaft*) and Moore (*Agora XXIII*), are listed according to the increasing depths of their find-spots in the shaft. It can be noted that not much chronological difference separates the higher from the lower strata; a date of around 510 B.C. is more frequently met at the lower levels, whereas a date of 500 is more common near the top.

Clearly, a combined stratigraphic and stylistic analysis of the pottery produces much less striking results than diverse observers would seem to maintain. In part, this results from the relatively poor quality of the pottery: much work of the Haimon Group, the Class of Athens 581 and the like, which is hard to date on stylistic grounds, hence the general nature of the proposed dates. On the other hand, the deeper one goes, the more varied and generally earlier the painters, workshops and classes become. Also notable is the absence of references by Vanderpool to quite a bit of pottery listed by Moore (top of the left-hand column). In the second column from the left, the numbers in bold are catalogue numbers from *Agora XXX* (red-figure). All the other numbers derive from *Agora XXIII* (black-figure).

VAN DER POOL	MOORE	INV NO	SHAPE	WARE	DEPTH (ms.)	DATE (Moore)	ATTRIBUTION	PUBL.
-	1202	2716	Lekythos	BF	-	490-480	Manner of Haimon P.	ABV 550,313
-	1203	2673	Lekythos	BF	-	490-480	Manner of Haimon P.	ABV 550,314
-	1204	2718	Lekythos	BF	-	490-480	Manner of Haimon P.	ABV 551,341
-	1206	2562	Lekythos	BF	-	490-480	Manner of Haimon P.	ABV 552,366
-	1243	1554	Lekythos	BF	-	490-480		
-	1234	2740	Lekythos	BF	-	490-480	Manner of Haimon P.	
-	1201	2717	Lekythos	BF	-	490-480	Manner of Haimon P.	ABV 550,312
-	1242	1317	Lekythos	BF	-	490-480		
-	1180	1285	Lekythos	BF	-	490-480	Hound and Hare Group	Para 253
-	1236	2590	Lekythos	BF	-	490-480	Manner of Haimon P.	
-	1207	1399	Lekythos	BF	-	490-480	Manner of Haimon P.	ABV 552,367
-	1218	2644	Lekythos	BF	-	490-480	Manner of Haimon P.	Para 279
-	1244	2686	Lekythos	BF	-	490-480		
-	1199	2633 2671	Lekythos	BF	-	490-480	Manner of Haimon P.	ABV 548,261
-	1196	2915	Lekythos	BF	-	490-480	Manner of Haimon P.	ABV 543,124
-	1195	2676	Lekythos	BF	-	490-480	Manner of Haimon P.	ABV 543,123
-	1193	1345	Lekythos	BF	-	490-480	Manner of Haimon P.	ABV 542,121
-	1136	2632	Lekythos	BF	-	Early 5th		
-	1135	2630	Lekythos	BF	-	Early 5th		
-	1133	1401	Lekythos	BF	-	Early 5th		
-	1098	2723	Lekythos	BF	-	Early 5th	Class of Athens 581	ABV 498,3
-	937	2564	Lekythos	BF	-	Early 5th	Class of Athens 581	ABV 503,120
-	936	2724	Lekythos	BF	-	Early 5th	Class of Athens 581	ABV 502,113
-	934	1346	Lekythos	BF	-	Early 5th	Class of Athens 581	ABV 502,111
-	867	1286	Lekythos	BF	-	510-500		
-	1194	2719	Lekythos	BF	-	490-480	Manner of Haimon P.	ABV 542,122
127	1171	1299	Lekythos	BF	-	500	Little Lion class	ABV 513,35
128	1169	1298	Lekythos	BF	-	500	Little Lion class	ABV 513,20
216	222	2788	Panathenaic amphora	BF	6.0	Late 6th-early 5th		
217	508	2789	Krater	BF	6.0	Late 6th		
178	1248	2793	Lekythos	BF	6.0	490-480		
179	1249	2794	Lekythos	BF	6.0	490-480		
138	1247	2726 2792	Lekythos	BF	6.0	490-480		
95	1530	2790	Cup-skyphos	BF	6.0	500-480	Haimonian	
180	1250	2801	Lekythos	BF	6.0	490-480		
107	1517	2789	Cup-skyphos	BF	6.8	500-490	Manner of Haimon P.	
177	1224	2771	Lekythos	BF	6.8	490-480	Manner of Haimon P.	
176	1222	2592 2762	Lekythos	BF	6.8	490-480	Manner of Haimon P.	
186	1414	2756	Plate	BF	6.8	Early 5th	Kleiboulos P.	
189	1767	2770	Cup	BF	6.8	Early 5th	Leafless Group	ABV 642,140
114	-	2773	Skyphos	BF	6.8		Ivy skyphos	
112	1573	2744	Skyphos	BF	7.4	490-480	Lindos Gr.	ABV 582,17

VAN DER POOL	MOORE	INV NO	SHAPE	WARE	DEPTH (ms.)	DATE (Moore)	ATtribution	PUBL.
111	1571	2743	Skyphos	BF	7.4	490-480	Lindos Gr.	ABV 582,16
94	1521	2737	Cup-skyphos	BF	7.4	480	Manner of Haimon P.	ABV 570,683
196	397	2755	Krater	BF	7.4	Early 5 <sup>th</sup>		
206	737	2741		BF	7.4	Early 5 <sup>th</sup>	Painter Rhodes Pelike	ABV 608,4
71	1607	2710	Skyphos	BF	8.0	500	Dog Group	ABV 624,4
75	1628	2730	Skyphos	BF	8.0	500		
74	1602	2713	Skyphos	BF	8.0	Early 5th	probably CHC Group	
215	607	2709	Louterion	BF	8.0	Late 6th		
109	1633	16779	Cup-skyphos	BF	8.0	500		
148	968	2715 2722	Lekythos	BF	8.0	Early 5th	Manner of Haimon P.	ABV 547,233
76	1606	2731	Skyphos	BF	8.0	500	Dog Group	ABV 623,2
72	1580	2711	Skyphos	BF	8.0	500	CHC Group	ABV 618,31
73	1584	2712	Skyphos	BF	8.0	500	CHC Group	ABV 619,69
172	1245	2668	Lekythos	BF	8.45	490-480		
105	1544	2681	Cup-skyphos	BF	8.45	490-480	Class K2	ABV 580,9
199	682	2700	Olpe	BF	8.45	550?	Red-bodied olpe	ABV 451,11
93	1531	2699	Cup-skyphos	BF	8.45	480	Manner of Haimon P.	ABV 571,704
82	1562	2677	Cup-skyphos	BF	8.45	490	Class K2	ABV 581,4
214	784	2684		BF	8.45	Late 6th-early 5th		
175	1189	2675 2739	Lekythos	BF	8.45	490-480	Manner of Haimon P.	ABV 542,112
106	1543	2682	Cup-skyphos	BF	8.45	490-480	Class K2	ABV 580,2
173	859	2669	Lekythos	BF	8.45	Late 6th	Cock Group	ABV 470,104
171	1223	2667	Lekythos	BF	8.45	490-480	Manner of Haimon P.	
170	1140	2665	Lekythos	BF	8.45	Early 5th		
169	1139	2662	Lekythos	BF	8.45	Early 5th		
168	1138	2660	Lekythos	BF	8.45	Early 5th		
167	1137	2659	Lekythos	BF	8.45	Early 5th		
115	-	16776	Skyphos	BF	8.45		Palmette skyphos	
137	1170	2663	Lekythos	BF	8.45	500	Little Lion Class	ABV 513,33
80	1529	2678,2738,2690,2791	Cup-skyphos	BF	8.45	500-480	Haimonian	
147	1198	2695	Lekythos	BF	8.45	490-480	Manner of Haimon P.	ABV 548,260
174	1246	2674	Lekythos	BF	8.45	490-480		
212	1902	2621	-	BF	9.0	Late 6th		
164	1233	2628	Lekythos	BF	9.0	490-480	Manner of Haimon P.	
165	1134	2629	Lekythos	BF	9.0	Early 5th		
166	-	2631	Lekythos	BF	9.0			
194	395	2643	Krater	BF	9.0	500	Connected to Red-Line P.	Para 30,5
197	660	2642	Oinochoe	BF	9.0	Early 5th		
198	663	2625 2658	-	BF	9.0	Early 5th		
183	1966	2626	Lekythos	BF	9.0	Early 5th	Class of Athens 581	Para 241
202	688	2646	-	BF	9.0	Early 5th	Class of Vatican G 50	Para 191,9
191	470	2641	Krater	BF	9.0	510	Rycroft Painter (?)	
213	781	2627	-	BF	9.0	Late 6th		
200	687	2647	-	BF	9.0	510-500		
104	1551	2624	Cup-skyphos	BF	9.0	490-480	Class K2	ABV 580,11
121	877	2648	Lekythos	BF	9.0	500	Gela P.	ABL 213,167
103	1553	2623	Cup-skyphos	BF	9.0	580	Haimonian	
195	396	2644 2645	Krater	BF	9.0	500	Connected to Red-Line P.	Para 303,6
46	1561	2580	Kylix	RF	9.6	510-500	Manner of Pithos P.	ARV2 118,10
113	-	2593	Skyphos (?)	BF	9.6		Palmette skyphos	
116	1624	2587	Skyphos (?)	BF	9.6	Late 6th		
162	-	2389	Lekythos	BF	9.6	490-480	Manner of Haimon P.	
47	1538	2581	Kylix	RF	9.6	500		
45	1516	2579	Kylix	RF	9.6	510-500	Manner of Pithos P.	ARV2 139,18
44	1518	2578	Kylix	RF	9.6	510-500	P. Agora P 2578	ARV2 142
43	1564	2577	Kylix	RF	9.6	510-500	P. Agora P 2578	ARV2 142
42	1563	2576	Kylix	RF	9.6	510-500	P. Agora P 2578	ARV2 142
41	1567	2575	Kylix	RF	9.6	500		
183	-	16770	Lekythos	BF	9.6		Palmette Lekythos	

VAN DER POOL	MOORE	INV NO	SHAPE	WARE	DEPTH (ms.)	DATE (Moore)	ATtribution	PUBL.
70	1608	2614	Skyphos	BF	9.6	500	Dog Group	ABV 624,6
188	1768	2613	Cup	BF	10.1	Early 5th	Leafless Group	ABV 645,190
190	471	2612	Krater	BF	10.1	510		
161	1251	1556	Lekythos	BF	10.1	490-480		
192	479	2571	Krater	BF	10.1	Late 6th		
160	926	1555	Lekythos	BF	10.1	500-490	perhaps Class of Athens 581	
101	1546	1560	Cup-skyphos	BF	10.1	490-480	Class K2	ABV 580,4
201	689	1557	Oinochoe	BF	10.1	500		
146	863	2560	Lekythos	BF	10.1	Late 6th	Cock Group	ABV 470,112
40	1411	2574	Kylix	RF	10.1	500		
90	1650	2565	Skyphos	BF	10.1	Early 5th		
102	1548	1561	Cup-skyphos	BF	10.1	490-480	Class K2	ABV 580,6
108	1651	1562	Cup-skyphos	BF	10.1	Early 5th		
159	975	1553-2588	Lekythos	BF	10.1	Early 5th	Haimonian	
210	758	1559	-	BF	10.1	Early 5th		
211	783	2563	-	BF	10.1	Late 6th		
158	1232	1400	Lekythos	BF	10.35	490-480	Manner of Haimon P.	
184	1657	1383	Cup-skyphos	BF	10.35	500	Theseus Painter	Cat. no. 177
182	-	1382	Lekythos	BF	10.35		Palmette Lekythos	
205	771	1395	Oinochoe	BF	10.35	Early 5th		
209	774	1398		BF	10.35	Early 5th		
208	773	1396		BF	10.35	490-480		
203	756	1397-1558	Oinochoe	BF	10.35	Early 5th	Class of Vat. G. 50	
185	1825	1384	Cup (?)	BF	10.35	500	Theseus Painter	Cat. no. 172
187	1769	2570	Cup	BF	10.35	Early 5th	Leafless Group	ABV 637,62
100	1552	1391	Skyphos	BF	10.35	490-480	Class K2 (?)	ABV 580,10
92	1501	1552	Skyphos	BF	10.35	Early 5th	Class K2, near Diosphos P.	ABV 511,8
77	1639	2586-1393	Skyphos	BF	10.35	Early 5th		
39	1557	1382	Kylix	RF	10.35	510	Pithos Painter	ARV2 139,7
193	213	2568	Neck-amphora	BF	10.9	500		
204	747	1337	Skyphos	BF	10.9	Early 5th		
120	876	1343	Lekythos	BF	10.9	490	Gela Painter	ABL 210,18
69	1600	1339	Skyphos	BF	10.9	Early 5th	CHC group	
118	875	2569	Lekythos	BF	10.9	490	Gela Painter	ABL, 210,101
48	1323	2585	Skyphos	RF	10.9	490-480		
125	1164	1354	Lekythos	BF	10.9	500	Little Lion Class (?)	ABV 512,8
124	1163	1357	Lekythos	BF	10.9	500	Little Lion Class (?)	ABV 512,7
181	-	16767	Lekythos	BF	10.9		Palmette Lekythos	
78	1604	1338	Skyphos	BF	10.9	500	Conn. CHC Group	ABV 623,4
145	1132	1353	Lekythos	BF	10.9	Early 5th		
98	1545	1320	Skyphos	BF	11.45	490-480	Class K2 (?)	ABV 580,3
151	1240	1281	Lekythos	BF	11.45	490-480		
207	1238	1313		BF	11.45	490-480		
131	1179	1301	Lekythos	BF	11.45	500		
97	1550	1319	Skyphos	BF	11.45	490-480	Class K2 (?)	ABV 504,2
96	1547	1290	Skyphos	BF	11.45	490-480	Class K2 (?)	ABV 580,5
152	927	1282	Lekythos	BF	11.45	500-490	Class of Athens 581	
91	1646	1318	Skyphos	BF	11.45	Early 5th		
153	1095	1288	Lekythos	BF	11.45	Early 5th	Class of Athens 581.ii	
150	1239	1280	Lekythos	BF	11.45	490-480		
149	819	1276	Lekythos	BF	11.45	510	Leagros Group	ABV 379,279
110	1617	1323	Cup-skyphos	BF	11.45	500	Pistias Class (?)	ABV 628
89	1526	1369	Skyphos	BF	11.45	490-480	Manner Haimon	
119	873	1331	Lekythos	BF	11.45	500	Gela Painter	ABL, 207,35
135	1173	16763	Lekythos	BF	11.45	500	Little Lion Class (?)	ABV 514,46
144	860	1312	Lekythos	BF	11.45	Late 6th	Cock Group	ABV 470,107
143	1116	1311	Lekythos	BF	11.45	Early 5th	Class of Athens 581	Para 246
142	930	1303	Lekythos	BF	11.45	Early 5th	Class of Athens 581.ii	ABV 508,58
141	852	1302	Lekythos	BF	11.45	Late 6th	Cock Group	ABV 469,66
140	1128	1279	Lekythos	BF	11.45	Early 5th		



VAN DER POOL	MOORE	INV NO	SHAPE	WARE	DEPTH (ms.)	DATE (Moore)	ATtribution	PUBL.
129	1130	1283	Lekythos	BF	11.45	Early 5th		
136	1131	1287	Lekythos	BF	11.45	Early 5th		
123	1165	1277	Lekythos	BF	11.45	500	Little Lion Class (?)	ABV 512,15
134	1167	1295	Lekythos	BF	11.45	500	Little Lion Class (?)	ABV 513,18
133	1166	1284-1297	Lekythos	BF	11.45	500	Little Lion Class (?)	ABV 512,17
132	1177	1296	Lekythos	BF	11.45	500	Little Lion Class (?)	ABV 515,7
86	1561	1365-86	Skyphos	BF	11.45	490-480	Class K2	
130	1168	1300	Lekythos	BF	11.45	500	Little Lion Class (?)	ABV 513,19
87	1560	1367	Skyphos	BF	11.45	490-480	Class K2	
139	847	1278	Lekythos	BF	11.45	Late 6th	Cock Group	ABV 468,50
62	1492	1150-1	Skyphos	BF	11.45	500	Theseus Painter	Cat. no. 21
157	1231	1344	Lekythos	BF	11.45	490-480	Manner of Haimon P.	
37	1581	1310	Kylix	RF	11.45	510		
38	1577	1330	Kylix	RF	11.45	510		
156	1241	1316	Lekythos	BF	11.45	490-480		
155	1096	1315	Lekythos	BF	11.45	Early 5th	Class Athens 581	
88	1524	1368	Skyphos	BF	11.45	480	Manner of Haimon P.	ABV 570,699
61	1484	1545	Skyphos	BF	11.45	500	Theseus Painter	Cat. no. 25
99	1549	1321	Skyphos	BF	11.45	490-480	Class K2 (?)	ABV 580,7
63	1486	1544	Skyphos	BF	11.45	500	Theseus Painter	Cat. no. 45
64	1487	1548	Skyphos	BF	11.45	500	Theseus Painter	Cat. no. 48
65	1488	1549	Skyphos	BF	11.45	500	Theseus Painter	Cat. no. 47
66	1489	1547	Skyphos	BF	11.45	500	Theseus Painter	Cat. no. 48
81	1559	1270	Skyphos	BF	11.45	490-480	Class K2	ABV 581,12
85	1511	1363	Skyphos	BF	11.45	490-480	Manner of Haimon P.	ABV 568,660
83	1558	1359	Skyphos	BF	11.45	490-480	Class K2	ABV 581,6
67	1490	1546	Skyphos	BF	11.45	500	Theseus Painter	Cat. no. 56
79	1618	16766	Skyphos	BF	11.45	Late 6th		
68	1500	2768	Skyphos	BF	11.45	500	near Theseus Painter	Cat. no. N43
84	1510	1361	Skyphos	BF	11.45	490-480	Manner of Haimon P.	ABV 568,659
154	1124	1314	Lekythos	BF	11.45	Early 5th	Class Athens 581	
31	1521	1264	Kylix	RF	12.0	500	Cf. Gr. of Acrop. 96	ARV2 105
117	874	1269	Lekythos	BF	12.0	490	Gela Painter	ABL, 209,87
36	1555	1275	Kylix	RF	12.0	510	Rel. Gr. of Acrop. 96	ARV2 105
35	1572	1274	Kylix	RF	12.0	510	Gr. of Acropolis. 96	ARV2 105,3
34	1573	1273	Kylix	RF	12.0	510	Gr. of Acropolis. 96	ARV2 105,4
122	1162	1266	Lekythos	BF	12.0	500	Little Lion Class (?)	ABV 512,3
32	1403	1265	Kylix	RF	12.0	510	Conn. to Chelys Gr.	ARV2 115

# LIST OF FIGURES AND PLATES

## FIGURES

- 1-60 drawing author.
- 61 drawing after Becker, *Peliken*, pl. 38 e.
- 62 drawing author.
- 63 drawing after *Meldahl and Flemberg*, fig. 7.
- 64-66 drawing author.
- 67 profile CT-scan, Heccsen, *Theodor*, no. 9.
- 68-70 drawing author.
- 71-72 drawing after *CVA Malibu 2*, figs. 18-19.
- 73-76 drawing author.
- 77 profile CT-scans, Allard Pierson Museum Amsterdam.
- 78 profile CT-scans, Allard Pierson Museum Amsterdam.
- 79 drawing after Becker, *Peliken*, pl. 38 b.
- 80 drawing after *CVA Heidelberg 4*, 36, fig. 16.
- 81 a, c-f Dugas, *Délos X*, 180; *NSc* 1952, 340; H. Heydemann, *Die Vasensammlung des Museo Nazionale zu Neapel* (Berlin 1872), no. 2752, pl. 13; no. Stg. 118, pl. 19; no. 2458, pl. 12.
- 81 b drawing author.
- 82 a-f drawing after: N. Kunisch, *Makron* (Mainz 1997) 197-98, no. 345, pl. 117; Lissarrague, *Peintre des demi-palmettes*, 126, fig. 1; *CVA Tübingen 3*, pl. 37.5; *CVA Sèvres*, pl. 16.11; Pingiatoglou, *Frauengelage*, pl. 17.1-2; *CVA München 9*, pl. 10.

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- 3 a-b Boston 99.523, *Perseus Project*: <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/cgi-bin/ptext?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.04.0043&query=head%3D%23610>.
- 3 c-e Mississippi 1977.3.69, *Perseus Project*: <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/cgi-bin/ptext?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.04.0043&query=head%3D%23592>.
- 4 a-b London B 79, L.R. Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States V* (Oxford 1909) pl. 42 b-c.
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- 14 c-d Once Basle Market, *MuM* 51, 14-15 May 1975, 53-54, no. 134.
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- 18 c-g Amsterdam 2159, photo museum.
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- 25 c-d Brussels R 327, *CVA* 3, pl. 25.4; R. May et al., *Jouer dans l'antiquité, Musée d'archéologie Méditerranéenne, Centre de la vieille charité, Marseilles*, 22 Nov. - 16 Febr. 1992, 118, no. 110.
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- 29 c-d Conservatori, E. Paribeni, 'Hermes e Dioniso', *Bolletino dei Musei Comunali di Roma* 6 (1959) 42-43; *AJA* 64 (1960) pl. 103.2.
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- 31 c-e Delos B 6138, Wolf, *Herakles*, figs. 61-63.
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- 34 e-f Athens, NM 498, *CVA* 1, pl. 4.1-3.
- 35 a-d Acropolis 1265, Graef and Langlotz, *Akropolis*, pl. 77.
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- 36 i Athens 1959 NAK 720/1960 NAK 211, *ArchDelt* 27 (1972) pl. 83.
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- 37 e Agora P 6177, *Agora* XXIII, pl. 102.
- 37 f Himera H 71,465,2, *Himera* II, pl. 23.4.
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- 40 a-b Kerameikos 5671, Green, *Birds*, fig. 16 a-b.
- 40 c Once Lucerne market, *Ars AntiquaAuction* 2, pl. 59
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- 43 d-e London 1904.7-8.5, photo author.
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- 46 f Once Paris Peyrefitte coll., *Cat. Coll. Roger Peyrefitte Ader/Picard/Tajan*, Paris, 26 May 1977, no. 40.
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- 51 a Uppsala 352, *Meldahl and Flemberg*, fig. 1.
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- 52 a Athens, NM 13262, photo author.
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- 52 c-d Louvre 342, *Jdl* 103 (1988) 189, figs. 215-16.
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- 53 d-e Petit Palais 313, *CVA*, pl. 10.5-6.
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- 55 d-f London B 446, Wolf, *Herakles*, figs. 39 and 59; *ProcCopenhagen*, 345, fig. 10.
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- 56 c Winchester, College Museum, *JHS* 59 (1939) 284, fig. 1.

- 56 d-g Agora P 1383, Vanderpool, *Shaft*, pl. 54.
- 56 h Agora P 1384, Vanderpool, *Shaft*, pl. 53.
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- 59 Malibu 86.AE.147, *CVA* 2, pl. 77.
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- 61 b Heidelberg S 53, *CVA* 1, pl. 41.3.
- 61 c-d Once Basle market, Eisman, *Kyathos* no. 133, pl. 33.
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Fig. 1 a-b. Syracuse 26857 (Cat. no. 1)



Fig. 2. Naples 81154 (Cat. no. 24)



Fig. 3. St. Petersburg 4498 (Cat. no. 71)



Fig. 4. Palermo, Collisani coll. R32 (Cat. no. 134)



Fig. 5. Malibu 86.AE.147 (Cat. no. 193)





Fig. 6. Syracuse 53263 (Cat. no. 22)



Fig. 7. Mt. Holyoke 1925 BS II.3 (Cat. no. 19)



Fig. 8. Delos B 6140 (Cat. no. 72)



Fig. 9. Taranto 6515 (Cat. no. 174) Fig.



Fig. 10. Boston 21.277 (Cat. no. 146)



Fig. 11. Malibu 86.AE.147 (Cat. no. 93)

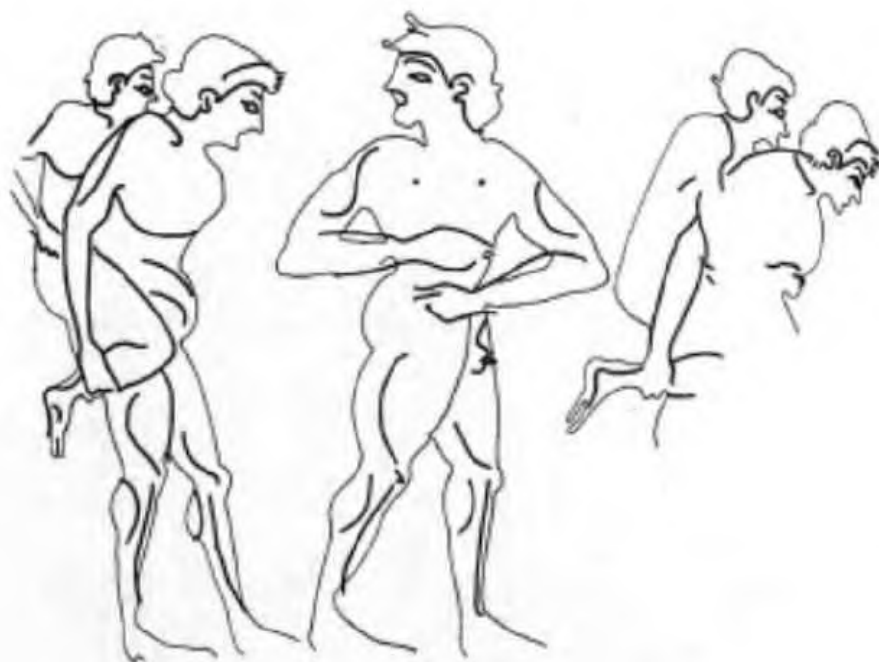


Fig. 12. Amsterdam 2178 (Cat. no. 58)



Fig. 13. Salerno 158a (Cat. no. 175)



Fig. 14. Athens, NM 9686 (Cat. no. 142).



15. Philadelphia L-64-54 (Cat. no. 194)



Fig. 16. Amsterdam 2159 (Cat. no. 43)

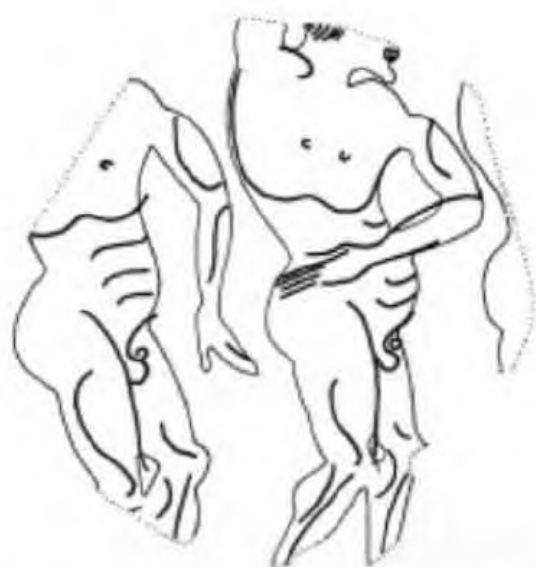


Fig. 17. Amsterdam 290 d (Cat. no. 49)



Fig. 18. New York 06.1021.49 (Cat. no. 42)





Fig. 19. Agora P 1547 (Cat. no. 48)



Fig. 20. Goulandris coll. 265 (Cat. no. 126)



Fig. 21. St. Petersburg 4498 (Cat. no. 71)



Fig. 22. Taranto 4448 (Cat. no. 14)



a



b

Fig. 23 a-b. Cahn col. HC 1405 & Lecce 560 (Cat. nos. 39 and 38)



Fig. 24. Winchester College Museum (Cat. no. 4)



Fig. 25. Agora P 1544 (Cat. no. 45)



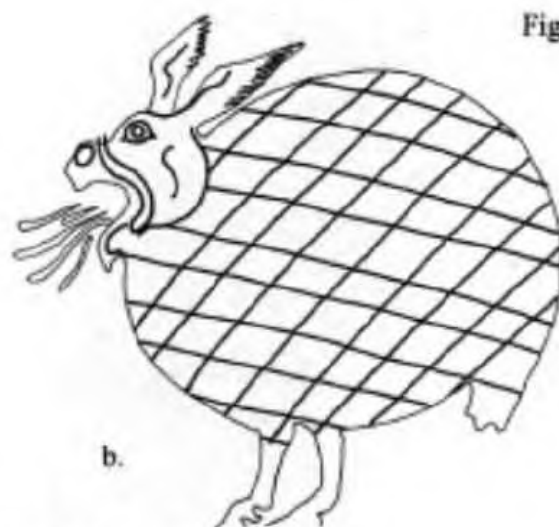
Fig. 26. Berlin F 2005 (Cat. no. 145)



Fig. 27. Philadelphia L-64-54 (Cat. no. 194)



a.



b.

Fig. 28 a-b. Boston 99.523 (Cat. No. 6)



Fig. 29. Winchester college Museum  
(Cat. no. 4)

Fig. 30. Lecce 560  
(Cat. no. 38)

Fig. 31. Taranto 4448  
(Cat. no. 14)



Fig. 32. Agora P 1544 (Cat. no. 45)



Fig. 33. Lecce 560 (Cat. no. 38)



Fig. 34

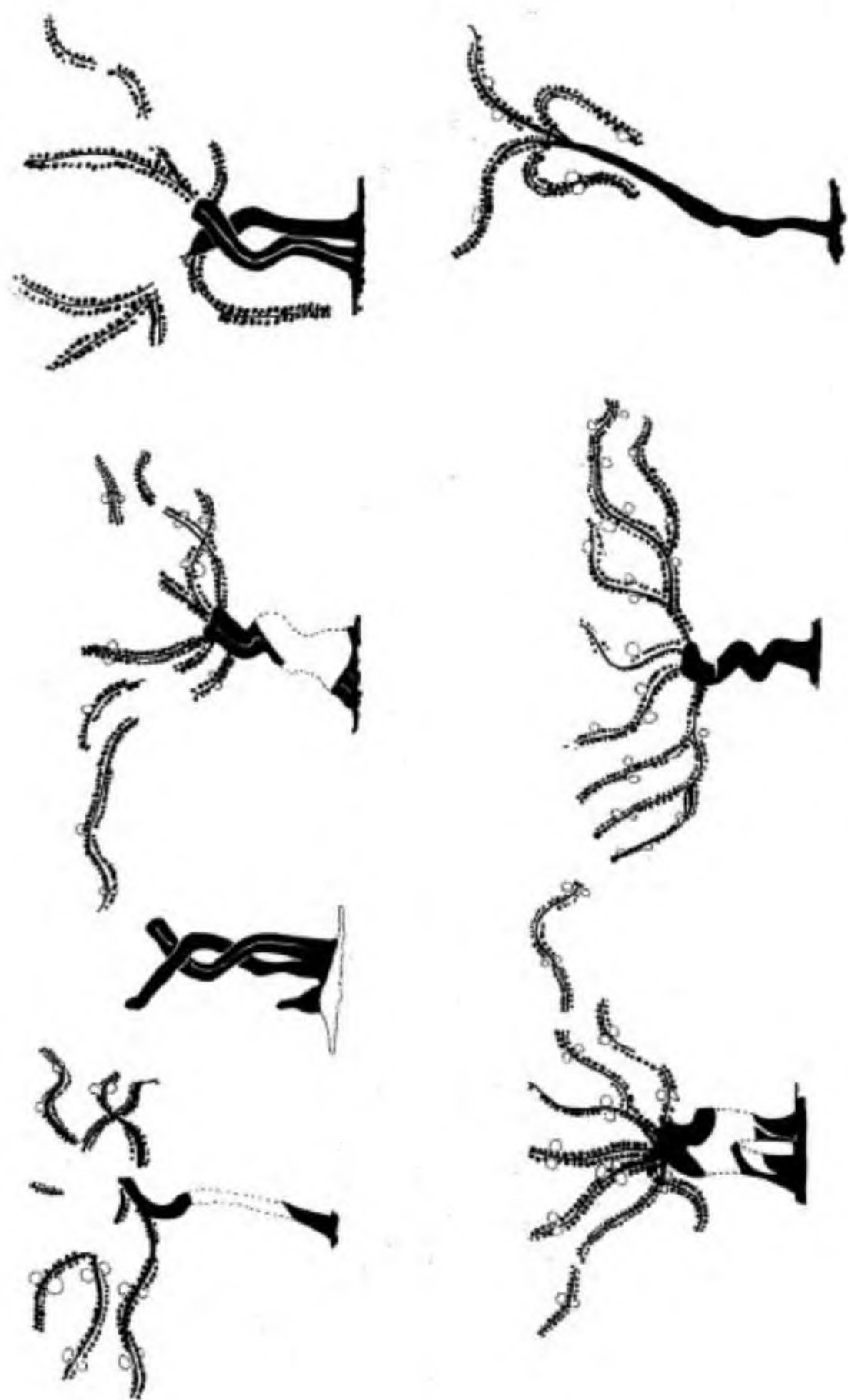


Fig. 34. Trees by the Theseus Painter

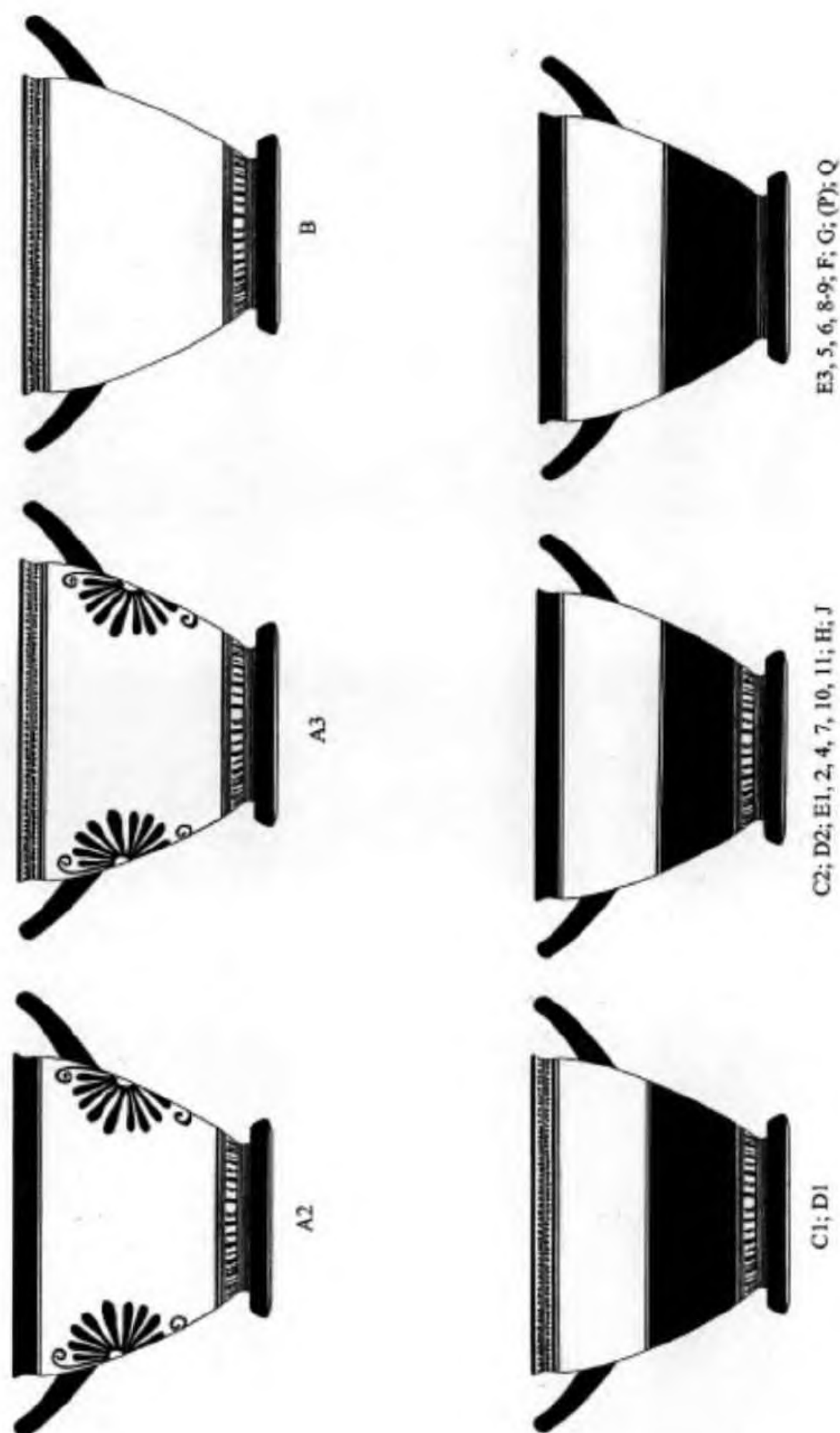


Fig. 35. Ure's types of Heron Class skyphoi, according to decoration schemes (schematic drawings)



a. Athens, NM 9686 (Cat. no. 142)



b. Athens, NM 515 (Cat. no. 136)

Fig. 36 (schematic)



a.



b.



c.



d.



e.

Fig. 37 (schematic)

- a. Berlin F 2005 (Cat. no. 145), b. Louvre CA 1837 (Cat. no. 140), c. Collisani coll. R 32 (Cat. no. 134),  
d. Athens, NM 515 (Cat. no. 136), e. Cambridge G.3.1955 (Cat. no. 131)



Fig. 38. Handle-ornaments, Agora P 1383 and 1384 (schematic, Cat. nos. 177, 172)



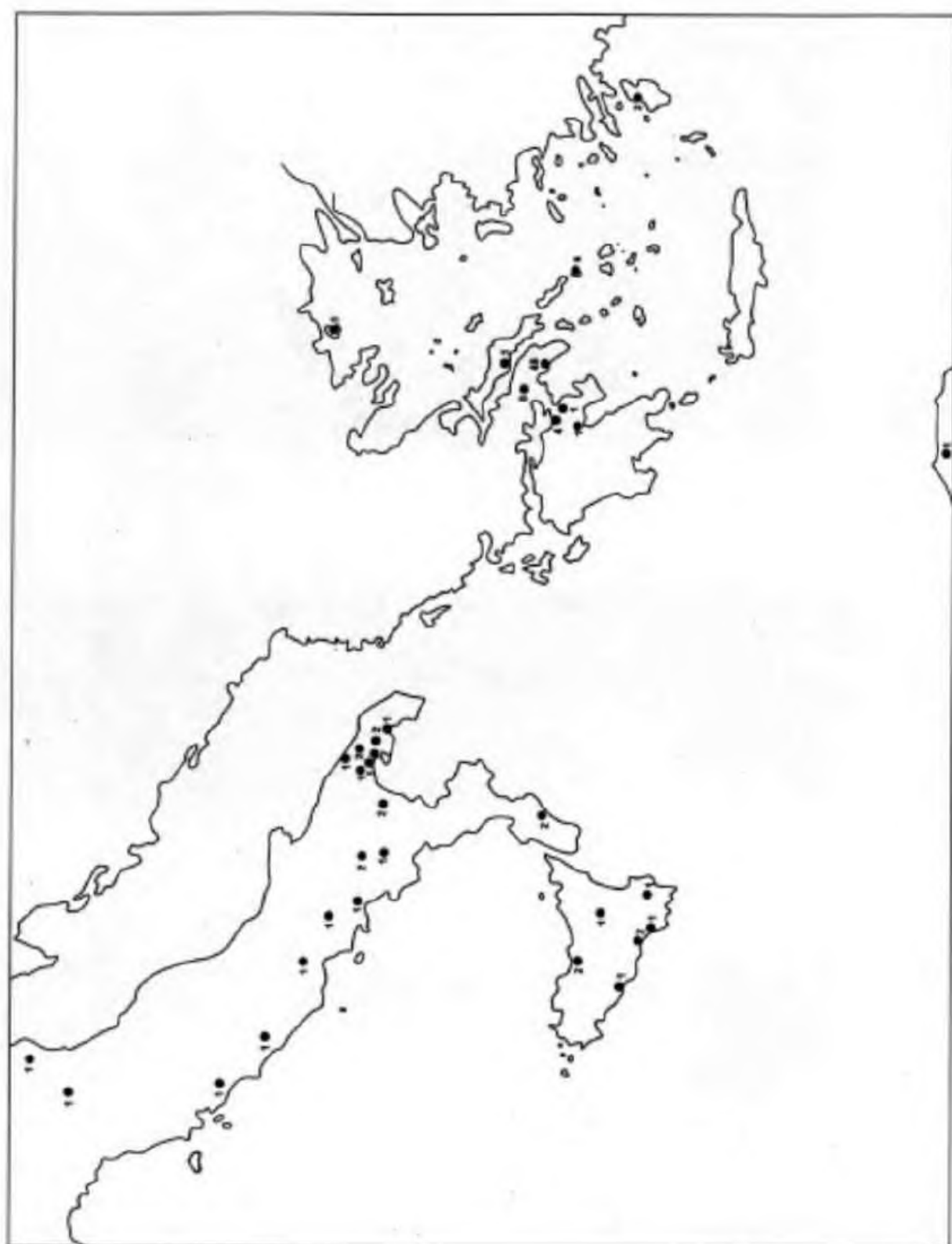


Fig. 39. Find-places of vases by the Theseus Painter and numbers

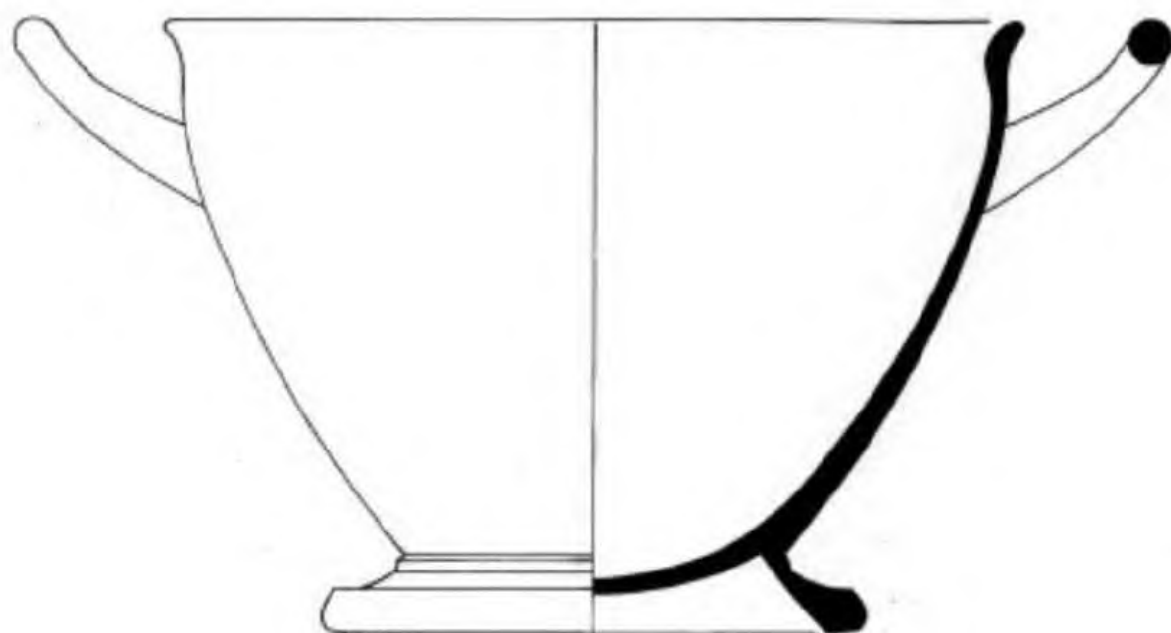


Fig. 40. Naples 81159, 1:2 (Cat. no. 33)

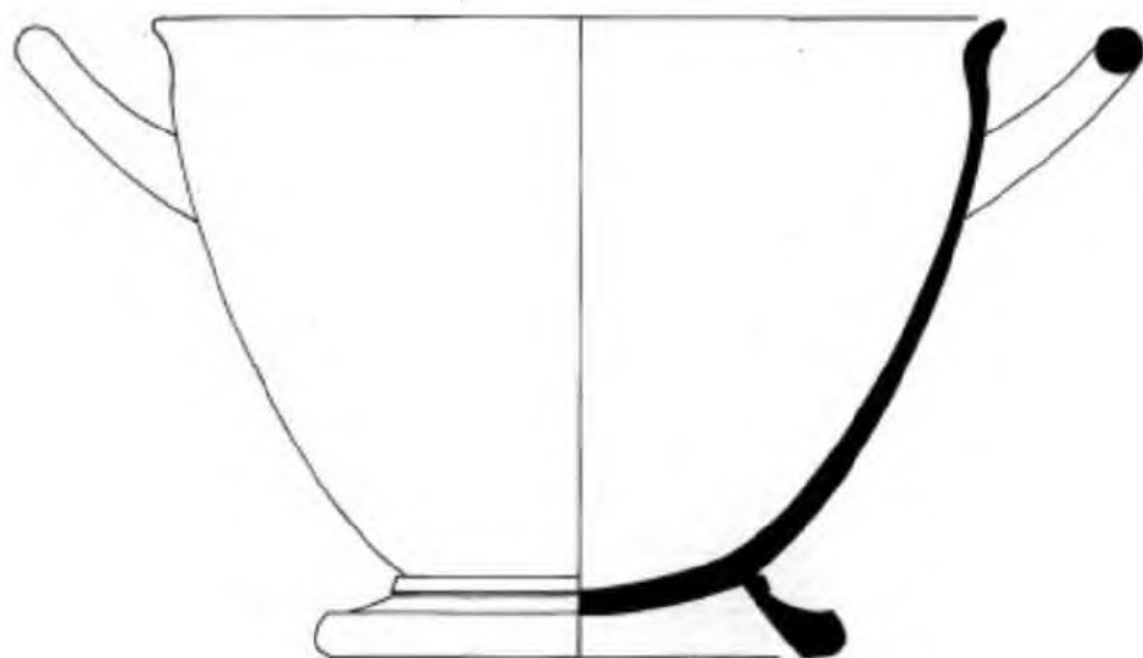


Fig. 41. Naples 81154, 1:2 (Cat. no. 24)

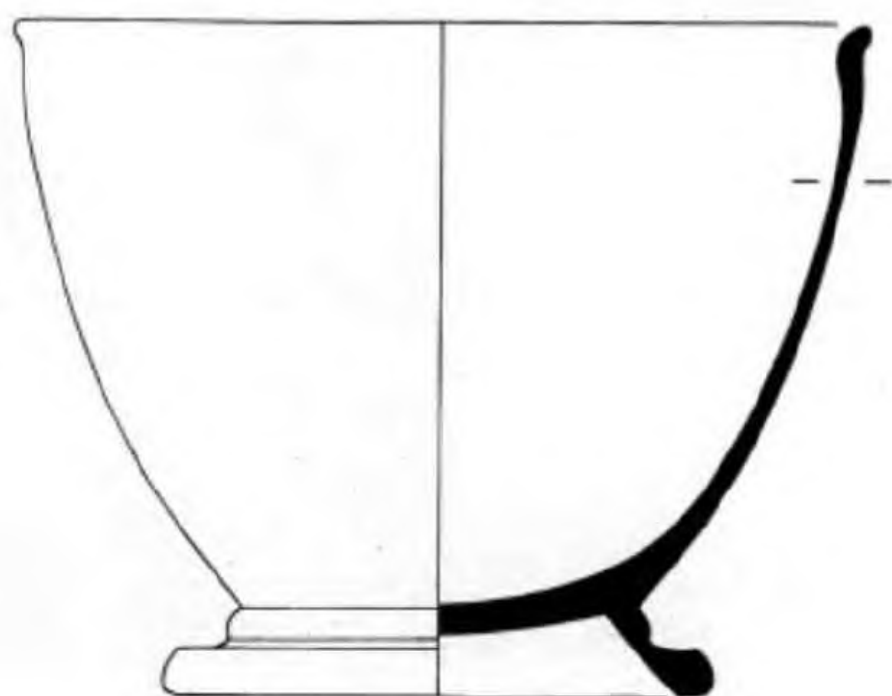


Fig. 42. Amsterdam 290, 1:2 (Cat. no. 49)

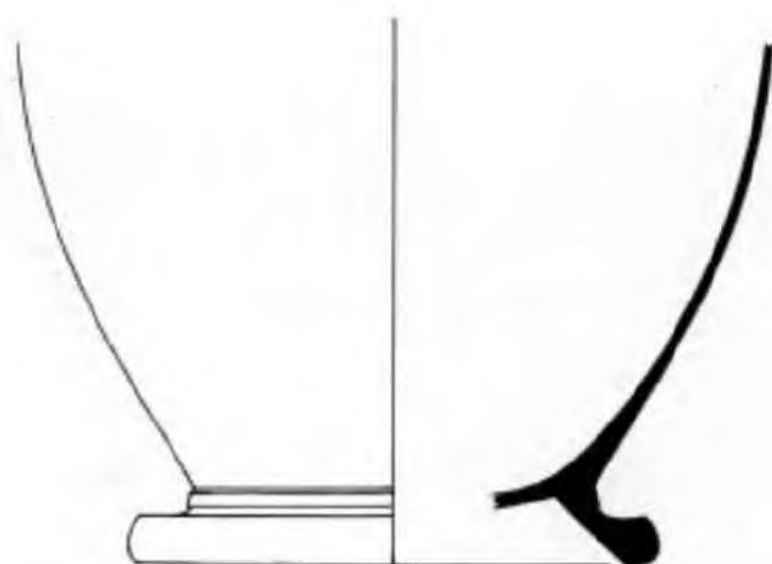


Fig. 43. Amsterdam 2604, 1:2 (Cat. no. 12)



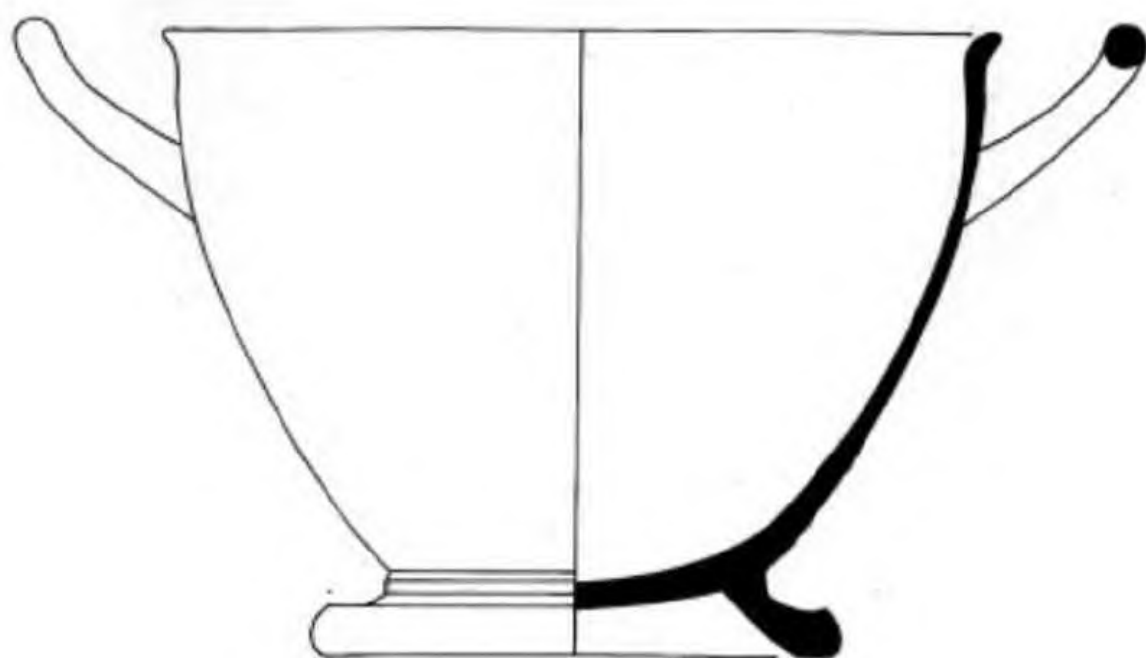


Fig. 44. Bologna C 44, 1:2 (Cat. no. 9)

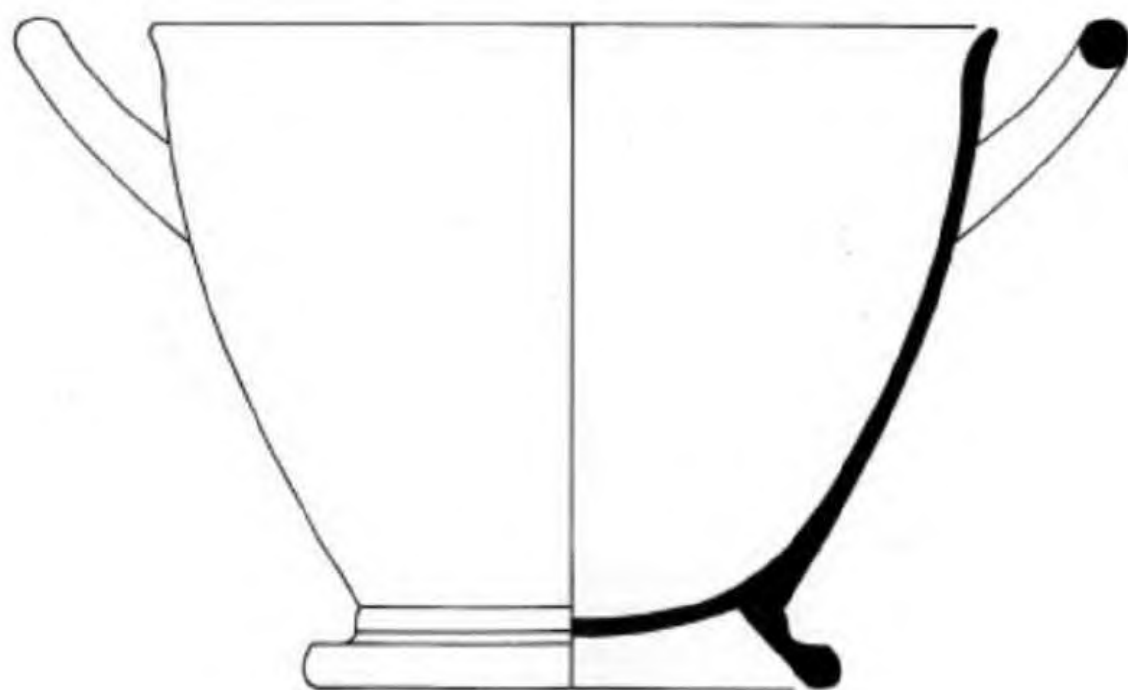


Fig. 45. Athens, NM 13916, 1:2 (Cat. no. 53)

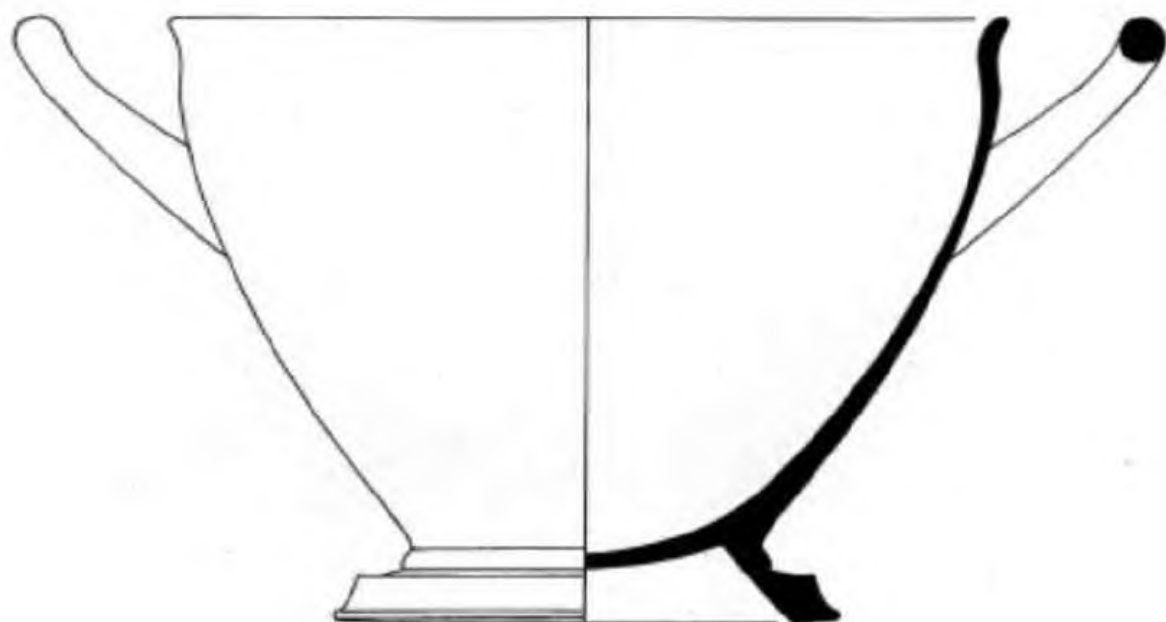


Fig. 46. Taranto 4447, 1:2 (Cat. no. 13)

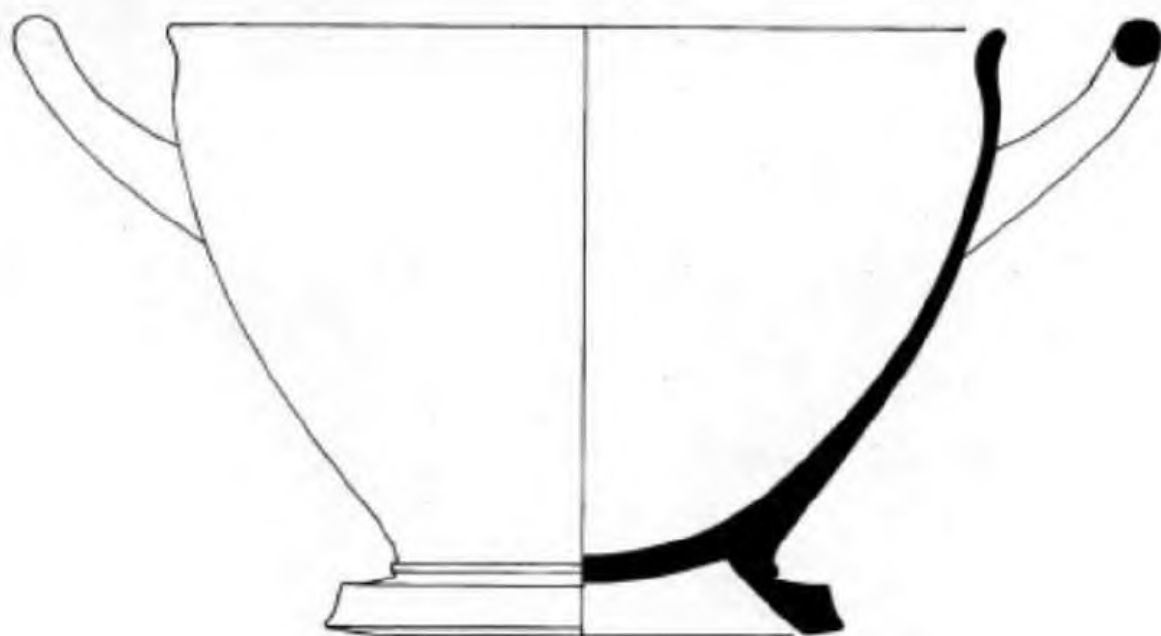


Fig. 47. Taranto 4448, 1:2 (Cat. no. 14)

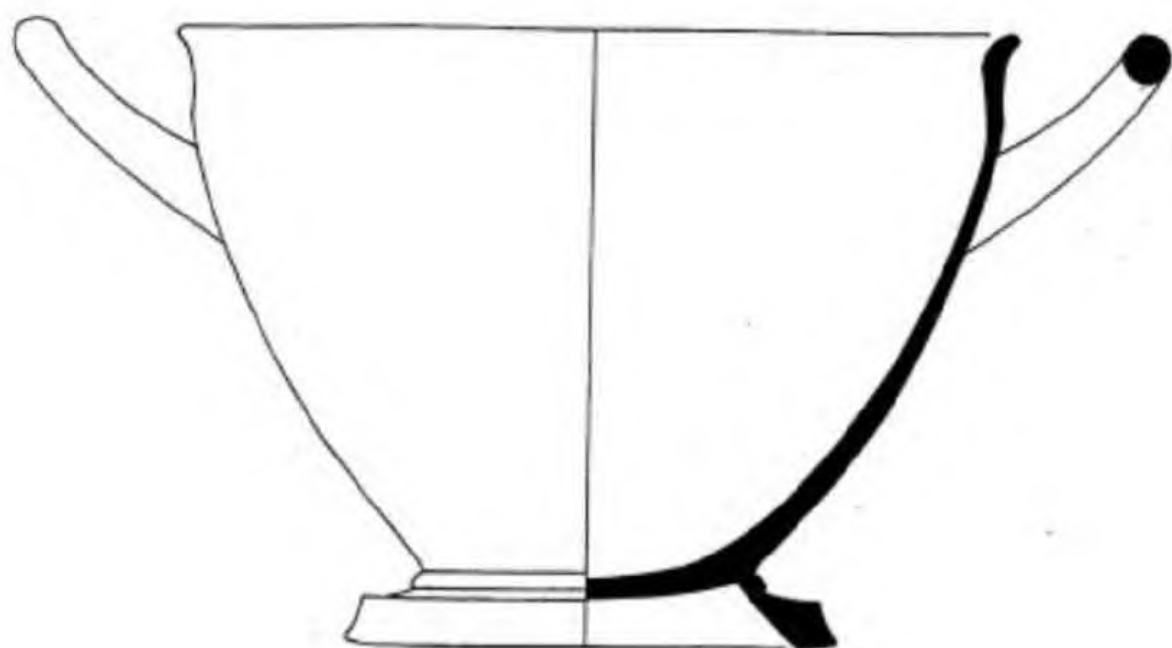


Fig. 48. Taranto 4449, 1:2 (Cat. no. 44)

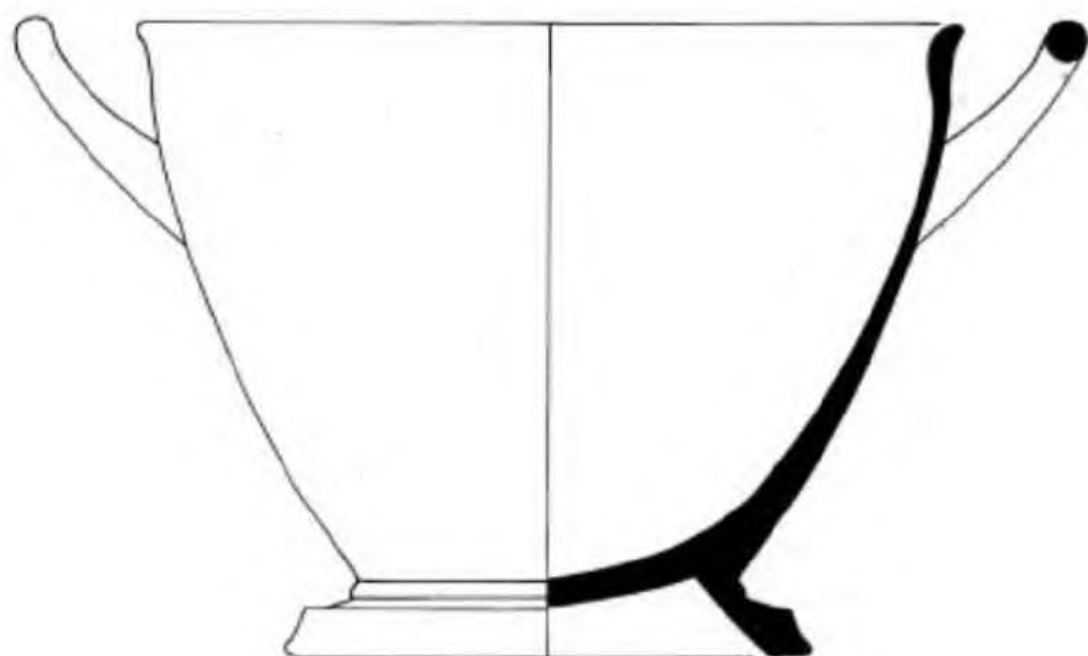


Fig. 49. Taranto 4591, 1:2 (Cat. no. 50)



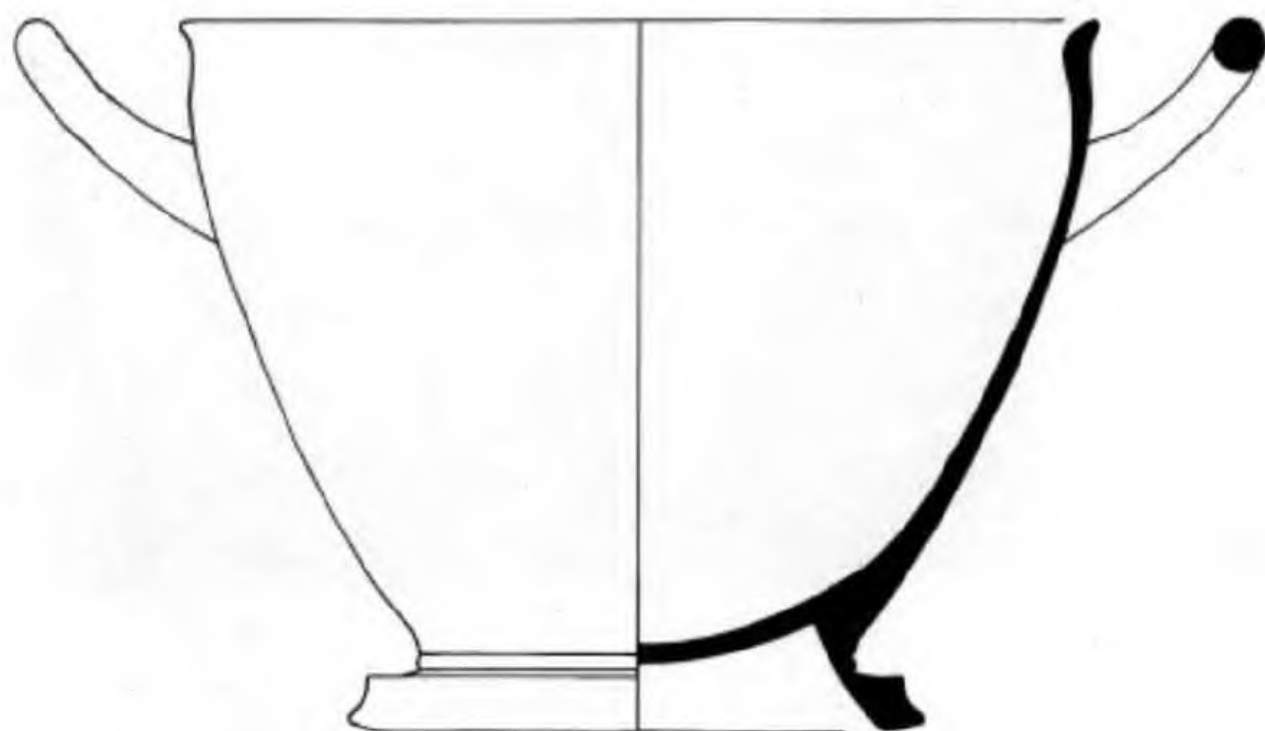


Fig. 50, Agora P 1544, 1:2 Cat. no. 45)

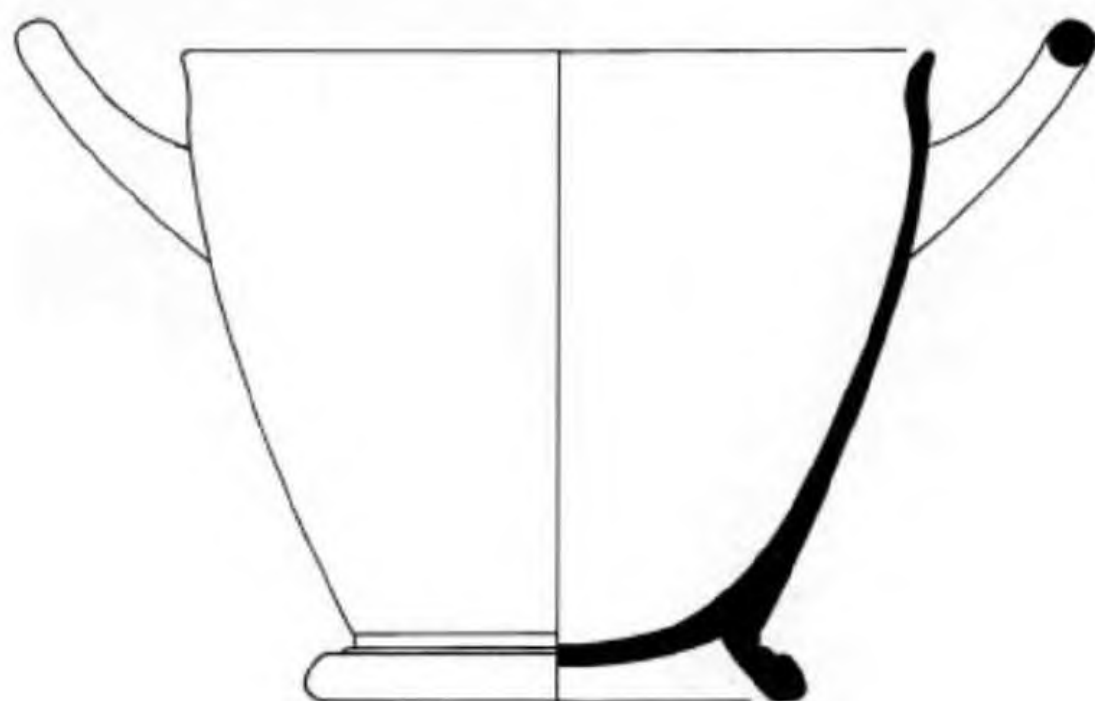


Fig. 51. Athens, NM 498, 1:2 (Cat. no. 80)

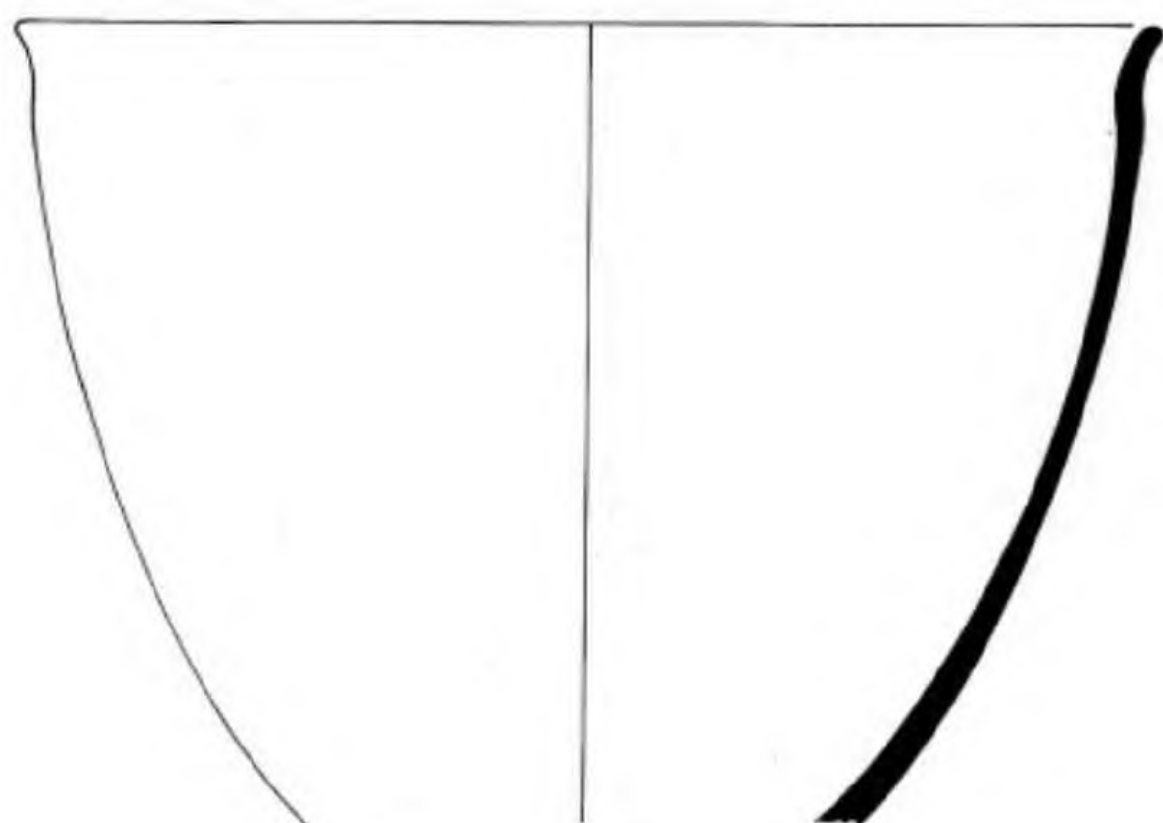


Fig. 52. Acropolis 1280, 1:2 (Cat. no. 76)

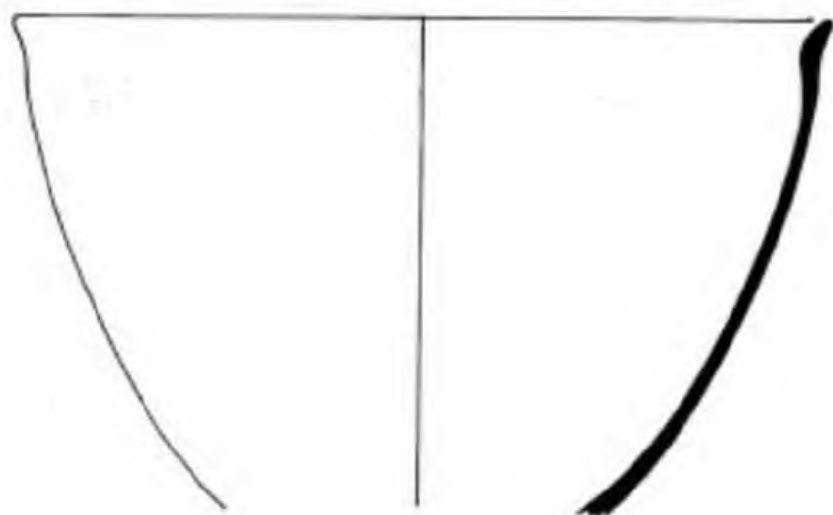


Fig. 53. Acropolis 1281, 1:2 (Cat. no. 2)

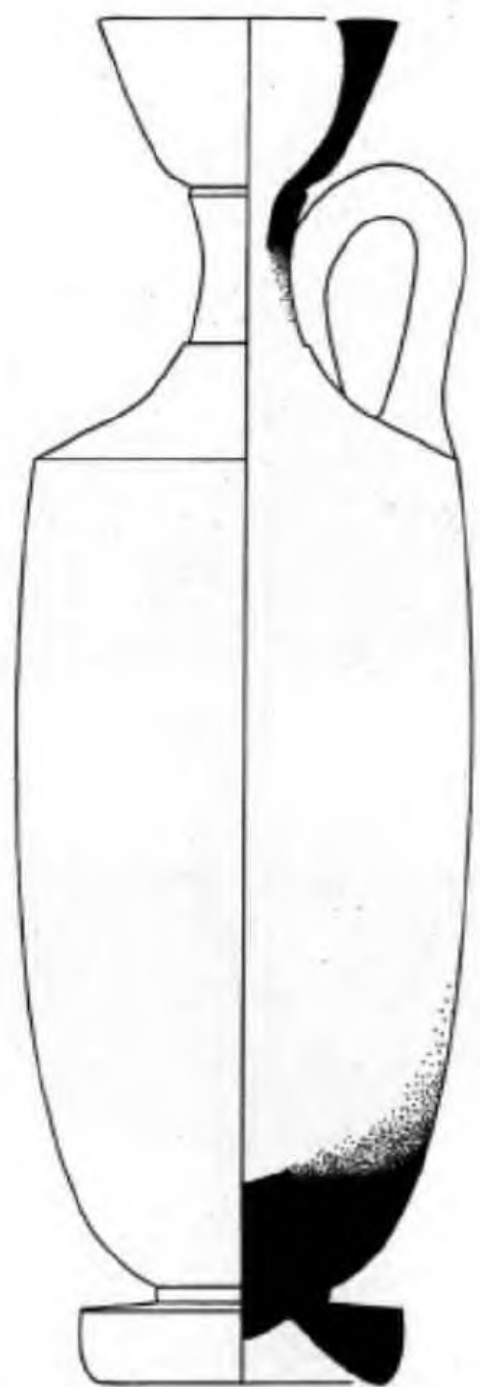


Fig. 54. Cambridge G.3.1955, 1:2 (Cat. no. 131)

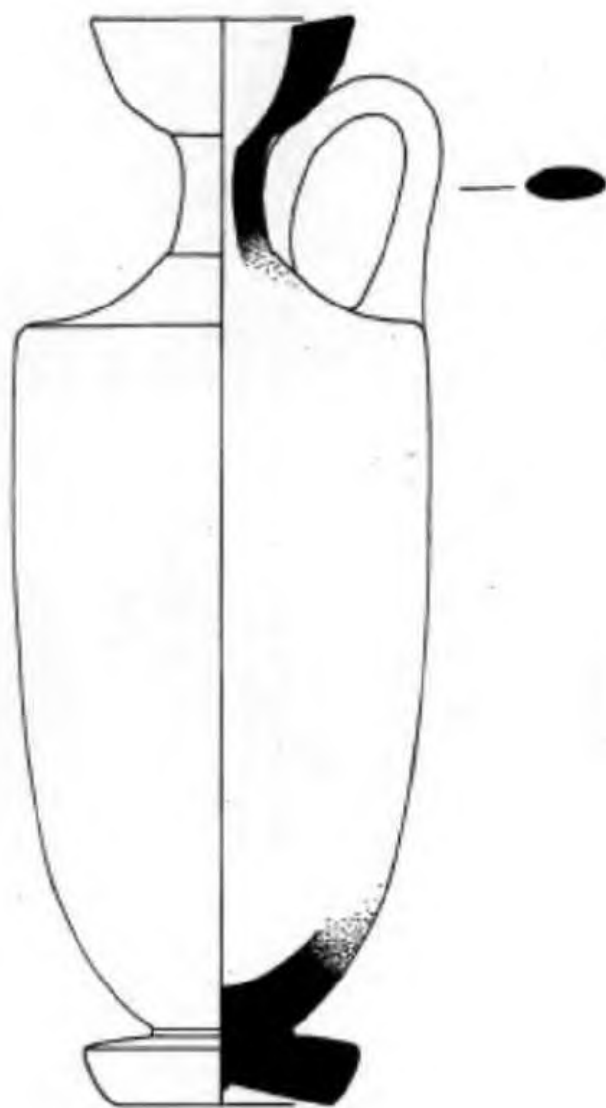


Fig. 55. Naples Stg 118, 1:2 (Cat. no. 132)



Fig. 56. Goulandris coll.265, 1:2 (Cat. no. 126)



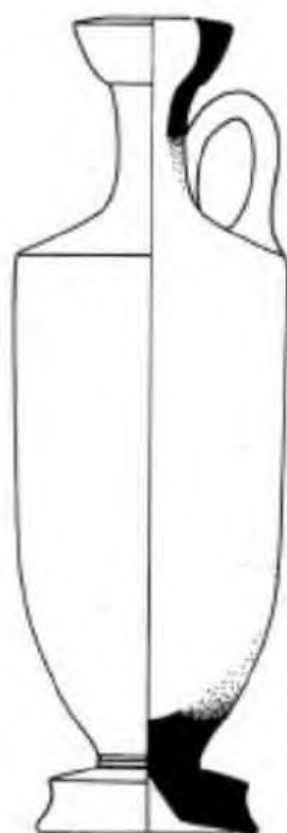


Fig. 57. Oxford 1934.372, 1:2 (Cat. no. 141)



Fig. 58. Athens, NM 9686, 1:2 (Cat. no. 142)

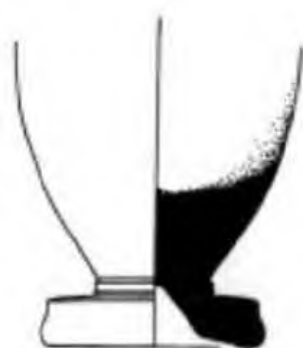


Fig. 59. Athens, NM 515, 1:2 (Cat. no. 136)



Fig. 60. London 1904.7-8.5, 1:2 (Cat. no. 138)

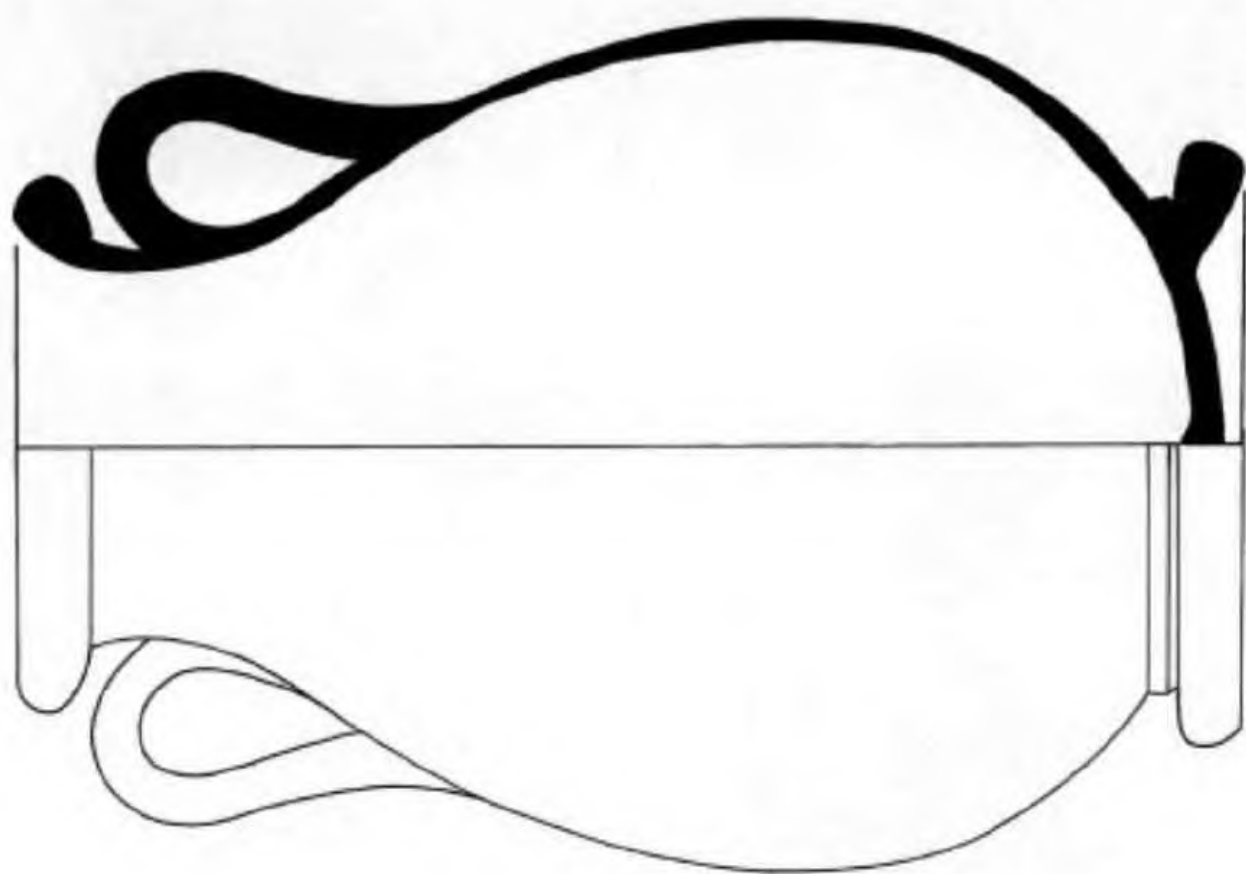


Fig. 61. Columbia 61.2, 1:2 (Cat. no. 151)

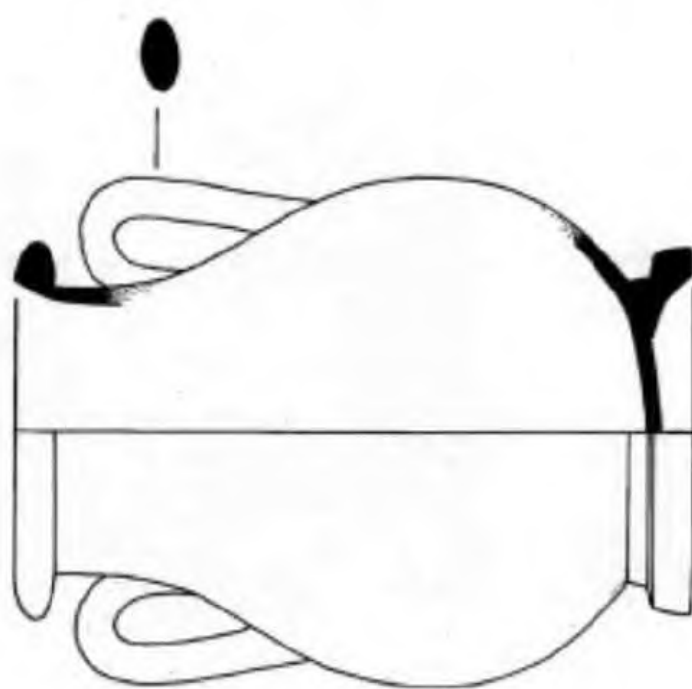


Fig. 62. Naples 81082, 1:2 (Cat. no. 156)

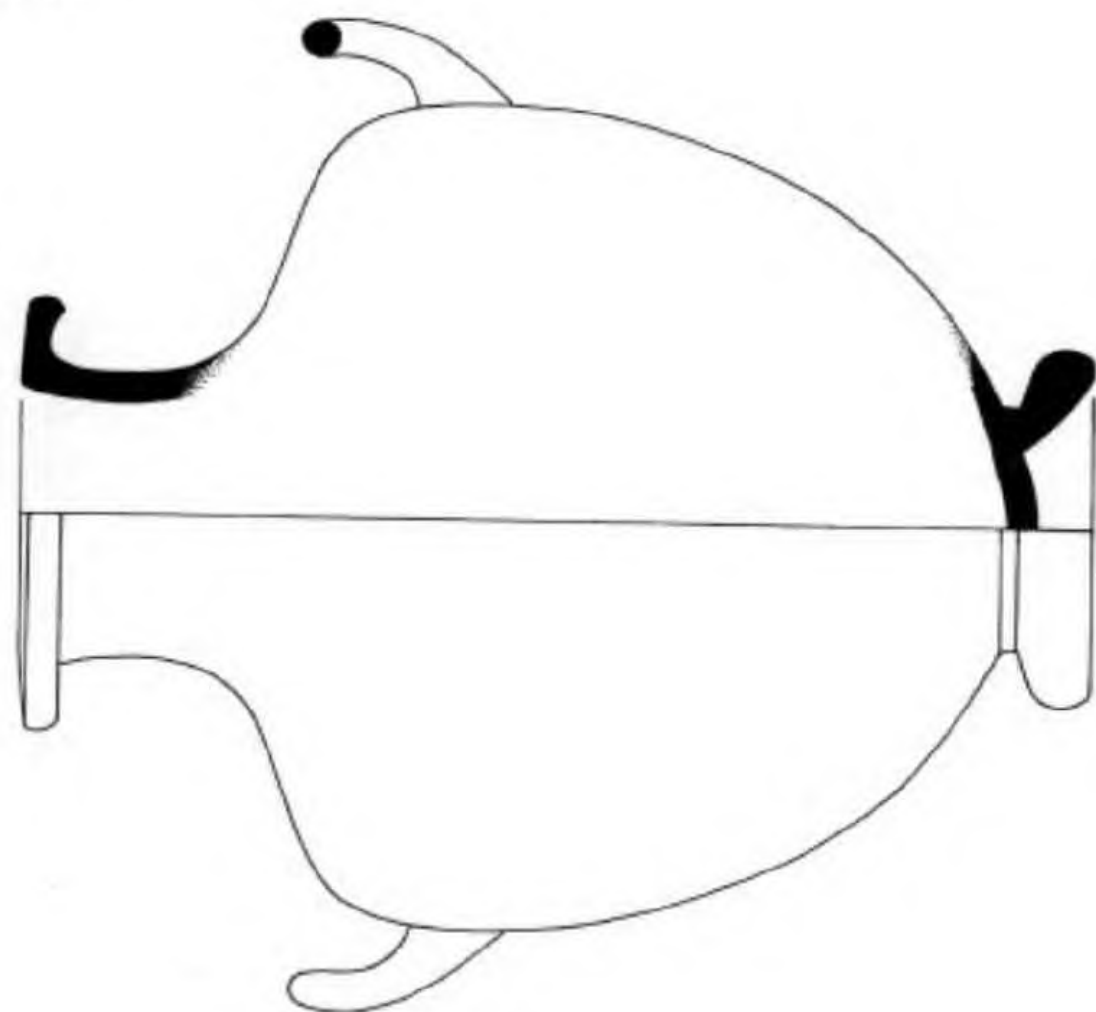


Fig. 64. Utrecht 29, 1:2 (Cat. no. 162)

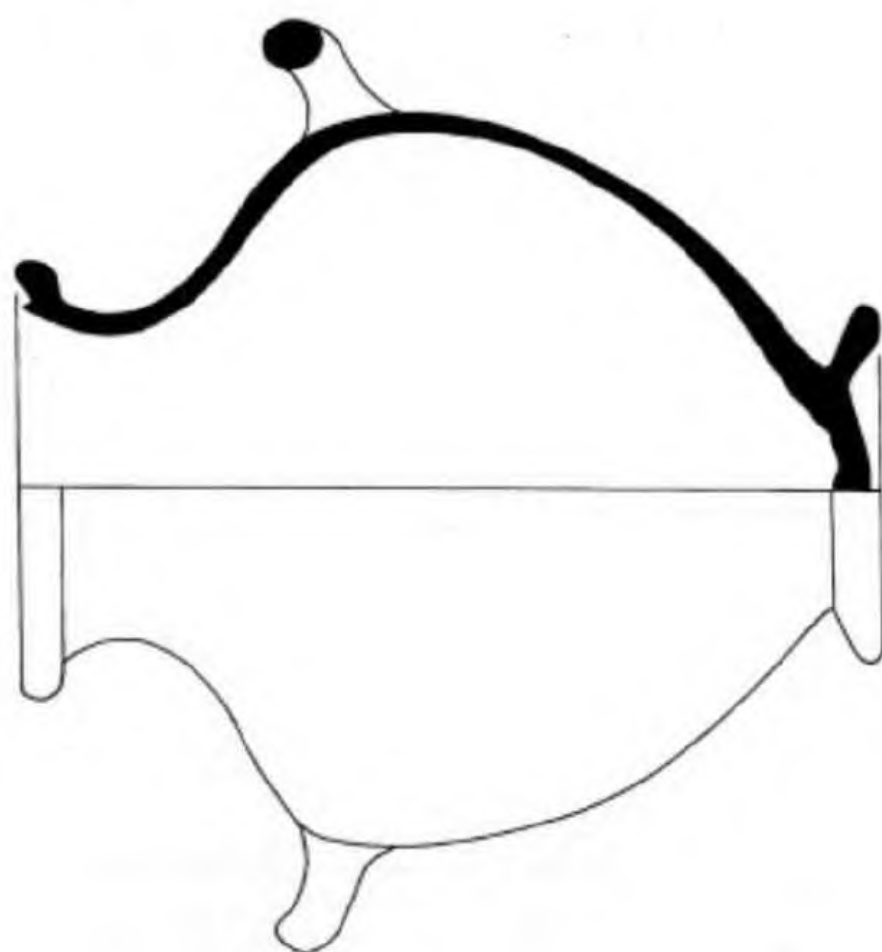


Fig. 63. Uppsala 352, 1:2 (Cat. no. 161)





Fig. 65. Berlin 3230, 1:2 (Cat. no. 164)

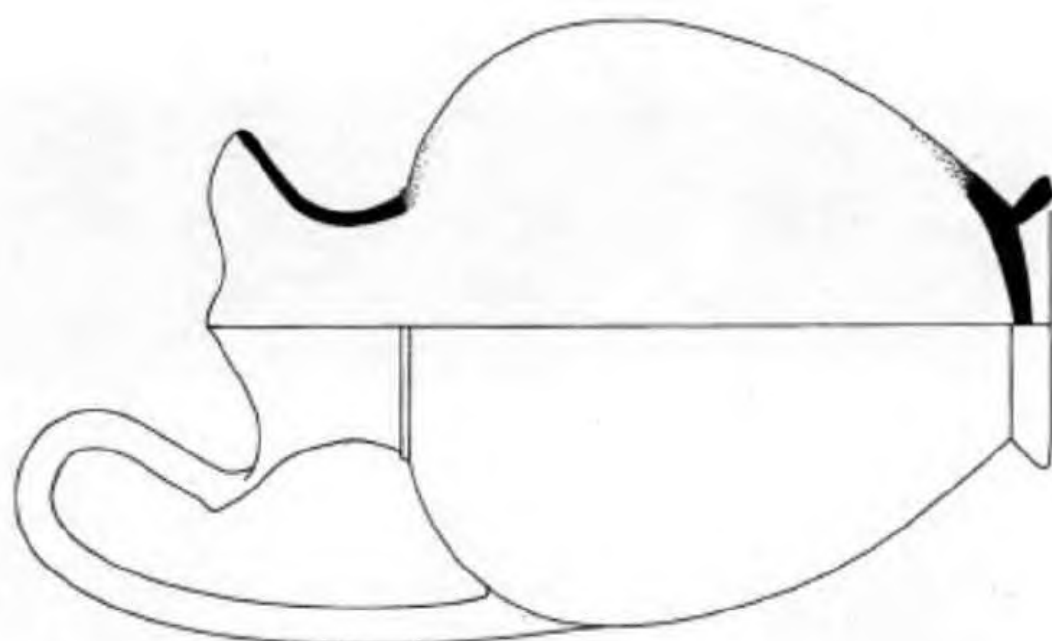


Fig. 66. London B 513, 1:2 (Cat. no. 166)



Fig. 67. Once Brussels, Theodor coll., 1:2 (Cat. no. 168)

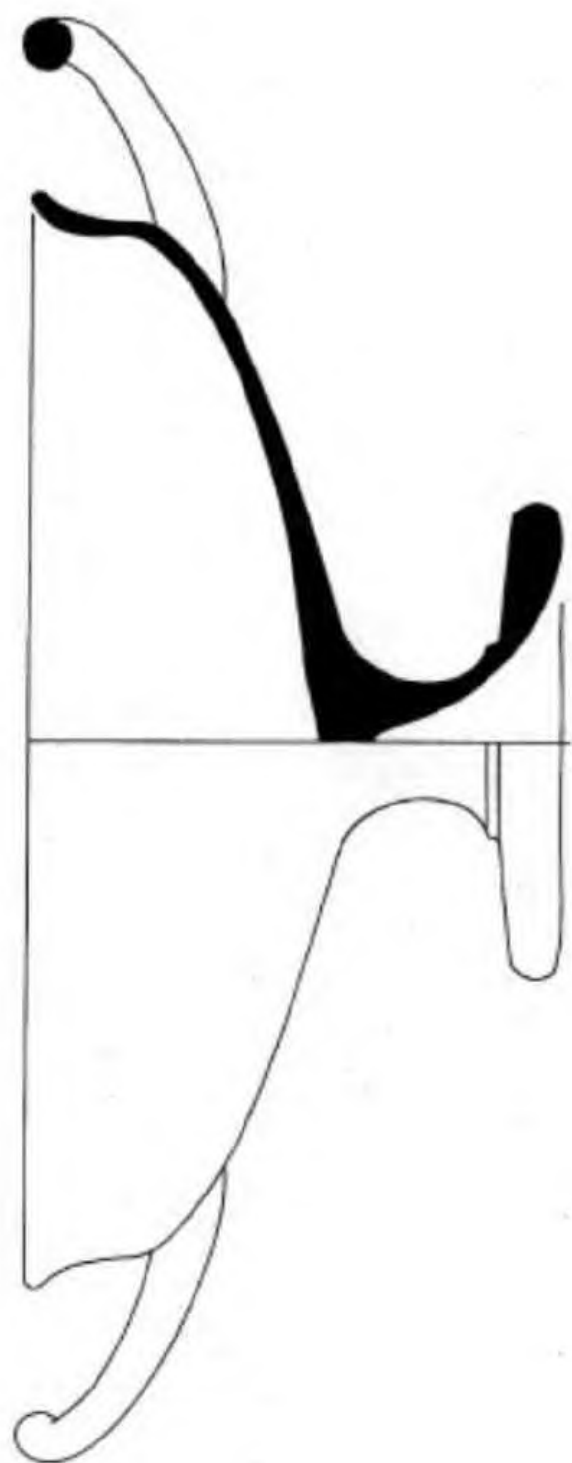


Fig. 68. London B 446, 1:2 (Cat. no. 173)



Fig. 70. Agora P 1384, 1:2 (Cat. no. 172)



Fig. 69. Agora P 1383, 1:2 (Cat. no. 177)



Fig. 71. Malibu 86.AE.146, 1:2 (Cat. no. 192)



Fig. 72. Malibu 86.AE.147, 1:2 (Cat. no. 193)



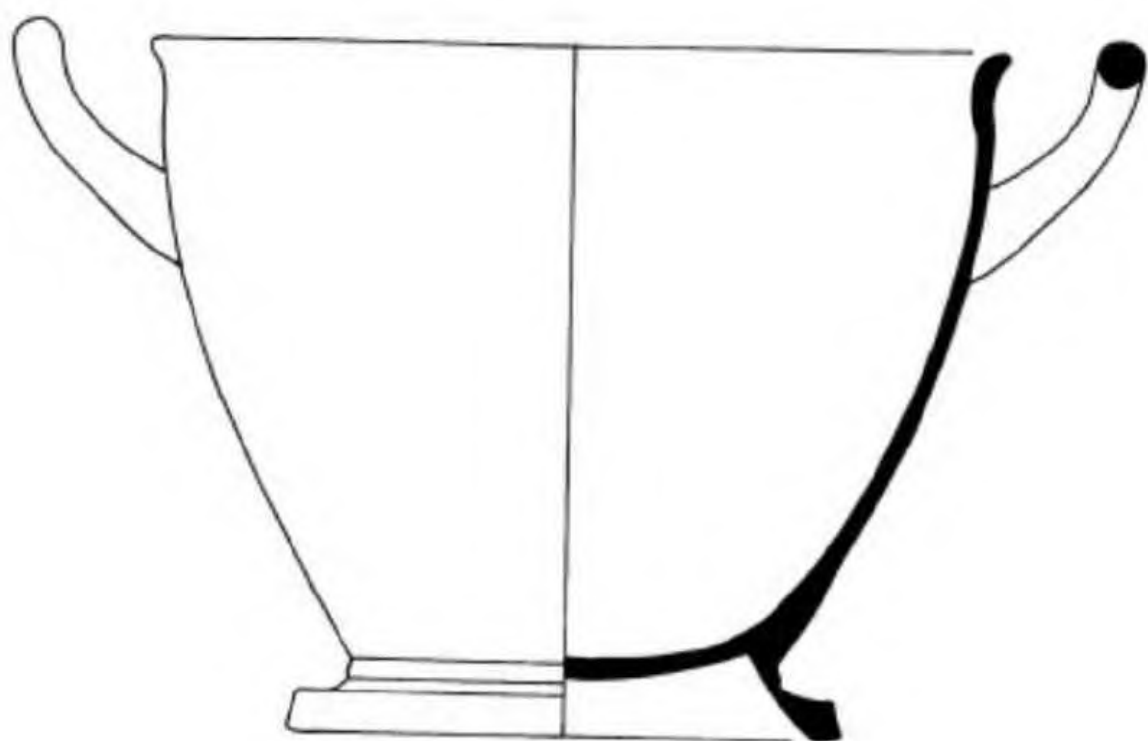


Fig. 73. Athens, NM 18720, 1:2 (Cat. no. N1)

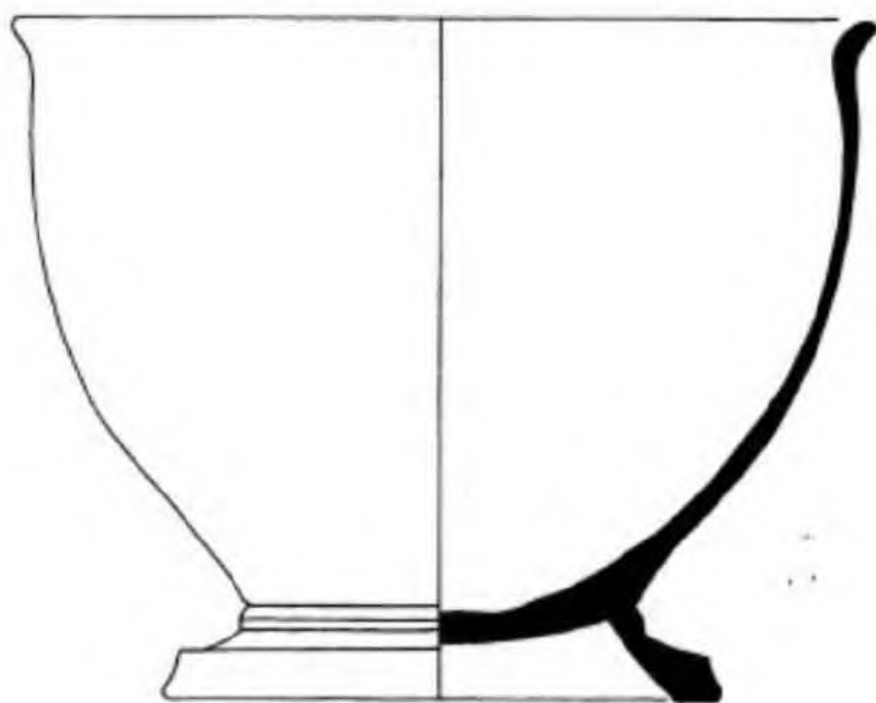


Fig. 74. Bologna 130, 1:2 (Cat. no. N46)

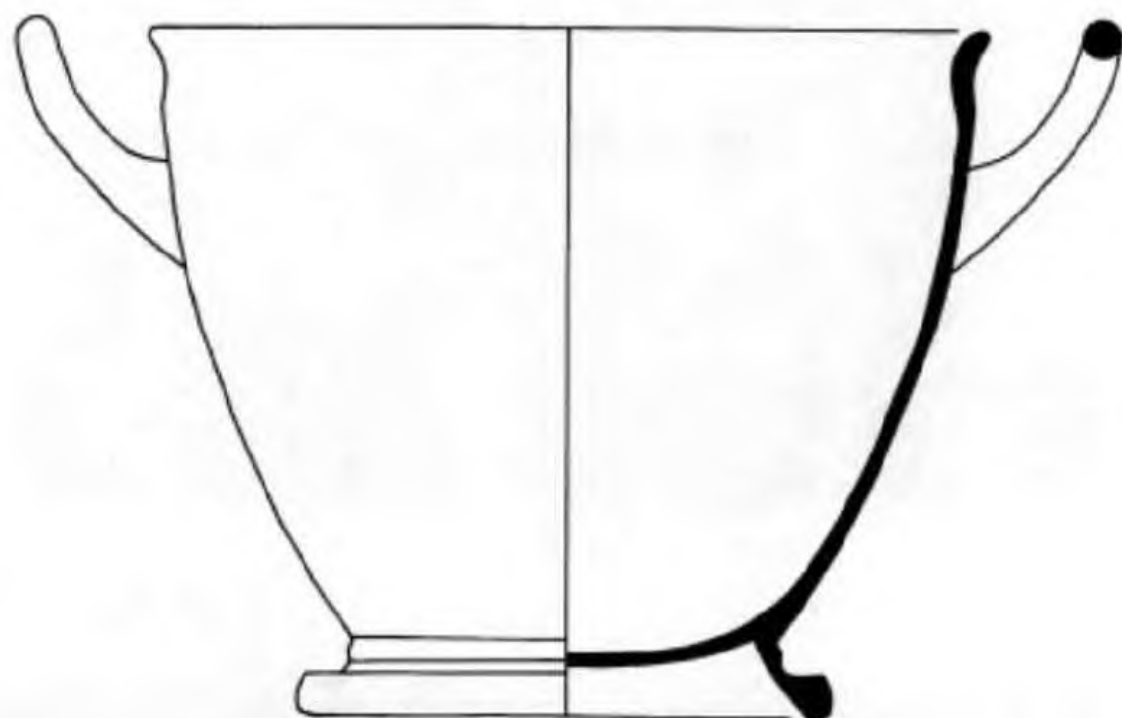


Fig. 75. Athens, NM 362, 1:2 (Cat. no. N26)

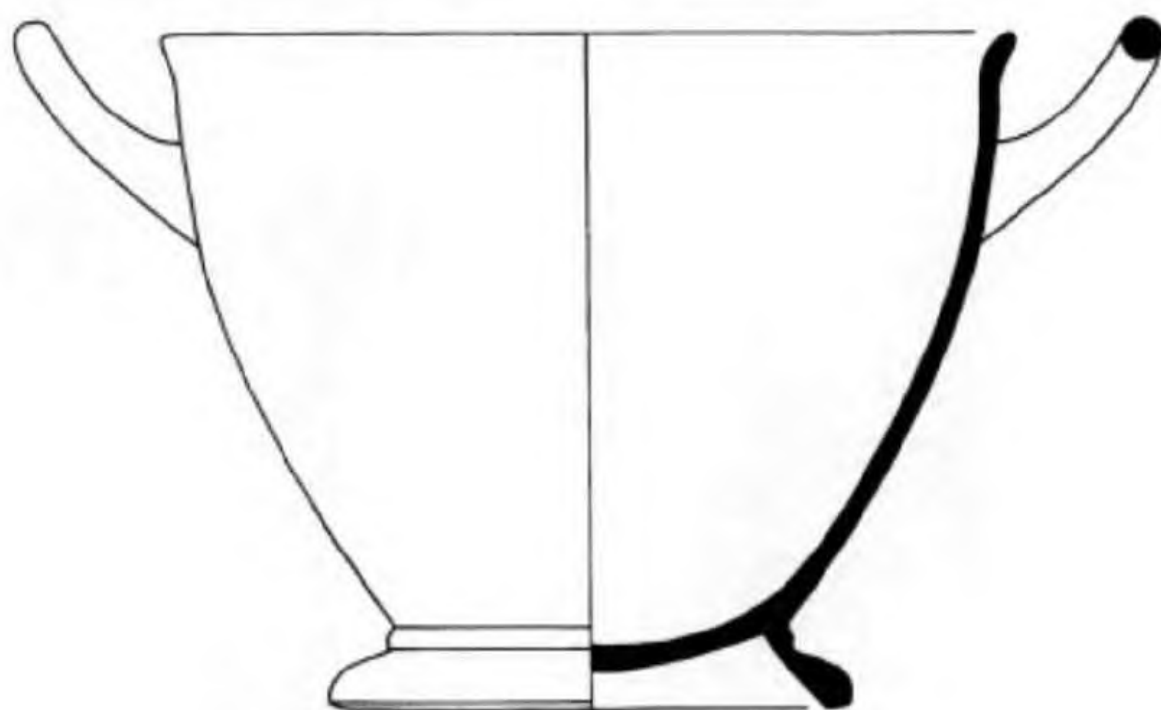


Fig. 76. Athens, NM 635, 1:2 (Cat. no. N30)

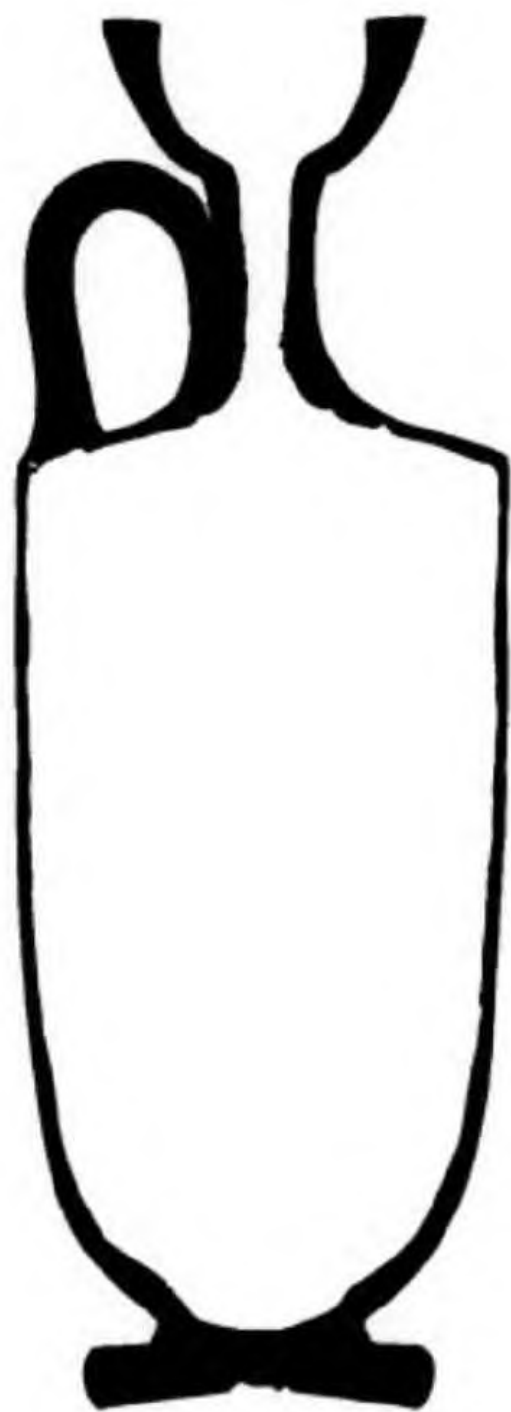


Fig. 77. Amsterdam 3737, Athena Painter, 1:2

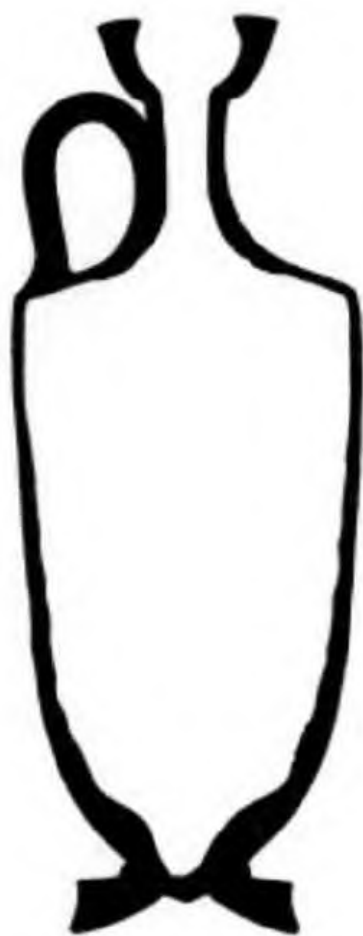


Fig. 78. Amsterdam 3754, Athena Painter, 1:2



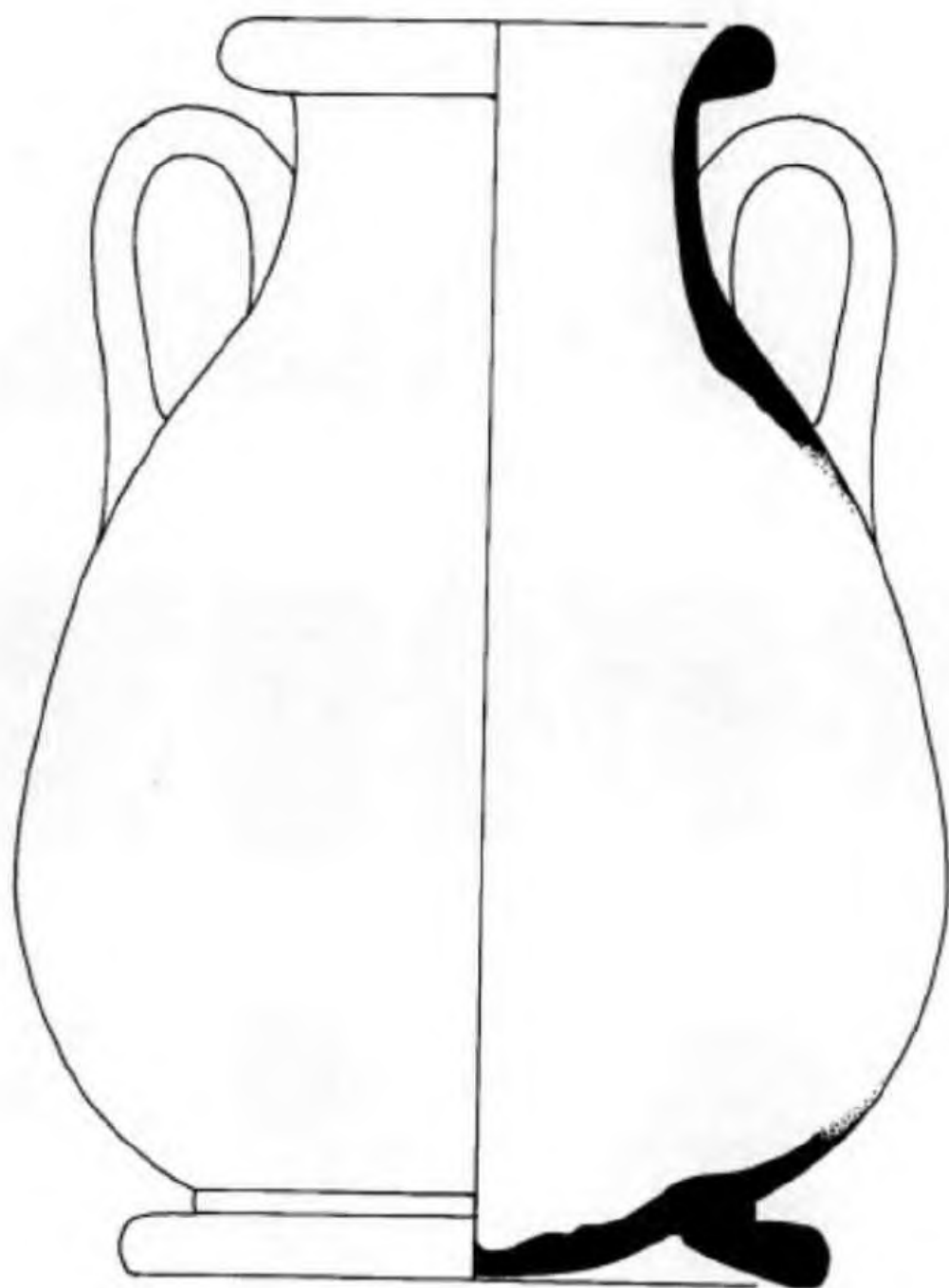


Fig. 79. Louvre 376, Nikoxenos Painter, 1:2

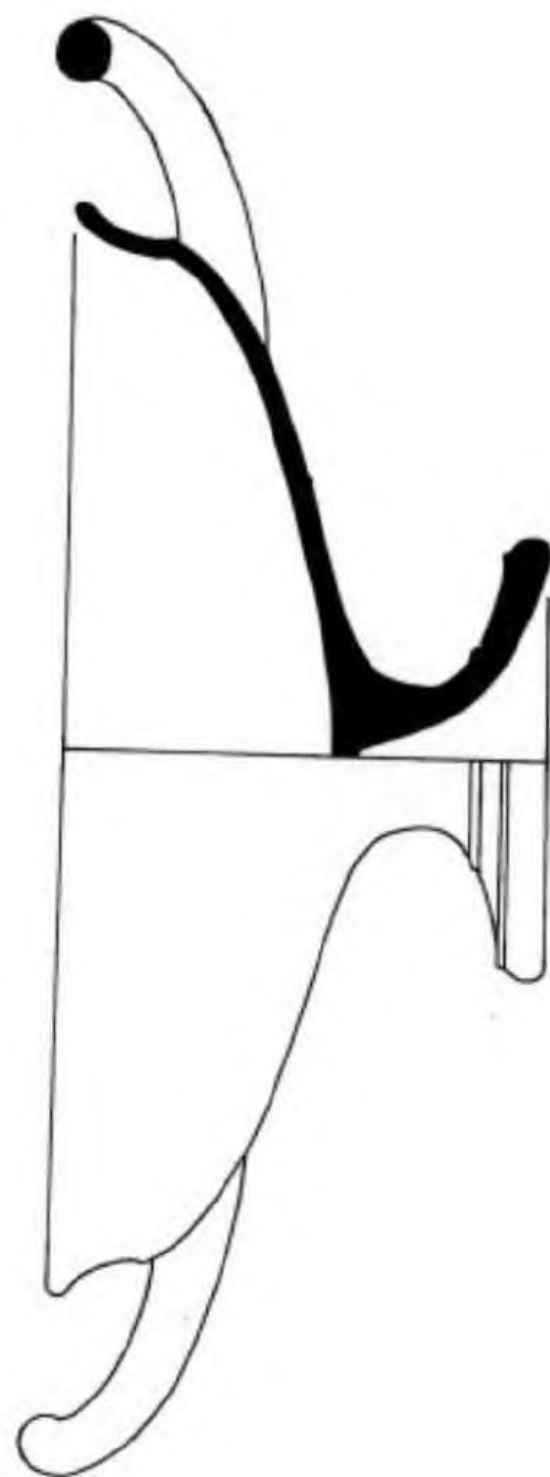


Fig. 80. Heidelberg S 99, Haimon Group.

ΑΡΙΣΤΟΤΕΘΗΑΝΕΘΕΚΕΝΗΡΕΙ  
ΒΑΙΚΥΝΟ

a.

ΚΛΕΙΑΝΑΝΔ  
ΒΙΕΡΑ

b.

AK

c.

TV

d.

WV

TV

e.

TV

f.

TV

Fig 81. Tracings of: a, Delos B 6138; b, Acropolis 1295; c, Syracuse 53263; d, Naples 81082; e, Naples Stg 118; f, Naples 81159 (Cat. nos. 74, 94, 22, 156, 132, 33)



a.



b.



c.



d.



e.



f.

Fig 82. a, Berlin F 2290; b, London 1964.10-7.1715; c, Tübingen S./10 1478; d, Sèvres; e, Once market; f, Munich 1538













a-b. Syracuse 26857 (Cat. no. 1)



c-d. Winchester College Museum (Cat. no. 4)



b. New York 17.230.9 (Cat. no. 3)



a. Acropolis 1281 (Cat. no. 2)



c-d. Acropolis 1271 (Cat. no. 5)

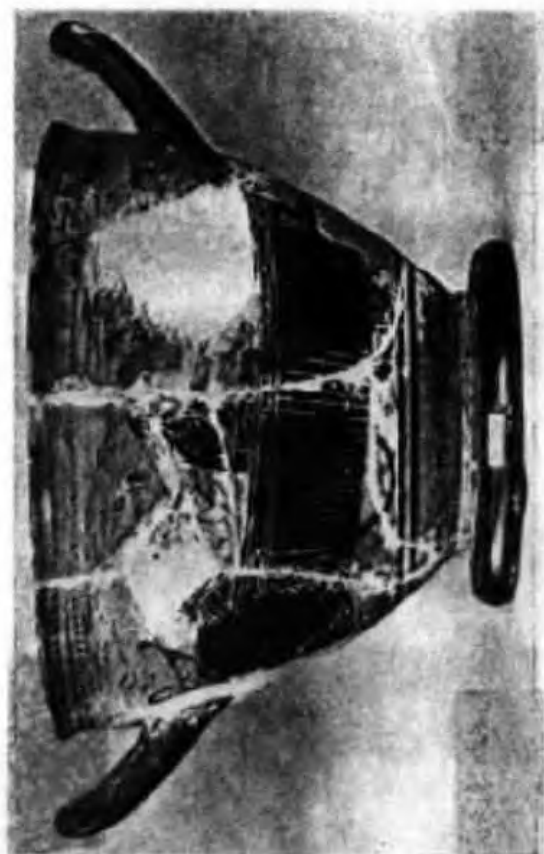




a-b. Boston 99.523 (Cat. no. 6)



c-e. Mississippi 1977.3.69 (Cat. no. 7)



a-b. London B 79 (Cat. no. 8)



c-e. Bologna C 44 (Cat. no. 9)





a. Guardia Perticara (Cat. no. 10)



b. Havana. Lacunillas coll. (Cat. no. 11)



c-e. Amsterdam 2604 (Cat. no. 12)





a-b. Taranto 4447 (Cat. no. 13)



c-d. Taranto 4448 (Cat. no. 14)





a-b. Acropolis 1306 (Cat. no. 15)



c-d. Monopoli, private coll. (Cat. no. 16)





a-c, London 1926.11-15.1 (Cat. no. 17)



d-e, London 1902.12-18.3 (Cat. no. 18)





a-b. Mt. Holyoke 1925 BS.II.3 (Cat. no. 19)



c. Dresden ZV 1680 (Cat. no. 20)



d. Agora P 1550-1 (Cat. no. 21)



e. Oria OR 502-645 (Cat. no. 21bis)



a-b. Syracuse 53263 (Cat. no. 22)



c-d. Marseilles 7017 (Cat. no. 23)



e-f. once Helgoland, Kropatscheck coll. (Cat. no. 26)

a-d. Naples 81154 (Cat. no. 24)





a-b. Agora P 1545 (Cat. no. 25)



c. Agora P 1543 (Cat. no. 28)



d-e. Bari, Cotechia coll. (Cat. no. 27)





a-c. Laon 37996 (Cat. no. 29)



f. Corinth 70-33 (Cat. no. 31)



d-e. Toledo 63.27 (Cat. no. 30)





a-b. Naples 81159 (Cat. no. 33)



c-d. once Basle market (Cat. no. 34)



a. New York, White and Levi coll. (Cat. no. 32)



c-d. once Basle market (Cat. no. 37)



b. Greifswald 197 (Cat. no. 35)





a. Guardia Perticara 15223 (Cat. no. 36)



b. Basle, Cahn coll. HC 1405 (Cat. no. 39)



c-d. Lecce 560 (Cat. no. 38)





a-b. Tampa 86.52 (Cat. no. 40)



c-d. Stuttgart KAS 74 (Cat. no. 41)





a-b. New York 06.1021.49 (Cat. no. 42)

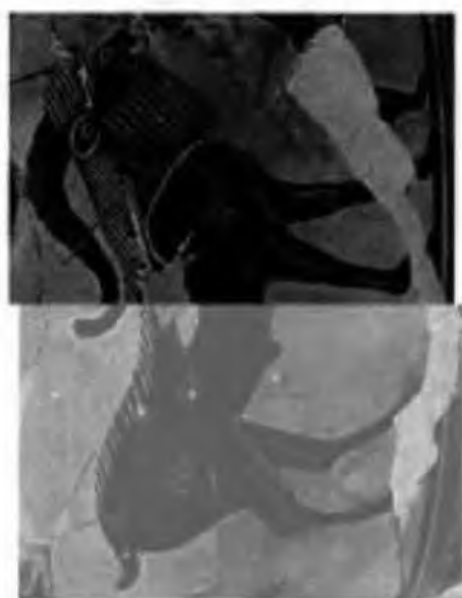


c-g. Amsterdam 2159 (Cat. no. 43)



a-d. Taranto 4449 (Cat. no. 44)





a-d. Agora P 1544 (Cat. no. 45)





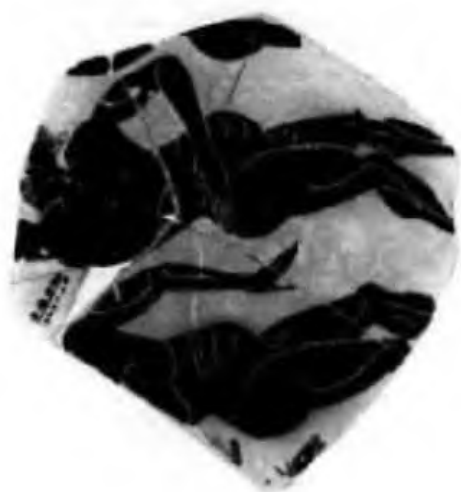
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b. Agora P 1547 (Cat. no. 48)



c-d. Taranto 4591 (Cat. no. 50)



a-e. Amsterdam 290 (Cat. no. 49)



a. Agora P 1549 (Cat. no. 47)



b. Basle, Cahn HC 1469 (Cat. no. 51)



c. Pisa P 695 (Cat. no. 52)



d. Acropolis 1282 (Cat. no. 66)



e. Malibu 86.AE.152 (Cat. no. 67)



a-d. Athens, NM 13916 (Cat. no. 53)





a-b. Copenhagen 6571 (Cat. no. 54)



c-d. Brussels R 327 (Cat. no. 55)





a-b. Agora P 1546 (Cat. no. 56)



c-d. Haverford EA 1989-4 (Cat. no. 57)



a-e. Amsterdam 2178 (Cat. no. 58)



f. Himera H 72,679 (Cat. no. 62)



g. Acropolis 1276 (Cat. no. 59)



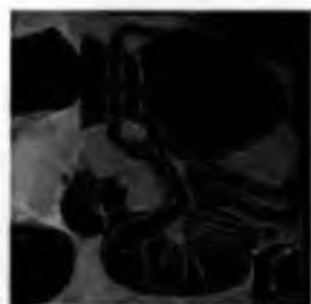
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i. San Antonio 86,134,51 (Cat. no. 61)



j. Corinth C 37-2323 (Cat. no. 63)



a-c. Harvard 1960.321 (Cat. no. 64)



d-e. Thasos (Cat. no. 65)





a. Bonn 1646 (Cat. no. 68)



b. Basle, Cahn coll. (Cat. no. 69)



c-d. Conservatori (Cat. no. 70)





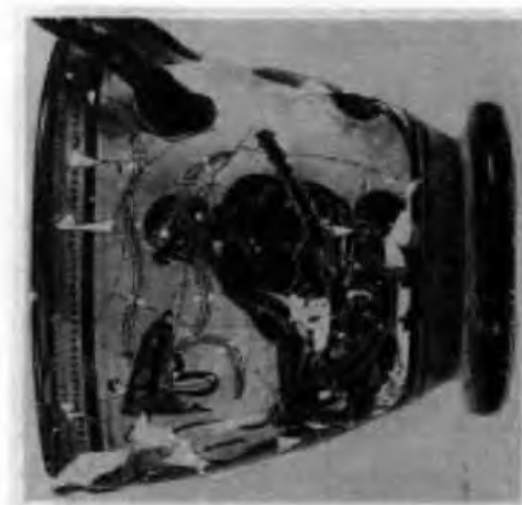
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c-d. Delos B 6140 (Cat. no. 72)



a-b, Delos 6142 (Cat. no. 73)



c-e, Delos B 6138 (Cat. no. 74)

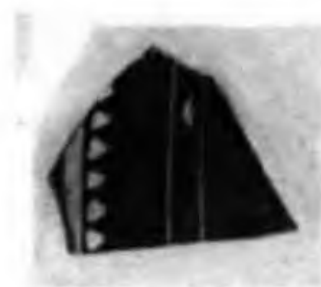




a-b. Acropolis 1280 (Cat. no. 76)



c-f. Acropolis 1290 (Cat. no. 77)







a-b. Karellopoulos 842 (Cat. no. 78)



c. once US market (Cat. no. 75)



d. Corinth C-69-57 (Cat. no. 81)



e. Oria OR.662.R (Cat. no. 81bis)



a-d. Salerno (Cat. no. 79)



e-f. Athens, NM 498 (Cat. no. 80)



a-d. Acropolis 1265 (Cat. no. 82)



e-f. Acropolis 1312 (Cat. no. 83)



g. Acropolis 1311 (Cat. no. 84)



h. Acropolis 1307 (Cat. no. 85)



i-k. Delos 6667 (Cat. no. 86)



i-k. Delos 6667 (Cat. no. 86)



m. Acropolis 1298 (Cat. no. 88)



n. Thasos 1117 (Cat. no. 89)



a. Satyrion (Cat. no. 90)



b. Navplion (Cat. no. 91)



c. Athens P 3725 (Cat. no. 99)



d. Cyrene 278.13 (Cat. no. 100)



e. Locri (Cat. no. 98)



f. Harvard 1995.18.30 (Cat. no. 102)



g. Agora P 25913 (Cat. no. 104)



h. Adria (Cat. no. 101)



i. Athens 1959 NAK 740/1960 NAK 211 (Cat. no. 93)



j. Agora P 9273 (Cat. no. 95)



k. Agora P 13373 (Cat. no. 96)



l. Corinth KP 2773 (Cat. no. 97)





b. Gioia del Colle MG 308-315 (Cat. no. 92)



a. Acropolis 1295 (Cat. no. 94)



c. Thasos 889 (Cat. no. 105)



d. Thasos 1243 (Cat. no. 103)



e. Agora P 6177 (Cat. no. 106)



f. Himera H71,465,2-1137 (Cat. no. 107)



a-b. Armonk, Pinney coll. (Cat. no. 125)



c-e. Goulandris coll. 265 (Cat. no. 126)



a-c. once Philadelphia market (Cat. no. 127)



d-f. San Antonio 86.134.54 (Cat. no. 128)



a-b. Kerameikos 5671 (Cat. no. 129)



c. once Lucerne market (Cat. no. 130)



d-e. Cambridge G.3.1955 (Cat. no. 131)





a-c. Naples Stg. 118 (Cat. no. 132)



d-e. Germany, private coll. (Cat. no. 133)



a-c. Palermo, Collisani coll. R 32 (Cat. no. 134)



d-e. Brussels A 1953 (Cat. no. 135)



a-b. Athens, NM 515 (Cat. no. 136)



c. Syracuse 33501 (Cat. no. 137)



d-e. London 1904.7-8.5 (Cat. no. 138)



a-b. Athens, NM 9684 (Cat. no. 139)



c-d. Louvre CA 1837 (Cat. no. 140)





a-c. Oxford 1934.272 (Cat. no. 141)



d-e. Athens, NM 9686 (Cat. no. 142)



a-b. Bonn 307 (Cat. no. 143)



c. Berlin F 2005 (Cat. no. 145)



d-e. Boston 21.277  
(Cat. no. 146)



f. once Paris, Peyrefitte coll.  
Cat. no. 147



g. Erlangen I 238  
(Cat. no. 144)



a-b. Malibu 71.AE.297 (Cat. no. 150)



c-d. Columbia 61.2 (Cat. no. 151)



a-b. San Antonio 86.134.157 (Cat. no. 152)



c-d. Port Sunlight 5019 (Cat. no. 153)





a-b. Munich 1678 (Cat. no. 154)



c-d. Naples 81082 (Cat. no. 156)



e-f. Paris, Cab. des Médailles 250 (Cat. no. 155)



b. Madrid 10309 (Cat. no. 160)



a. London B 346 (Cat. no. 159)



a. Uppsala 352 (Cat. no. 161)



b. Utrecht 29 (Cat. no. 162)



a. Athens, NM 13262 (Cat. no. 163)



b. Berlin 3230 (Cat. no. 164)



c-d. Louvre F 342 (Cat. no. 165)





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d-e. Petit Palais 313 (Cat. no. 167)



a. once Brussels, Theodor coll. (Cat. no. 168)



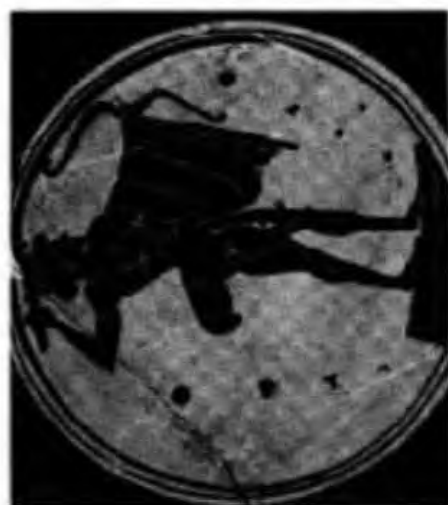
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d-f. London B 446 (Cat. no. 173)



a. Taranto 6515 (Cat. no. 174)



b. Salerno 158a (Cat. no. 175)



c. Winchester College (Cat. no. 176)



d-g. Agora P 1383 (Cat. no. 177)



h. Agora P 1384 (Cat. no. 172)







a-b. Dresden ZV 2006 (Cat. no. 178)



c. Athens 1957 Aa 193 (Cat. no. 182)



d. Athens 1957 Aa 193 (Cat. No. 182)



e. Athens, Kerameikos (Cat. no. 179)



f. Oxford 1930.620 (Cat. no. 180)



g. Basel, Cahn coll. HC 382 (Cat. no. 181)



a-d. Malibu 86.AE.146 (Cat. no. 192)



a-d. Malibu 86.AE.147 (Cat. no. 193)



a-d. Philadelphia L-64-540 (Cat. no. 194)





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b. Heidelberg S 53 (Cat. no. 196)



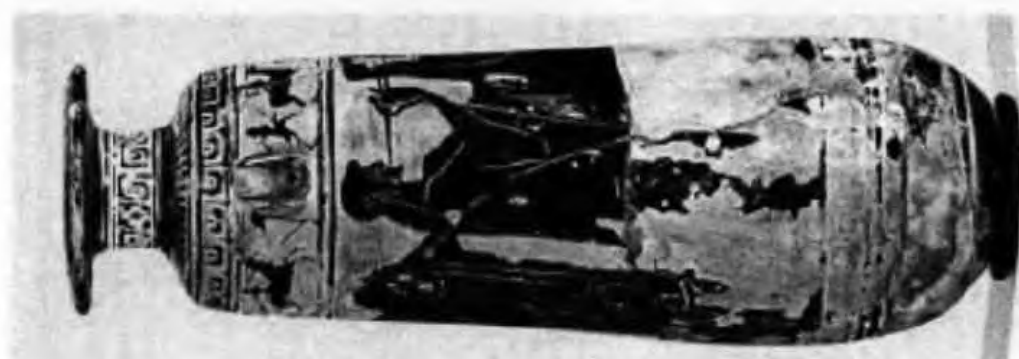
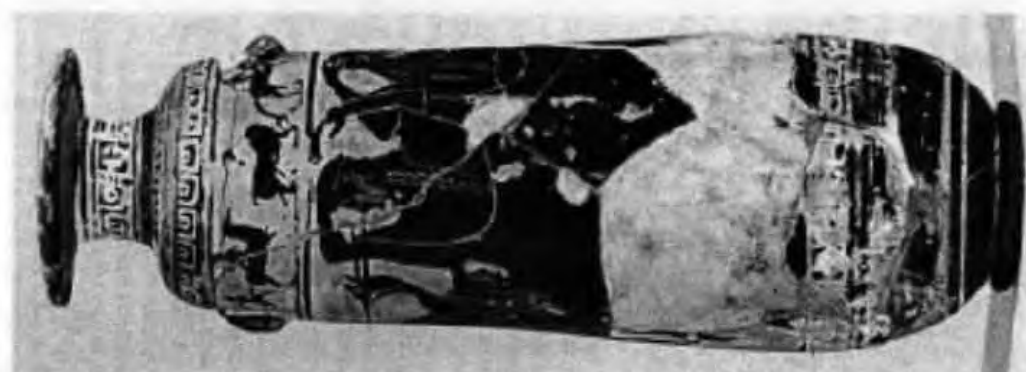
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a-d. Havana, Lagunillas coll. (Cat. no. 201)



a-b. once Basle market (Cat. no. 202)



c-e. once Basle market (Cat. no. 203)





a-c. Palermo, Mormino coll. 660 (Cat. no. 204)



d. Chicago 1967.115.256 (Cat. no. 206)



e. Athens BSA A 380 (Cat. no. 207)



